

COMPLETE PROSE WORKS

or

John Milton

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Complete Prose Works
OF
John Milton

VOLUME I

1624-1642



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PREFACE

In the twenty eight decades since Milton's death, his prose works have been edited in more or less comprehensive fashion nine times,¹ and of these editions only two were by Americans, Rufus Griswold in 1845 (a very poor edition), and the Columbia editors of 1931 to 1938

John Toland in 1698 was the first editor of Milton's prose. Though in many respects a competent scholar, upon whom all later editors depended, Toland, like most of his successors, inserted no head notes or footnotes to the various pamphlets, not even providing the date of each pamphlet under its title. The prose works, moreover, Toland failed to arrange in chronological order, a fault repeated by all the later editors. Toland, it is true, was sufficiently conscious of this deficiency to make a note of it in his preface. He was the first editor and the last to set down a chronological list of Milton's writings and advise the reader to examine them in that order. Of Milton's Latin works Toland included translations only of the *State Letters* and *Defence of the English People*.

The second man to edit Milton's prose was Thomas Birch in 1738. Birch, like Toland, prefixed his edition with a well documented life of Milton running about thirty long pages. Like Toland, too, he inserted no dates, head notes, or footnotes, and provided no translations except of the first *Defence* and the *State Letters*. The text, according to Symmons, is full of errors ("No person being employed to inspect the press, the printer took the liberty to alter what he did not understand")

In 1806 Charles Symmons of Jesus College edited Milton's prose in seven volumes, inserting, like his predecessors, no dates, footnotes, or head notes, but incorporating in the seventh volume a biography of five hundred thirty pages. Symmons was the first editor to use translations of the *Second Defence* and of the *Familiar Letters* (both by Robert Fellowes)

Three years later, in 1809, George Burnett attempted to popularize Milton's prose works, selecting, he said, "the best pieces, that is, his political writings, and giving extracts from the rest, and print the whole in a smaller and cheaper form." For this purpose Burnett was a judicious editor, abridging the tracts against the bishops, the divorce tracts, and *Eikonoklastes*, omitting such prose as the *State Letters*, the *Art of Logic*, *Accidence Commenc't Grammar*, *History of Britain*, and *A Brief History of Moscovia*. Burnett made a distinctive contribution

¹ Not including *The Works of Mr John Milton* (London, 1697, HLH), which has no known editor

to Miltonic scholarship by inserting in his edition translations not only of the first *Defence* and *Second Defence* but also for the first time of the *Author's Defence of Himself*. The translation and insertion of the *Author's Defence* was a service to Milton readers not duplicated by any subsequent edition except the Columbia (which revised the Burnett text), both the Mitford and Bohn editions unfortunately omitting it.

In 1833 appeared Robert Fletcher's edition of Milton's prose works in a single huge volume, with the poetry appended at the end, in edition surprisingly complete except for *Christian Doctrine*, the *Commonplace Book*, and translations of the *Author's Defence* and the *Art of Logic*. Fletcher's work was followed in 1845 by the first American edition of Milton's prose, that of Rufus Griswold, with the Washington translation of the first *Defence* (first used by Toland) and the Ellowes translation of the *Second Defence* (first used by Symmons). Then in 1851 John Mitford edited the prose and verse, using all the Latin originals except *Christian Doctrine*. Unfortunately Mitford, who was the first editor to observe the italics and orthography of the original printings, included a translation only of the first *Defence* and omitted *Christian Doctrine*, which had been available in Sumner's edition for over twenty five years.

Meanwhile, beginning in 1848, J. A. St. John was editing Milton's prose for the Bohn library, an edition complete by 1853, including *Christian Doctrine*, but not including the *Author's Defence of Himself*, the *Art of Logic*, or the *Commonplace Book*. The Bohn edition, now almost one hundred years old, is still, despite its illogical arrangement and faulty text, a very serviceable edition for the average Milton scholar or graduate student who cannot afford a more elaborate edition for home use.

In the Columbia edition (1931-38) the editors rendered a notable service in including not only translations of the *Author's Defence of Himself*, which had not appeared for over one hundred and twenty years, but also for the first time translations of the *Commonplace Book* and the *Art of Logic*. For the first time the texts of Milton's prose and poetry, both Latin and English, were available in a single edition. Yet the Columbia edition made no attempt, except in Volume XVIII, *The Uncollected Writings*, to provide annotations or to place the prose works of Milton in their intellectual setting. Its function was an extremely valuable one of another kind—to establish the text, both Latin and English, as a basis for future scholarship. With this in mind, the editors could afford perhaps to neglect somewhat the chronology of Milton's intellectual life and the critical interpretation of his ideas. How the Columbia editors disregarded chronology is exemplified in the sixth volume of the

edition, in which appear first the pamphlets of 1659 and 1660, followed by *Of True Religion*, which appeared in 1673, this in turn followed by *Observations on the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels*, which appeared in 1649, *Declaration or Letters Patents*, 1674, and *Accidence Commenc't Grammar*, 1669 This neglect of chronological arrangement in greater or less degree is a critical deficiency of previous scholarship that the present editors of Milton's prose expect to remedy

II

The purpose of the *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* is to present annotated texts of Milton's prose in the ascertainable order of its composition, bringing to bear in notes, prefaces, and volume introductions the accumulated scholarship of the past century To this end an international and inter university board of editors was organized in 1948 to pool the many types of specialized knowledge required in Miltonic studies and resolve all problems of editorial policy It was agreed that the thirty-seven prose works of Milton (aside from doubtful ascriptions or new ones to evolve) could be encompassed in eight volumes, including index, that new translations of almost all the Latin works would be supplied, that to save space for annotations the Latin originals would be omitted, that doubtful works would be treated in appendices, that each volume should have an historical and critical introduction dealing with the period represented by the prose included in the volume These and many other problems were resolved before the first manuscripts were submitted in 1949 It was the Board's responsibility to return manuscripts for revision, often a third or a fourth time, various specialists in the field meanwhile coming to the aid of the several editors on particularly knotty problems Members of the Board have collaborated with the various editors in the enormous task of checking galley proof and page proof At each step in its creation, this book has had the benefit of the collective scrutiny of Milton specialists, no one of whom would have been equal to the task of tracing in minute detail the hundred complex strands of Milton's age, background, ideas, and art

At the end of the labor on Volume I, the editors of both the Board and the volume are convinced anew of the rich rewards, both personal and intellectual, of cooperative scholarship In the range of English life and art, no figure is more persistently controversial than Milton The central intellectual positions that directed his life energies both as artist and thinker are still vehemently affirmed and denied In the realm of ideas the Board therefore welcomed diversity of interpretation within the same volume, the aim has been the inclusion of varying interpretations rather than the imposition of any definitive editorial conclusion It was

felt therefore that only scholars of diverse backgrounds, values, talents, and insights could do justice to the task: the intellectual historian, the rhetorician and student of Renaissance rhetoric, the classicist, the grammarian, the Latinist, the translator, the theologian, the sociologist, the historian, the political scientist, the biographer—the talents of all these were needed to cope with the range of Milton's thought and problems of his art. If a balanced comprehension of his prose were to come at all, the Board felt it could come only through such pooling of scholarly labors. The Editorial Board is perhaps more dissatisfied than any others with the total result of the cooperative task, yet it is convinced that the volume represents a substantial gain not only in Miltonic studies, but also in the achievements and compensations of cooperative research.

For some months in 1948 and 1949 the Board met frequently, appointing specialists to the various tasks ahead, meanwhile revolving from time to time the problem of financing the edition. From the beginning all the scholars associated with the enterprise served without compensation, each editor working and travelling at his own expense. In 1948 and 1949 two foundations, the Littauer and the Bollingen, generously came to the aid of the project, granting sums that assured the printing costs of the first volume. But for these grants, first recommended by Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus of the New School, and Hugh Chisholm of the Bollingen Foundation, the project might have suffered an abortive end. For the sake of future cooperative scholarship, especially in an era of prohibitive printing costs, it is hoped that other foundations will follow their enlightened example. The project is also indebted to hundreds of individual grants of precious time and energy which neither the scholars of the future nor the universities of the present can fittingly compensate.

Among the dozens of scholars in universities and libraries who have assisted in the project, the following have given help much beyond the call of duty: James Holly Hanford, Western Reserve University, William Haller, the Folger Library, Arthur Friedman, University of Chicago, Clayton M. Hall, Rutgers University, George W. Whiting, the Rice Institute, Tullia Gasparrini Leporace, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Rev. Guy Ferrari, O.S.B., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Donald Mackenzie, Princeton University, Jean Bonnerot, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, Robert Schroeder and Frank Orthner. The project owes a special debt of gratitude to Murray Young, for scholarly aid at crucial moments, and to Mrs. Sue M. Foster, custodian of the McAlpin Collection, for five years of patient, imaginative service to the scholars of this volume.

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LIBRARY ABBREVIATIONS

BML	Library of the British Museum
BNV	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venezia
BOD	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CLL	Columbia University Law Library
CUL	Columbia University Library
HCL	Harvard College Library
HHL	Huntington Library
HLH	Houghton Library of Harvard
HDSL	Harvard Divinity School Library
MUL	University of Michigan Library
NEW	Newberry Library, Chicago
NYPL	New York Public Library
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
PUL	Princeton University Library
SOR	Library of the Sorbonne, University of Paris
UCL	University of Chicago Library
UML	University of Minnesota Library
UTSL	Union Theological Seminary Library

ABBREVIATIONS OF PUBLICATIONS

Bohn	Milton, <i>Prose Works</i> (1848-53)
CBT	<i>Certain Briefe Treatises</i> (1641)
CPB	Milton, <i>Commonplace Book</i>
CS	<i>Camden Society Publications</i>
Columbia	Milton, <i>Works</i> (1931-38)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EHA (1544)	<i>Ecclesiasticae Historiae Autores</i> (Paris, 1544)
EHA (1562)	<i>Ecclesiasticae Historiae Autores</i> (Basle, 1562)
ELH	<i>Journal of English Literary History</i>
ERE	<i>Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics</i>
Hale	Milton, <i>Of Reformation</i> , ed Will T Hale (1916)
HSNPL	<i>Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature</i>
HLQ	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
McAlpin	<i>McAlpin Catalogue</i>
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
NED, OED	<i>New English Dictionary</i>
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
SBUV	<i>Studies in Bibliography of the University of Virginia</i>
SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
TCAAS	<i>Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences</i>
TLS	<i>London Times Literary Supplement</i>
Thomason	<i>Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts</i>

CHRONOLOGY OF MILTON'S PROSE WORKS

The chronology below is intended as a useful reference guide, not as a canon of Milton's prose, which will appear in Volume VII of the series, to be edited by J. Milton French and Maurice Kelley. Certain key poetical works have been inserted arbitrarily in the chronology to clarify the sequence of Milton's varied creative labors. Except when otherwise noted, dates refer to times of publication. Starred dates are those found in Thomson.

		<i>References in Masson</i>
Theme on Early Rising	1624? ¹	I, 303
Commonplace Book	1630?–1665? ²	VI, 790
Prolusions	1628?–1632 ³	I, 272
Comus	1637 ⁴	
Lycidas	November, 1637 ⁵	I, 646
A Postscript, in Smectymnus,		
An Answer	March, 1641 ⁶	II, 219
Of Reformation	May, 1641	II, 239
Of Prelatical Episcopacy	July, 1641 ⁷	II, 251
Animadversions	July, 1641	II, 257
The Reason of Church-		
Government	January or February, 1642	II, 362
Apology against a Pamphlet	April, 1642	II, 398
Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce	August 1, 1643 ⁸	III, 47
Doctrine and Discipline		
(second ed.)	February 2, 1644 [*]	III, 65
Of Education	June 5, 1644 [*]	III, 233
The Judgement of Martin Bucer	July 15, 1644 ⁸	III, 255
Areopagitica	November 24, 1644 [*]	III, 277
Tetrachordon	March 4, 1645 [*]	III, 301
Colasterion	March 4, 1645 [*]	III, 301
Poems of Mr. John Milton	January 2, 1646 [*]	III, 451
Character of the Long Parliament	1648? ⁹	VI, 806
History of Britain	1648?–? ¹⁰	VI, 642
The Tenure of Kings and Magis-		
trates	February 13, 1649 [*]	IV, 64
Observations upon the Articles of		
Peace	May 16, 1649 [*]	IV, 99
Eikonoklastes	October 6, 1649 [*]	IV, 133n

¹ Below, p. 1034. First published in 1876

² French, *Life Records*, I, 275. First published in 1876

³ French, I, 101, 131, 148, 151, 165, 179, 267. First published in 1674.

⁴ French, I, 287. Acted September 29, 1634

⁵ Date in Cambridge Manuscript. First published in 1638. ⁶ Below, p. 961.

⁷ Below, p. 619. French, *Life Records*, II, 37.

⁸ Date of entry in *Stationers' Registers*. Thomson copy is dated August 6.

⁹ If Milton's condemnation of the Long Parliament is authentic, he probably wrote it in 1648. It was not published until 1681.

¹⁰ Probable date of composition. Milton had the first four books completed by the spring of 1649. French, *Life Records*, II, 234.

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		<i>References in Masson</i>
Eikonoklastes (second ed.)	1650	IV, 246
The Tenure (second ed.)	February 15, 1650 ¹¹	
A Defence of the English People	February 24, 1651 ¹²	IV, 251
A Defence (reissued)	1651 ¹³	
A Second Defence	May 30, 1654 *	IV, 581
An Apology and Church-Govern- ment (reissued)	1654 ¹⁴	
Defence of Himself	August 8, 1655	V, 198
Raleigh's Cabinet-Council	May, 1658 *	V, 404
A Defence of the English People (reissued)	October, 1658 *	V, 572
Christian Doctrine	1658?–1660? ¹⁵	
A Treatise of Civil Power	February 16, 1659	V, 581
Considerations Touching the Like- liest Means	August, 1659 *	V, 605
Proposals of Certain Expedients	1659?	
Letter to a Friend	October 20, 1659	V, 617
The Readie & Easie Way	March 3, 1660 *	V, 645
The Present Means and Brief De- lineation of a Free Common- wealth (letter to Monck)	March?, 1660 ¹⁶	V, 655
Brief Notes on a Late Sermon	April, 1660	V, 675
The Readie & Easie Way (second ed.)	April, 1660	V, 678
Paradise Lost	August?, 1667	VI, 514
Accidence Commenc't Grammar	1669	VI, 640
History of Britain	1670	VI, 642
History of Britain (reissued)	1671	VI, 647
Paradise Regained	1671 ¹⁷	VI, 651
Samson Agonistes	1671 ¹⁷	VI, 651
Art of Logic	1672	VI, 684
Art of Logic (reissued)	1673	VI, 687
Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism	1673	VI, 690
Poems of Mr. John Milton (second ed.)	1673	VI, 687
Paradise Lost (second ed.)	1674	VI, 713
Familiar Letters	1674	VI, 722
A Declaration, or Letters Patent	July?, 1674	VI, 725
Letters of State	October?, 1676	VI, 792
Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes (second ed.)	1680	VI, 781
A Brief History of Moscovia	1682	VI, 812

¹¹ Thomason, I, 786 French, II, 298.

¹² French, II, 350.

¹³ French, II, 351.

¹⁴ Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, p. 265.

¹⁵ Probable date of composition First published in 1825. Kelley, *This Great Argument*, pp. 8–24.

¹⁶ Probable date of composition.

¹⁷ Registered with the Stationers Company September 20, 1670.

COMPLETE PROSE WORKS

OF

John Milton

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

BEFORE 1641: MAIN CURRENTS IN MILTON'S BACKGROUND

IF Milton was not the last of the Elizabethans, his genius derived from the rich soil of the English Renaissance. When Milton was born, Raleigh was fifty-six, Bacon forty-seven, Shakespeare forty-four. In a creative and broadly intellectual sense Milton was one of this company. His eagerness to know reached back to the same humanistic learning they had studied; his imagination, like theirs, played over the whole range of the world's past. In his reading during the Horton period he attempted indeed a chronological mastery of the history and literature of western Europe. True, the most creative Elizabethans were not much interested in theological speculations. Though one cannot imagine Shakespeare or Raleigh writing *Christian Doctrine* or *The Reason of Church-Government*, Milton shared the fascination they felt for the secular and humanistic past. One distinction of the complete man of the Renaissance was that he rejected no department of knowledge and no pattern of experience as irrelevant to his own development. As Raleigh was explorer, chemist, poet, historian, and Bacon was essayist, scientist, philosopher, historian, statesman, so Milton was not satisfied to be confined by one narrow vocation: He looked upon himself as orator, poet, pamphleteer, theologian, teacher, historian. From the Elizabethan tradition Milton caught, too, his sense of potential greatness. Though not gifted with Shakespeare's genius of insight into all stages and moods of men, and essentially unaware of the endless potentialities of the scientific method, Milton eventually aspired to greatness with the same fervor that his predecessors possessed. Like them, he was to place himself accurately among the select company of England's great, nourishing year by year his ambition for an immortality of fame. Like Bacon and Shakespeare, Milton wanted a material, secular immortality in the lives of the generations to come. In still another sense Milton placed himself

among the Elizabethans: His hero, like that of Spenser, was the magnanimous man of the *Ethics* restrained and guided by Biblical precept. Sir Henry Vane and Lord Brooke were his ideal men rather than John Pym or Oliver Cromwell.¹

But equally strong in Milton's background was the impetus of Protestant individualism tinged with the Calvinist rigor of an early teacher, Thomas Young. Unlike Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Raleigh, Milton distrusted from early youth the spontaneous release of the senses. At the same time he applied systematically the Protestant principles of John Foxe to the English historical scene, distrusting the bishops and all their works. Had he been born a contemporary of Shakespeare, he might have lampooned the Puritans, as had Ben Jonson in his plays. But Milton was born late enough to take sectarian dissent, specifically Presbyterian dissent, as seriously as did Thomas Young or William Prynne. Puritanism in Milton's day was many things: denial of sensory joys; sober devotion to labor; strict observance of the Sabbath; opposition to bishops and clerical garb; hatred of the Roman Catholic tradition; rejection of Arminian free will; opposition to the divine right of kings; conviction of personal holiness; a sense of kinship with God's purposes; preference of justice to charity; the right of each man to interpret the Bible; expectation of an approaching millennium; distrust of beauty in color, music, incense, ritualistic movement, the symbols of the Anglican service; rejection of the pagan classics. It is impossible, therefore, to call Milton a Puritan without tracing the pattern and describing the color of his creed.² This much, however, is certain, that his desire to become a pamphleteer to reform society came from the stream of Puritan influence in his background. Such liberal histories as that of John Speed and the reformer's zeal in John Foxe had a profound effect on Milton's intellectual outlook. Certain it is that without the Puritan impetus of individualism in interpretation of the Bible and its relation to the problems of the citizen, Milton would not have given over twenty years to the role of a reformer. Like Herbert, Vaughan, Jeremy Taylor,

¹ Milton was proud of his friendship with Sir Henry Wotton and the family of the Earl of Bridgewater, for whose entertainment *Comus* had been performed at Ludlow Castle September 29, 1634. Milton's "Arcades" was also performed for the earl's family, probably in 1632.

² For illuminating discussions of Puritanism in the Miltonic backgrounds, see William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 173 ff., 288 ff.; A. S. P. Woodhouse, *Puritanism and Liberty* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1941), pp. 35-45; Arthur M. Barker, *Milton and the Puritan Dilemma* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942), pp. xxi-xxiv, 19-47; Douglas Bush, *English Literature of the Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 7-13, 359 ff.

or Thomas Browne, he might have retired to a country place and written religious poems and dramas in comparative obscurity. In Milton the reforming vigor of Protestantism took such deep hold that he could not escape it, even to realize the Elizabethan dream of an immortality of fame.³

1. ALL SERIOUS TO LEARN AND KNOW

John Milton was born in London on December 9, 1608, the son of a prosperous scrivener and money lender, whose compositions for the organ still survive.¹ Of the poet's five brothers and sisters, only two, Anne and Christopher, survived infancy. "My father was distinguished by the undeviating integrity of his life," wrote Milton; "my mother by the esteem in which she was held, and the alms which she bestowed. My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious, that, from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed before midnight. This primarily led to the loss of my sight."² When Milton was about eight, he entered St. Paul's School in London,³ from which he was graduated at sixteen still an Anglican with Puritan leanings,⁴ fired with ambition to become a great man.⁵ In 1625 Milton matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he spent the next seven years, taking the degree of

³ Cf. Elbert N. S. Thompson, *Essays on Milton* (New Haven and London, 1914), pp. 43, 45. "Side by side with this liberal humanism there developed in Milton a severe, though cultured, Puritanism. . . . He was humanistic enough in temperament to agree with those Greek philosophers who taught that virtue without knowledge is impossible. But in subscribing to this tenet he would also insist on its converse, that knowledge without virtue is of no avail. His whole attitude toward life was determined by the close mingling of the two supposedly antithetic movements, Puritanism and humanism." On the same theme see Sir Herbert Grierson's perceptive study, *Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1929), pp. 281-90.

¹ J. Milton French, *Life Records of John Milton* (4 vols, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949-), I, 1-12; David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (7 vols, Cambridge, 1875-94), I, 31 ff.; Ernest Brennecke, Jr., *John Milton the Elder and His Music* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938).

² *The Second Defence of the English People*, tr. Fellowes (Latin: 1654, p. 82); John S. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 17; French, *Life Records*, I, 20 ff.

³ For a thorough account of Milton's studies at St. Paul's, see Donald L. Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

⁴ At this time Milton was destined to take orders in the Anglican church. The rigorous Presbyterian outlook of his early tutor, Thomas Young, was not yet Milton's own.

⁵ James H. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne* (New York, 1925); *John Milton, Englishman* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949), pp. 3-20.

M A. in 1632.⁶ Here he read widely among the great books, continued his studies in Greek and Latin, learning to debate and converse in Latin and being required, according to the custom of the day, to argue several sides of the same question. That this training in disputation took strong hold of Milton is apparent in his poetry as well as in his prose, though his bent toward theology prevented him from achieving, as had Bacon, a rigorous scientific outlook. At Cambridge Milton was not popular among the average students, who named him "the Lady of Christ's" for his chastity and his exceedingly fair complexion. "Why do I seem to them too little of a man?" said Milton hotly. ". . . It is, I suppose, because I have never brought myself to toss off great bumpers like a prize-fighter, or because my hand has never grown horny with driving the plough, or because I was never a farm hand at seven or laid myself down full length in the midday sun; or last perhaps because I have never showed my virility in the way these brothelleis do."⁷ Among serious students of creative and literary bent, Milton was an acknowledged leader, finding himself respected by Fellows of Christ's College, he wrote, "above any of my equals."⁸

2. IDEAS AND SOURCES: THE *COMMONPLACE BOOK*

After his Cambridge days Milton began a series of private studies that remained unfinished when he wrote *Of Reformation* in 1641. Though the *Commonplace Book* in which he recorded the sources, ideas, and impressions of his reading Milton probably started in his college years (and continued until 1665), he did not set down numerous notes until the period of 1636-1639 and 1640-1643. Although more than half the entries fall between 1640 and 1643, at the beginning of Milton's pamphleteering career, he used the *Commonplace Book* to keep sources and ideas for their general intellectual value, not for specific polemic ends. As Hanford has shown, the *Commonplace Book* is an invaluable record of Milton's intellectual unfolding, of his early ideas that recurred so persistently, expanded and reinforced, in his prose works. Milton's program for himself was to begin with the Greek and Roman classics, then to examine the church fathers, and so on up to his own time, unraveling the history and concepts of western Europe in chronological clarification. As *Comus* is the key to Milton's early ideas of chastity and virtue, later to be expanded in *Paradise Lost*, so the *Commonplace Book* (embracing some ninety authors) is the key to Milton's early conclusions about

⁶ Masson, I, 87-288; French, *Life Records*, I, 93-271.

⁷ Prolusion VI, below, p. 284.

⁸ *Apology against a Pamphlet*, below, p. 884.

church and state, kingship, marriage, polygamy, valor, warfare, stage plays, usury, and other topics, including censorship, avarice, suicide, the permissibility of lying and harsh language in defense of the truth or one's country.

From the pages of the *Commonplace Book* emerges the portrait of a serious, disciplined young man of insatiable curiosity, rejecting no learning as irrelevant to his life plan, consciously steeping himself in the accumulated learning of his age. In his jottings Milton gives no hint that he regards his genius as Shakespearean, the gift of nature; rather, by the mere selection of ideas, Milton shows that he felt his resources for greatness to lie in patient discipline, assimilation of knowledge, and the slow ripening of his faculties. Significantly he quotes Lactantius on the virtue of patience in good men not otherwise distinguished.¹ In the pages of the *Commonplace Book* one hears no chuckles or guffaws: Milton is serious and purposeful in every entry. Like most Puritans he approves of abstemious habits, citing Tertullian's attack on gluttony and Sir Philip Sidney's castigation of healths in his *Arcadia*. As Cromwell was to do after him, Milton believed (as shown earlier in *Elegy IV*) that victory in war is won by God's intervention on behalf of the righteous. Like Cromwell, too, Milton agrees with Clement and Tasso that a good man may tell a lie for the comfort of a sufferer or the safety of his country. Good men like Luther may use bitter language on behalf of the truth. Though his father as a scrivener dealt constantly with legal documents, Milton already shows an aversion, like Lilburne and Overton in later years, to the breed of lawyers, and to the law itself as "norman gibbrish."² In all these opinions Milton was perhaps representative of enlightened Puritan citizens, earnest, humorless, disciplined, distrustful of the senses, wary of the laws by which the aristocracy maintained their economic substance and added to their wealth through patents and monopolies.

Yet at this point, as the *Commonplace Book* pictures him, Milton diverged from the Puritan tradition in several startling directions. In a section on music he cites Ignatius as the originator of antiphonal singing, Arezzo as the inventor of modern singing techniques, and France as the first country of western Europe to use organs.³ When one recalls that Henry Burton in 1641 enjoined Parliament to cast organs out of the

¹ I am here following James H. Hanford, "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies," *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), pp. 251 ff.

² Tertullian, in *Commonplace Book*, this edition (hereafter cited as *CPB*), p. 13 (*CPB* page numbers); Sidney, *CPB*, p. 17; Lactantius, *CPB*, p. 5; Clement and Tasso, *CPB*, pp. 71, 42; Luther, *CPB*, p. 76, law and lawyers, *CPB*, pp. 179, 189.

³ P. 61.

churches, one sees at once the gap between the younger Milton and the narrowness of the tradition that could not imprison him, or such wide-ranging minds as Williams, Walwyn, and Winstanley. In the field of intellectual liberty Milton also showed a reliance on individual quests for truth, later embodied in *Areopagitica*, in a form much too revolutionary for the thousands of rigid and powerful Presbyterians. In an entry evidently made in 1641 he cites a crucial passage from Francis Bacon's *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires*: "Forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flyeth up in the faces of them that seek to chok and tread it out, whereas a book authorized is thought to be but the language of the time."⁴ In the field of literature it was customary for many Puritans to censure men who steeped themselves in the pagan classics, as they were to censure William Walwyn years later in *Walwyn's Wiles* (1649). Milton was so keenly aware of this Puritan attitude that he justifies the reading of pagan literature by the example and precept of the church fathers.⁵ All his life he was to feel within himself an uneasy wavering between Jerusalem and Athens, Calvin and Shakespeare. The reading of poetry as indispensable inspiration to virtuous action Milton thought necessary to justify with a quotation from Basil.⁶ It is true that Milton praises only serious poetry; he does not even mention Homer, Shakespeare, or Aristophanes. In the longest passage of self-assertion in the *Commonplace Book* Milton justifies tragic drama against the testimony of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius: "Although the corruptions in the theater deservedly should be removed," writes Milton, "it is by no means necessary for that reason that all practice of the dramatic arts should be completely done away with; on the contrary it would rather be absurd beyond measure. For what in all philosophy is more important or more sacred or more exalted than a tragedy rightly produced, what more useful for seeing at a single view the events and changes of human life?"⁷ In such an intellectual position Milton in the *Commonplace Book* diverged sharply from the tradition of William Prynne, Thomas Edwards, Henry Burton, and their predecessors among the church fathers who repudiated pagan spectacles while dramatizing in colorful churches the suspense, pageantry, and mystery of Christ's agony on the cross. Milton

⁴ P. 184. The original of this remarkable pamphlet was a manuscript unprinted until 1641, written by Bacon in 1589. *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England*. It may be conveniently examined in James Spedding, *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon* (7 vols., London, 1861), I, 74-95. See below, pp. 23-24.

⁵ CPB, p. 53.

⁶ CPB, p. 57.

⁷ CPB, p. 241.

had drunk too deeply of the pagan learning of Greece and Rome and the secular glory of Renaissance Italy to accept the full rigor of the Puritan code.

In the *Commonplace Book* one finds as we have seen a number of facets of Milton's secular, humanistic outlook as opposed to Biblical or sectarian. One of these positions is his early distrust of the professional clergy, castigated in *Lycidas* as "blind mouths" and now echoed in two notes from Dante, one censuring the avarice of the clergy and one protesting against the union of church and state as destructive to each, condemning the Catholic Church of Dante's day as "confounding in herself two powers."⁸ Dante's assertion in *De Monarchia* that "the authority of a king does not depend upon the Pope,"⁹ Milton also notes with satisfaction. In his entries on the clergy's gradual appropriation of marriage rites and divorce procedure, Milton clearly showed his grievance against the clergy for diverting these matters from their proper private and civil jurisdiction. In a number of places in the *Commonplace Book* Milton entered private sentiments that he was not to make public record of until some years later. For example, from his reading of Holinshed, he concluded that the clergy were "commonly the corrupters of kingly authority turning it to tyrannie by thire wicked flatteries even in the pulpit."¹⁰ Nevertheless, in his first two pamphlets of 1641, *Of Reformation* and *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, Milton persistently pictured the bishops as a hindrance to the will of the monarch, now and then recalling, it is true, that the clergy had by their advice alienated from the king the affections of the people. Not until *Animadversions* did Milton break into a forthright accusation of Episcopal incitement to royal tyranny. When Hall asks (of the bishops), "No good offices done for the public?," Milton answers, "Yes, the good office of reducing monarchie to tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the King."¹¹ It is apparent from many *Commonplace Book* entries that Milton's early dislike of the clergy was substantiated in 1636-1640 not only by his private reading of Severus, Socrates, Cedrenus, Sozomen, Eusebius, but also by his review of English history in Bede, Malmesbury, Stow, Holinshed, Hayward, Speed, and Camden, all of this evidence grist to his polemic mill in the bitter grindings to come in *Of Reformation*.

In his *Commonplace Book* entries on kingship, Milton anticipated with unexpected fullness ideas he later incorporated into the *Tenure of*

⁸ CPB, pp 112, 197

⁹ CPB, p 182

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ See below, p. 732.

Kings and Magistrates and *A Defence of the English People*. Many of the notes that suggest his antagonism to kings stem from his reading of Holinshed, Speed, and Camden. Milton repeats Camden's sentiment that a king should take pains "not to reduce his people to poverty by taxes; since 'need, if anything, plunges the English into revolt.'" ¹² In Milton's mind Henry VII, according to Speed's version, obtained large sums of money from the people on pretense of fighting wars he did not wage. Milton's conclusion is that such tricky methods Parliament should take pains to prevent. He relates with approval an anecdote from Holinshed of the time of Henry VIII, when the Duke of Norfolk was sent to quell an uprising in Suffolk. When the duke asked who was the captain of the rebels, they replied "that Poverty was thire captain with his cozin Necessity." ¹³ Even in these earlier years, to Milton a king was a king only as long as his character and actions corresponded to his superior position. Milton quotes from Basil to define kingship: "The duty of an emperor is to do good, and when he is lacking in beneficence, he seems to counterfeit the recognized role of emperor." ¹⁴ That the king's power was always in Milton's concept a limited one appears from several entries from Holinshed, one of which runs as follows: "Wee say all is the princes, that is all is his to defend, but not to spoile." ¹⁵ Again, "No king can give away his k[ing]dom without consent of the whole state." ¹⁶ From references to Holinshed Milton takes pains to point out how King William the Conqueror, Henry I, and Richard I promised upon coronation to obey the laws of the realm, and that King John promised "to abolish the unjust laws of the Normans and to restore the laws of K Edward." ¹⁷ In the same vein run Milton's entries from Sir Thomas Smith. A king who breaks the laws or makes other laws without the people's consent or takes away the wealth of the people—such a one is no king but a tyrant. ¹⁸ Milton then quotes Aristotle as to the definition of a tyrant, a concept he was later to use in justifying the execution of Charles I: "The tyrant seeks what benefits himself, the king what benefits his subjects." ¹⁹ Not only does Milton in the *Commonplace Book* show his aversion to absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings; he also shows his willingness to renounce monarchy altogether in favor of a commonwealth. From Machiavelli's *Art of War* he summarizes his

¹² CPB, p. 220.

¹³ CPB, p. 221.

¹⁴ CPB, p. 182.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ CPB, p. 179.

¹⁸ CPB, p. 182.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

conception in the following words: "A commonwealth is preferable to a monarchy: 'because more excellent men come from a commonwealth than from a kingdom; because in the former virtue is honored most of the time and is not feared as in the kingdom.'" ²⁰ In one of his earliest entries from Severus, Milton strikes the same note: "Sulpicius Severus says that the name of kings has always been hateful to free peoples, and he condemns the action of the Hebrews in choosing to exchange their freedom for servitude." ²¹

Still another field of thought in which Milton made numerous notes from his private reading was that of marriage and divorce. He sets down with satisfaction Eusebius' proof of the apostles' marriages, also the marriages of primitive bishops. In the Council of Trent the German theologians upheld the concept of the marriage of the clergy. In another note on the same topic, Milton writes as follows: "On why papists forbid marriage to the clergy see the shrewd reasons of the Council of Trent." ²² Under "Concubinage" Milton records that some of the early martyrs, according to the book on celibacy ascribed to Cyprian, "had women in their homes." An arresting notation agrees with Raleigh's opinion about the Congo natives: "To forbidd Polygamy to all hath more obstinat rigor in it then wisdom." ²³ Milton notes that in the time of Hugh Capet in France no distinction in inheritances was made between bastards and legitimate children; nor did such a distinction on other grounds obtain in Italy. Even after the Britons had been converted to Christianity, according to Gildas, the Britons had several wives and on this account were censured by Gildas. In a curious note from Thuanus Milton records that when the Protestants of Orleans punished adultery by death, the courtiers were so enraged "that they vowed they would be, on account of it, always estranged from the Protestants." ²⁴ Already to Milton a reason other than adultery for divorce was loveless coition: "The reason . . . is that, as physicians and almost all others acknowledge, [copulation] without love is cold, unpleasant, unfruitful, harmful, bestial, abominable . . . Therefore it is intolerable that either one or at least the innocent one should be bound unwillingly by so monstrous a fetter." ²⁵ In all these entries, proud as he was of his chastity, it is plain that Milton has rejected the usual sexual code of his Puritan contemporaries. Already he gives hints not only of his later

²⁰ *CPB*, p. 177.

²¹ *CPB*, p. 182.

²² *CPB*, p. 109.

²³ *CPB*, pp. 110, 114.

²⁴ *CPB*, pp. 110, 114, 115.

²⁵ *CPB*, p. 116.

position on divorce, but also of his approval of polygamy, to be defended at length in *Christian Doctrine*.

In Milton's life the *Commonplace Book* is a double-faced mirror reflecting the youth as well as the pamphleteering thinker of the years to come. The early influences at St. Paul and Cambridge, the books, patterns, and friends of his youth, inevitably dictated the bias or enthusiasm, the resentment or self-righteousness, the psychological insight, the widening circles of Milton's curiosity, that the *Commonplace Book* sets before us in rich diversity. No other work except *Paradise Lost* reflects so many burning facets of Milton's mind; and no other work anticipates so pointedly Milton's revolutionary ideas of *Areopagitica*, *Doctrine and Discipline*, *The Tenure*, and *The Readie & Easie Way*.

3. AN IMMORTALITY OF FAME

Meanwhile, from early childhood, Milton had written both English verse and Latin prose of some literary promise. As early as fifteen, he had paraphrased some of the Psalms. At seventeen he had written "On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough" and several elegies in Latin, the first to his friend, Charles Diodati. At Cambridge he had prepared oratorical exercises in Latin, his first serious efforts in prose. Milton's early training in prose was unfortunately concentrated on Latin rather than on English, whereas from first efforts his poetic energies flowed naturally in English, growing each year in intensity of phrase and originality of image. The successive stages in no poet's growth are so clear to us as those of Milton. At twenty-one he composed "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," at twenty-two his first English sonnets, and probably at twenty-three "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." In 1634, two years after his graduation from Cambridge, Milton's masque, *Comus*, was performed at Ludlow Castle. In *Comus* we feel for the first time a crystallization of some of Milton's key ideas. But with English prose he was still ill at ease; his sentences were often dominated by Latin rhythms. Even his personal letters he composed in Latin. Always, except in moments of inspired self-expression, prose was to remain his "left hand," full of intense imagery but less pointed and nimble than the style of Dryden and Hobbes, less pithy than that of Bacon.

After leaving Cambridge, Milton settled upon his father's estate at Horton, where he studied quietly for the next five years, spending his time mainly with the Greek and Latin authors, sometimes going into London "either for the purpose of buying books," he wrote, "or for that of learning something new in Mathematics or in Music, in which

sciences I then delighted."¹ Having given up the ministry, "Church-
 outed," as he wrote afterward, "by the Prelats,"² Milton now turned
 all his energies to preparation for a literary career. This was a life pur-
 pose that from Cambridge days burned more and more fiercely in his
 meditations. He intended "no middle flight"³ but a sweep into the
 empyrean of choice spirits. "Do you ask what I am meditating?" he
 wrote to his friend Diodati. "By the help of Heaven, an immortality of
 fame. I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly."⁴ This image
 of future greatness, which Milton said was "seated in the breast of every
 true scholar,"⁵ was his prerequisite to action. In the five years he spent
 at Horton Milton produced no prose of worth except letters.⁶ Here he
 wrote *Comus* and *Lycidas*, first fulfillments of his image of greatness. To
 the average young poet these five years of uninterrupted leisure, to-
 gether with the seven years at Cambridge, might have brought flabbiness
 and deterioration. But in these twelve years of leisure, given to him, as
 he wrote, "out of the sweat of other men,"⁷ Milton was preparing him-
 self for his great life work, to "leave something so written to aftertimes,
 as they should not willingly let it die."⁸ Unlike Shakespeare, who seems
 to have sprung to full stature in a few crucial years, Milton matured
 slowly and surely, inspired by his great predecessors of the Elizabethan
 period, steeping his mind in the accumulated learning of his age, mean-
 while filled with Puritan fervor for the making of a better world.

4. WISE ONLY TO MINE OWN ENDS

In 1638, at twenty-nine, Milton sought to enlarge his education
 by a trip to the continent.¹ For this experiment Milton's father provided
 the funds; up to this time Milton had not worked for a living a single day.
 Carrying a letter of introduction from Sir Henry Wotton, Milton in late
 April or early May arrived in Paris, where he met the English ambassa-
 dor and Hugo Grotius, then serving as Swedish ambassador to the French
 court. Crossing to Italy, Milton visited Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, Pisa,
 Florence, Siena, Naples, Rome, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, talking in

¹ *Second Defence*. Masson, I, 514-686.

² See p. 823.

³ *Paradise Lost*, I, 14.

⁴ Letter of September 23, 1637. See below, p. 327.

⁵ *Elegy VI*.

⁶ See below, pp. 307 ff.

⁷ *Church-Government*, below, p. 804.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 810. Cf. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself*, pp. 3-27, on Milton's life plan.

¹ Masson, I, 686-780; French, *Life Records*, I, 366-421.

each city with poets and intellectuals, finding him-elf at home in the diminishing glories of the Italian renaissance and the backgrounds of Roman literature. Among Italian friends Milton found fresh assurance for his image of greatness in the respect they showed, "above what was lookt for," for some of his early poems.² Visiting Geneva, he talked daily with the theologian John Diodati, uncle of his friend Charles. Though extremely sensitive to feminine charm and strongly attracted to Italian women, Milton was still proud of his chastity and his resistance to the relative sexual freedom of continental cities: "I never once deviated from the paths of integrity and virtue and perpetually reflected that, though my conduct might escape the notice of men, it could not elude the inspection of God."³ This self-conscious emphasis on sexual restraint was combined in Milton with another strain in his Puritan upbringing: the fervent desire for reform of the Anglican Church, especially the judicial and penal codes enforcing conformity. Though intending to visit Athens, he cut his trip short to return to England: "When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home."⁴ Despite this resolution, Milton stayed on several more months in Italy, arriving in England in late July, 1639.

5. SOMETHING SO WRITTEN TO AFTERTIMES

When Milton returned to England, the first "bishops' war" against the Scots had just come to an end. The crisis he expected in civil affairs still not crystallized, Milton was free for the time being to plan and dream again of a creative immortality to which praise by his friends abroad had again encouraged him: "I began thus farre to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joyn'd with a strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."⁵ Further, said Milton, "what the greatest and choyceest wits of *Athens*, *Rome*, or modern *Italy*, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my propor-

² *Church-Government*, below, p. 809.

³ *Second Defence*, tr. Fellowes, Bohn, I, 257.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 256.

⁵ *Church-Government*, below, p. 810.

tion with this over and above of being a Christian, might do for mine."² His closest friend, Charles Diodati, having died in his absence, Milton wrote *Epitaphium Damonis*, a Latin elegy less memorable than *Lycidas*, but symptomatic of Milton's ripening ambition to attempt a work of epic magnitude. He made jottings of subjects, ninety-nine in all, over sixty dealing with the Scriptures and thirty-eight with the history of his country.³ Already the name *Paradise Lost* occurs in the list of subjects. The beginnings of Milton's thought about the theme of *Samson Agonistes* are suggested in two jottings about Samson's life. What prolonged thought Milton gave to the selection of a subject for a great poem is suggested in a passage from *The Reason of Church-Government* in which he defends religion and virtue as poetic themes. "Lastly," he wrote, "whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in vertu amiable, or grave . . . all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse to paint out and describe."⁴ This aim, says Milton, of presenting religion and virtue in a lofty poetic manner is especially appropriate as an antidote to the frothy outpourings of "libidinous and ignorant Poetasters." From this long survey of poetic themes carried on in London during late 1639 and 1640, it is apparent that Milton was hugging his great ambition to his heart more confidently than ever before. Milton was now thirty-two. Aware as he was of the crosscurrents of conflict in the life around him, he soon found it imperative that he relinquish the life of a poet for that of a pamphleteer. In so doing, Milton revealed his conviction that in a time of crisis a poet must be a man of action, yielding the creative life to the urgency of patriotic need, a need in Milton's mind identified with the survival of English Protestantism.

² *Church-Government*, below, p. 812.

³ Masson, II, 105. Masson has cogent reasons (II, 117-19) for assigning the topic jottings of the Trinity College manuscript to 1639-1640.

⁴ *Church-Government*, below, p. 817.

CHAPTER II

ELIZABETHAN WARNINGS AND PARALLELS: HOOKER, BACON, AND HALL

1. PURITAN RESISTANCE: INDIVIDUALISM AND CONFORMITY

THE conflict into which Milton injected his energies in 1640–1641 had been growing in intensity since the accession of Elizabeth: a conflict in part between the growing urban classes caught up in a whirlwind of Protestant individualism and the aristocratic classes devoted to the land, the king, and the ancient church forms. With each spread of Protestant individualism, occasioned often by a shifting of citizenry from inland to seaboard, from country to city, from poverty to sense of economic worth, from illiteracy to pamphlet propaganda, from England to Holland or the New World, a new demand sprang up for the purging of the Anglican state church of its Catholic ancestry in liturgy, symbolism, and sacraments.¹ England was then a country of three to four million people, with nine thousand parish ministers, two archbishops, and twenty-four bishops, divided among themselves in their conceptions of reformation. To the widening differentiation of religious opinion, Elizabeth had opposed the vision of religious unity and the tactics of repression. In her proclamation of December 27, 1558, she had forbidden any minister to depart from the established service or to interpret the Gospel of the day.² When Robert Browne's followers, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, resisted her injunctions, the dual act of heresy and treason brought them to the gibbet. "This know, Madam," said Penry, in the petition that spelled his doom, "that he that hath made you and me, hath as great authority to send me of his message unto you, as he had to place you over me."³ When John Robinson wrote, "Every one is made a king, priest, and prophet, not only to himself but to every other, yea to the whole," he spoke the mind of the Puritan reformers from left to right: each individual, by reading the Bible, could gain access to God's truth. In the expansion of this Bible-

¹ For an analysis of the effects of Protestant individualism, see the introduction to Don M. Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1941).

² *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, ed. Henry Gee and William J. Hardy (New York, 1896), p. 416.

³ Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, p. 22.

reading creed lay the migrations to New England, the resistance of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick to Laud's commands, the fanaticism of Lilburne, and ultimately the revolutionary zeal of the Levellers and the Diggers. How many of the nine thousand parish priests wanted abolition of the bishops or a completely purified ritual? Masson's estimate was that four thousand may have been in agreement with Laud, that no more than thirty-five hundred desired moderate changes. Perhaps fifteen hundred in all wanted Episcopacy destroyed root and branch. In the judgment of Thomas Hobbes no more than a thousand ministers of the state church were Presbyterian by persuasion, though these were fanatically fearless. Not only had they advocated Bible reading (in Hobbes's judgment a divisive and dangerous force); they had "publicly taught rebellion in the pulpits." The Presbyterians, asserted Hobbes, had no idea of the revolutionary repercussions to come, no idea that their own intellectual method would give birth to thousands of sectaries, the very "brood of their own hatching."⁴ For the maintenance of uniformity the Anglican church lacked the genius of the Catholic. Once the Anglican church began to yield to the batterings of Calvinism (represented strongly in the House of Commons), it opened the way to revolutionary forces by which no one in Milton's own generation could remain untouched, least of all one of his fearless and intense imagination.

In its impositions of restraints on the growing Puritan classes, the Anglican church was the victim of a divided secular policy. Acting as head of his own church, appointing the two archbishops, and they in turn the twenty-four bishops, the king expected the church to comply with his theological convictions, not the Parliament's. Jeremy Taylor spoke the mind of royalist Anglicans when he wrote that it "were natural and consonant to the first justice that kings should defend the rights of the church, and the church advance the honour of kings."⁵ In response to the Millenary Petition in 1603 (signed by about 750 ministers, pleading for relaxing of requirements of the cross in baptism, the cap and surplice, bowing at the name of Jesus, and more Sabbath observance, more interpretation according to the priest's conscience), James identified defiance of bishops with defiance of the king.⁶ A Presbyterian Church, he said, "it agreeth as well with monarchy, as God and the

⁴ *Behemoth*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. Sir William Molesworth (11 vols., London, 1839), VI, 333.

⁵ *The Whole Works*, ed. Reginald Heber and Charles Eden (10 vols., London, 1883), V, 11.

⁶ Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 509; Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain*, X, xx (3 vols., London, 1837), III, 188. The whole illuminating debate at Hampton Court is recorded by Fuller.

devil." His parting threat to Rainolds was a memorable prophecy of events to come: "Once you [the bishops] were out and they [the Presbyterians] in, I know what would become of my supremacy; for, 'No bishop, no king!' . . . I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land."⁷ Upon his accession in 1625, Charles followed in his father's footsteps, resisting the sentiment of the rising commercial classes and many country gentry expressed in Parliaments less and less willing, with each passing decade, to grant either the theory or the practice of the king's divine right. In *Eikon Basilike* (1649) would be stated succinctly Charles' undeviating image of his royal priesthood: "I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitances of Ministers tongues."⁸ Each sect that defied Laud's commands exhibited not only heresy to the church, but treason to the king. The king had estimated the stiff-backed Presbyterians correctly, like Hobbes after him: They did eventually preach sedition from the pulpits, holding the king the fearful secular arm of the hated bishops.

2. HOOKER ON THE DYNAMICS OF PURITANISM

How fully agitation in the reign of Elizabeth presaged the dilemmas of 1640-1649 is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the first four books of which appeared in 1593. Born in 1554, Hooker had grown up at Oxford under the tutelage of Dr. John Rainolds, who was to represent the Puritan cause at the Hampton Court Conference. By nature sanguine and temperate, Hooker "was never known to be angry," wrote Walton, "or passionate, or extreme . . . bore the burthen of the day with patience."¹ He possessed not only a mind capacious and exact in memory, but a disconcerting perception of the psychology and ideological armament of his Puritan opponents. Toward them no man of his age was a fairer antagonist; no man appealed more persistently to reason or less often to prejudice. In the copiousness of his theological learning Hooker surpassed both the lawyer Bacon and Hooker's junior, Joseph Hall. In writing skill, though he was unequal to Bacon or Milton, he wrote

⁷ Fuller, *Church History* (1837), III, 189.

⁸ February 9, 1649. C59a24(1), pp. 147-48, pamphlet listed in *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661*. (2 vols., London: British Museum, 1908), I, 722. (Hereafter referred to as Thomason.)

¹ *The Works of . . . Hooker*, ed. John Keble (3 vols., Oxford, 1888), I, 15.

with unusual spice and freshness on abstruse topics, possessing a rare faculty for apt and pithy illustration. True, in speaking of the Anglican church ideal, he often confused it with the actual. Unlike Bacon, he recommended no reforms, believing in the justice of his institution and the persuasive reasonableness of his words. "There will come a time," he wrote, "when three words uttered with charitie and meekenesse shall receive a farre more blessed reward, then three thousand volumes written with disdainefull sharpnesse of wit."² If any man could stem the tide of Puritanism, especially any man unaware of its economic and political aspects making their weight felt inexorably in the House of Commons, that man was Richard Hooker. One reads the *Polity* with unceasing profit and delight. Again and again one goes to him to comprehend more fully the controversial outposts of the Puritan Revolution. Several decades later Milton himself was to write a *Polity* in *The Reason of Church-Government*, a book grounded on Milton's interpretation of Scripture only, a work ignoring the sensory man and unilluminated like the *Polity* with the vast secular learning of Milton's mind.

In the *Polity* Hooker contradicted the Puritan assumption that Scripture was the only guide either to man's conduct or his construction of church government. Beyond and antecedent to Scripture was another source of truth, the law of nature, defined by Hooker as "an infallible knowledge imprinted in the mindes of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing humane actions are comprehended, and conclusions derived from them."³ Even without Scripture the law of nature acts in man not only to spur him toward perfection but also to show him his obligations to other men living in the same society; with the law of nature God "illuminateth every one which cometh into the world." An action by the law of nature was any "that being proposed no man can reject it as unreasonable or unjust."⁴ No other writer in English literature is so full or consistent on the law of nature as Hooker; beside his analysis Milton's is a curious variable, at times deteriorating into a justification of positions he formerly had rejected.⁵ But the law of nature comprehended more than infallible moral judgment. It included for Hooker (who derived it from Aquinas and Augustine) man's capacity to reason, to contemplate, to comprehend the workings of his own mind and body as well as of plants and animals and stars, resulting in scientific judgments as well as moral ones. The law of nature incorpo-

² *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, preface, II (1611, sig. B5v).

³ *Polity*, II, viii, 3 (1611, pp. 79-80).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, viii, 9 (1611, pp. 18, 21).

⁵ See Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 331-32.

rated means as well as ends to man's material and spiritual happiness. Was not this gift of reason, asked Hooker, derived from God? Yet the Puritans disparaged natural reason, relying totally upon the searching of Scripture for the making of civil as well as ecclesiastical laws. With the gift of reason men made their own laws, laws for society and church, changing them and making new ones according to their varying needs. The "question is," wrote Hooker, "whether the light of reason be so pernicious, that in devising lawes for the Church, men ought not by it to search what may be fit and convenient."⁶ Reason directed man to use ceremonies, ceremonies changing with times and needs, it is true, but incorporating movements and gestures. Why was this? Because for the edification of the church, a deeper impression was made by movement than by speech. The eye of man holds what the ear lets pass. In the nature of man, asserted Hooker, there no doubt lay a reason for the need of this phenomenon of gesture and movement; there was no nation that did not require at solemn moments "a visible solemnity." Thus did Hooker unerringly point to movement and gesture as the strength of Roman and Anglican ritual, a strength the Puritans were to reject as a compromise with the sensory man and the Roman custom. The law of nature in a moral sense was identical with the moral law of the Scriptures; but the reason of man was free to revise the ceremonial law to meet the needs of his time and country.

In the perspective of later centuries Hooker's broad charity toward other faiths and erring man threw into sharp focus the harshness of Puritan theology. Of the Roman Catholics he wrote that he would "gladly acknowledge them to be of the familie of Jesus Christ."⁷ He pointed out justly that Calvin in a "crazed" judgment had decreed that the children of Catholic parents could not be baptized into the Protestant faith.⁸ In one of his early sermons at the Temple Church, Hooker had created an uproar among the Puritan faction by saying, "I doubt not but *God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers living in popish superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly.*"⁹ The concept of such ignorance as a justification of forgiveness was anathema to the average Puritan. When we do evil against our wills, "as if the winde should drive a

⁶ *Polity*, III, viii, 18 (1611, p. 105).

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, i, 10 (1611, p. 86). This passage is quoted in the extreme tolerationist pamphlets *A New Petition of the Papists* (September, 1641), E169(7), Thomason, I, 31, and *The Humble Petition of the Brownists* (November, 1641), E178(10), Thomason, I, 45. The two pamphlets are identical except for the title pages.

⁸ *Polity*, III, i, 11 (1611, p. 87).

⁹ "A Learned Discourse of Justification," in *Polity* (Everyman's Library, 2 vols., London and New York, 1907), I, 26.

feather in the aire," asked Hooker, is this not to be pardoned? A man may be blinded by poor judgment to will an evil action; he may be blinded by fury. To Hooker it was evident that "one evil deede is made more pardonable then an other."¹⁰ Though Hooker did not fully agree with the Socratic dictum that virtue is only knowledge and evil only ignorance, he insisted that man was free to choose evil from good only when he possessed adequate knowledge, when his gift of reason had not been darkened by custom or passion. Man had a free will, as Arminius also taught: a position hated by the Puritans because it meant, as Milton was afterward to teach, that any man may go to Heaven who chooses the righteous way, not merely those elected by God from the beginning of time. The Puritans considered Arminianism such a fundamental heresy of the Anglican church that they wrote many volumes to prove it unsound doctrine.¹¹ In his attitude toward free will (as in many other things) Milton was not to be a typical Puritan. Nor would he reject secular learning or the law of nature as ways of truth inconsistent with the Scripture way of life. Indeed, many of Milton's earlier passages on the law of nature and its justification of man's inherent freedom were to run parallel with Hooker's thought. True, Milton at the end was not to forgive the English people's choice of a king, however crazed they may have been by the passion of idolatry. The failure of the Cromwellian regime and the English people's choice of kingship were to throw Milton back upon a harsher judgment than he could have given in the year of *Areopagitica*. But even in *Christian Doctrine* he was to adhere to the doctrine of free will so hated by the Puritans, and so fully exemplified in Hooker's charitable outlook on struggling man.¹²

With a sure hand Hooker etched in the *Polity* the outlines of Puritan psychology, pointing to the essence of its dynamics, showing why it won favor among both the humble and the learned. So pervasive was their faith in the Scriptures that they would listen to no arguments except those grounded in the Word: an intellectual process that gradually crystallized in a distrust of all human learning, even a burning of secular books. "*When they and their Bibles were alone together,*" wrote Hooker, in one of his few censorious passages, "*what strange fantastickall opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to thinke the Spirit taught it them. . . . It was no marvaile to see them every day broach some newe thing, not heard of before.*"¹³ Once under

¹⁰ *Polity*, I, ix, 1 (1611, p. 24).

¹¹ See below, p. 40.

¹² Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 337 ff.; on the law of nature, pp. 328 ff.

¹³ *Polity*, preface, VIII, 7 (1611, sigs. D6v-E).

way, the habit of Biblical discovery and individualistic application emboldened each believer to new and more remarkable visions: scarcely any Puritan, indeed, "*the forge of whose braine was not possesst with some speciall mystery.*"¹⁴ By such means the Puritans developed in themselves a sense of destiny: that the new Jerusalem pictured in the Bible they were chosen to make come true, dashing the wicked to pieces, they only doing the will of God on earth. Once possessed by an idea, a Puritan could not rest until he preached his message. Each man (and each woman) might indeed become a prophet. Though bitterly opposed to popery, the Puritans excused each other's vagaries, though it were overturning magistrates, bringing in polygamy and community of goods, refusing to take oaths, dislike of christenings, infant baptism, avoiding the words "body" and "blood" in the Lord's supper. Their leaders spoke with such zeal and sincerity that the common people heard them in thousands, saying, "*These are verily the men of God.*"¹⁵ In mien and speech they were too sober and serious to endure laughter: "*Every word otherwise then severely and sadly uttered seemed to pierce like a sword thorow them.*"¹⁶ They stood for equality of ministers (a thing to Hooker as to Hall unreasonable in an organization of nine thousand parishes); if only a new discipline were installed in the church, they thought, many evils would disappear (Bacon wrote that they thought beggars would disappear from the roads, "a thing very plausible").¹⁷ The evils of the day they traced to the bishops, believing meanwhile that if Calvin's practice at Geneva were adopted, of making ministers equal and selecting two lay elders in each congregation to act with them, all would be well.

The substance of Hooker's analysis, though requiring volumes of qualifications, is too authentic to be denied. From small beginnings, as Bacon said, to violent extremes; from differences such as the wearing of the surplice and the tippet, others came to demand reform in the sacraments and church government; finally the Separatists, who rejected both the Episcopal sacraments and the Episcopal hierarchy as unchristian. The year 1572 was crucial in the expansion of Puritan individualism, with the publication of *An Admonition to Parliament*, which drew a striking contrast between the primitive church and the Anglican: "Then the ministers were preachers, now bare readers . . . Then, as God gave utterance, they preached the word only: Now they read homilies, articles, injunctions, etc. Then it was painfull: now gain-

¹⁴ *Polity*, preface, VIII, 7 (1611, sigs. D6v-E).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, preface, VIII, x (1611, sig. E2).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, preface, VIII, vi (1611, sig. D6v).

¹⁷ Spedding, *Letters and Life* (1861), I, 100.

full.”¹⁸ The imprisonment of Field and Wilcox in time of Parliament was a bitter reward for writing *An Admonition*, a penalty mentioned by neither Bacon nor Hooker. In the same year followed Cartwright’s *Second Admonition*, with new notes ominous for the future: “It is allowed and commaunded of Christian men, to trie all things . . . whosoever forbidde withoute exception, Prince or other.” The two *Admonitions* encouraged men to speak more boldly. As Bishop Sandys wrote to Burghley (August 5, 1573), “Theese tymes have altered opinions. Suche as preached discretlie the last yeare now labour by rayling to feede the fansies of the people.” The passionate language deplored by Hooker and Bacon found full vent in Martin Marprelate, who called the bishops “carnall and senseless beasts, who are not ashamed to prefer the outward estate of men before the glory of Christ’s kingdom.” Then in 1582 came Robert Browne, a man to whom any compromise with the Church of England was unthinkable, forerunner of Robinson, Williams, Brooke, Milton, Peters, Vane, exemplar of the unresting spirit of Puritan dynamics that Hooker deplored and Bacon feared. He demanded a church without tithes, without a professional ministry, resting only upon voluntary offerings, electing its own preacher, cooperating voluntarily with other congregations. Eleven years after Browne’s *Reformation without Tarrying for Anie*, Sir Walter Raleigh estimated the number of Brownists in England to be twenty thousand, though one-tenth that number would have been a more likely estimate. To reject the bishops was to resist the crown. As head of both church and state, Elizabeth dealt with the Brownists severely. Bacon professed his horror of their tenets. Fifty-six members of the London Brownist congregation were seized and thrust into prison, a number of them dying after long imprisonment and cruel treatment. Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry were executed at Tyburn, unbending in will, unrepentant of their fanatical beliefs to the end.

But the extreme views of the Brownists were only the beginning of the deviations inherent in the dynamics of the Puritan intellectual method. In a few decades the process of individualistic searching of the Scriptures was to justify the Parliament’s execution of Strafford and Laud, war against Charles, the rise of Leveller demands for political democracy, the execution of Charles I, and the abolition of the kingship and House of Lords in 1649. In Milton’s own life the process Hooker described so accurately was to drive him from Anglicanism to Presbyterianism; to impel him to attempt in *The Reason of Church-Govern-*

¹⁸ I am here following *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 15 ff., and Donald J. McGinn, *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949), pp. 25 ff.

ment a platform from the Scriptures only; to justify the radical principles of *Areopagitica*, which showed him no longer a Presbyterian but a follower of Independent principles; to sustain his writing of *Christian Doctrine*, as individualistic a *Polity* as emerged from the Puritan Revolution; and finally Milton's individualistic reading of the Scriptures was to lead him to an explanation of the triumph of evil in *Paradise Lost*. Each Puritan rebel, it is true, traced in vain a boundary beyond which his followers ought not to march; each Puritan held up his hands in horror at banners passing him in the night, Greenwood at the Anabaptists, Prynne at Milton and Lilburne, Williams at the Quakers of New England, Cromwell at Rainsborough, Lilburne at the Diggers. Only one rebel marched to the verge from which all others drew back: Gerrard Winstanley, who would have no churches but all land in common, "disciple of a strange Christ, beckoning in vain toward utopian salvation."

3. THE VOICE OF MODERATION: FRANCIS BACON

No contemporary of Elizabeth and James throws more light on the seeds of the Puritan Revolution than Francis Bacon, whose image of a broad church unity encompassing diverse forms and ceremonies, but purged of abuses, was to be sustained by the nation in the centuries following the Restoration. As clearly as any man, though not with the urgency of the persecuted, Bacon visualized the practical effects of repression of sectarian agitation carried out by the bishops; his primary concern, indeed, unlike that of Milton, was the influence of church policy upon the peace and welfare of the state, rather than the theological validity of either the Puritan or the Anglican position. At the same time Bacon pointed with an unerring mind at the extremes of Puritan dogma, showing an awareness, curiously lacking in Milton the poet, of the need men felt for participation in a service of worship, as opposed to the passive absorption of a sermon. At times Bacon struck simultaneously at what he considered two extreme positions, each wrought by exaggerated emphasis: "As the extolling of the Sacrament bred the superstition of the Masse;" he wrote, "the extolling of the *Liturgie* and *Prayers*, bred the superstition of the Monasticall orders & oraison, and so no doubt preaching likewise may be magnified and extolled superstitiously, as if all the whole body of Gods worship should be turned into an eare."¹

¹ *Certaine Considerations Touching the Better Pacification, and Edification of the Church of England* (1640), p. [22], listed in *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology*, ed. Charles R. Gillett (5 vols., New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1927-30), I, 542-43. (Hereafter referred to as McAlpin.) When not identified as Thomason tracts, pamphlets hereafter cited are listed in McAlpin.

In the realm of church controversies Bacon was too near the helm of state to be a zealous reformer, though sympathetic to the ideas of his nonconformist mother. But he understood better than any royal adviser the conditions that required reforms if the nation was to possess tranquillity. Less than any institution could the church in Bacon's view remain static and inflexible. It might have diverse ceremonies, though one doctrine: "*Differentia rituum commendat unitatem doctrinae*:" he wrote. ". . . Religion hath parts which belong to eternity, and parts which belong to time."² Had Elizabeth followed Bacon's advice, she could not have sanctioned the persecution of Barrow and Greenwood, much less their torture and execution. Had James taken to heart Bacon's memorandum of 1604, he would not have appointed the extremist Laud to his first bishopric in 1621. "I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion," said James, "in substance and ceremony."³ To Bacon's enlightened outlook, no position was more fraught than this with peril to the nation.

In 1589 Bacon had written for private circulation *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England*, a document not printed until 1641, when it appeared as *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires*. This pamphlet Milton read with care, either citing or quoting from it later in the *Commonplace Book*, *Animadversions*, *Apology against a Pamphlet*, and *Areopagitica*.⁴ In the *Discourse* at a number of points Bacon justified Puritan resentment of his day, while deploring the harshness of Puritan retaliations against the bishops. More than anyone else, however, the bishops themselves were the cause of sects and schisms, accomplishing this end when "they wax worldly, lovers of themselves, and pleasers of men."⁵ Then, continued Bacon, when the bishops have "lost their reputation in the consciences of men," the people lose their faith in the church and seek the truth elsewhere. Nor in Bacon's mind did the punishment of the sectarians or the repression of their pamphlets strengthen the faith of the people in the church: "Forbidden writing is thought to be a certaine sparke of truth that flieth up in the faces of them that seeke to choke and tread it out."⁶ As for the persecution of the sectarians, whatever the fallacies of their opinions, Bacon placed the blame squarely upon the bishops: "Injuries come from them that have the upper hand."⁷ At this point Bacon de-

² *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires* (1641), pp. 4-5. This tract may be found in Spedding (1861), I, 74-95.

³ Spedding (1861), III, 128.

⁴ See below, pp. 451, 668, 882.

⁵ Bacon, *Discourse* (1641), p. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

scended to particulars within his knowledge. The bishops had charged the sectarians with treason as well as heresy, when actually they had been guiltless of offenses against the state; further, the bishops had exaggerated the beliefs of the sectarians, coupling them falsely with the Family of Love, of which heresies the sectarians were guiltless. Quick and eager to receive accusations, the bishops had sworn men to blank accusations and accusations so general as to be beyond the swearer's comprehension. They had misused the fearful power of excommunication "as a bare processe to lackey up and downe, for duties and for fees."⁸ Lastly, the bishops had silenced ministers for trivial deviations from the prescribed ritual or prayer, thus requiring the forfeiture of "their voice & gift in teaching," depriving the congregation of the benefits of a pastor's place and calling. Such complaints were to be voiced in a thousand pamphlets between 1589 and 1640; but Bacon could not touch a problem of his day without lending it illumination for the generations to come. "I dislike that lawes bee contemned, or disturbers unpunished," he wrote. "But lawes are compared to the grape, which being too much pressed, yeeldeth an hard and unwholesome wine."⁹ Better no laws at all than a law for everything, and to act in wrath could not be the will of God.

Despite these strictures against the Anglican hierarchy, Bacon made plain that he believed the institution of bishops sanctioned by the Bible; he opposed any democratization of the church in the form of synods or presbyteries as hostile to the civil constitution of monarchy. Further, he resisted the Puritan "embasing the authority of the fathers,"¹⁰ while accepting Scripture alone as the source of Christian faith. The faults of the Puritans Bacon dissected with the detachment of a scientist, tracing their inconsistencies as unerringly (to later centuries) as he had uncovered the abuses of prelatical power. The Puritans possessed in abundance not only *zeal* but *holiness* and *light*. At times their holiness appeared to be exclusive. "But . . . let them take heed," he wrote, "that it be not true which one of their adversaries saith against them, that they have but two small wants, knowledge, and love."¹¹ Though Bacon admonishes both factions to bring love and forbearance to disputation (which admonition he follows rather faithfully himself), it is plain that in the habit of caustic argument the Puritans were more to be censured than the bishops. They had sought, moreover, to annihilate liturgy and

⁸ Bacon, *Discourse* (1641), p. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁰ Spedding (1861), I, p. 93; Bacon, *Discourse* (1641), p. 43. In the *Discourse* the word "embracing" is wrongly used for "embasing."

¹¹ Bacon, *Discourse* (1641), p. 45.

so elevate the sermon that the church should become a house of preaching rather than a house of prayer. To the Puritan, asserted Bacon, the touchstone of truth in ceremony or ritual or government was its degree of remoteness from the Roman Catholic custom: "This is a subtil and dangerous conceit for men to entertaine, apt to delude themselves, more apt to delude the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries."¹² Like Hall after him, Bacon asked, in effect, "Must everything be evil in which the Anglican follows the Roman: the fathers, the ceremonies, the sacraments, the liturgy?" In Bacon's view the purging of everything Roman from the church meant destruction ("a wound in her bowels")¹³ as well as renewal. In this analysis of Puritan hostility to everything Roman, Bacon spoke prophetically. Before many decades Cromwell's soldiers were to destroy stained-glass windows with religious zeal; many sectarian churches moved the pulpit to the central place at the front of the church; even candles were suspect, and many organs were destroyed. Bacon himself wanted a service in which "sound hurteth not the understanding."¹⁴ But what was beautiful in sound or color or ceremony many Puritan minds confused with symbols of the Roman tradition.

In 1603 Bacon presented to James his recommendations for the reform of the church, *Certaine Considerations Touching the Better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England*, first published in 1604 and reprinted twice in 1640. The Puritan faction was so much stronger now than in 1589 that about one-twelfth of all the clergy petitioned James for specific reforms. Bacon spoke in the same vein, though not so comprehensively, as the petitioners. He urged upon James the spring-time of his reign as the propitious time to initiate memorable changes. Unless man was watchful, time itself would corrupt an institution. For forty-five years now the church had stood unaltered and unreformed, whereas every few years parliaments had brought reforms to the civil state, "devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischiefs."¹⁵ Churches, like castles, had to be repaired, and "dilapidations of the inward and spiritual edifications of the Church of God are in all times as great, as the outward and materiall."¹⁶ Although doctrine was unchangeable, forms and ceremonies and offices might vary with the nation's needs. This need for action urged, the particular reforms Bacon brought forward were surprisingly few and moderate; he put his strength

¹² Bacon, *Discourse* (1641), p. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁴ Bacon, *Certaine Considerations* (1640), p. [26].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. [6].

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

to the main points at issue, content to let others carry the lesser ones.

Though opposed to synods and equality of ministers, Bacon contended that the bishops were too authoritarian, trusting their judgments alone; he recommended that in no function such as excommunicating, ordaining, or silencing should the bishop be permitted to act without the sanction of advisers and colleagues. In such capacity deans and chapters had served in former times, actually as a presbytery, but gradually permitting their bishops to usurp their ecclesiastical power. In ecclesiastical courts, continued Bacon, the bishops had delegated unwisely their judicial functions; they should not be permitted to delegate others to sit in their places except in matters of tithes and legacies, cases, for example, in which priests might sue parishioners for payment of their tithes. Again Bacon condemned unreservedly oaths forcing men to accuse themselves, especially the oath *ex officio*. As for the liturgy, Bacon wished it continued: "Though the guift of Preaching be far above that of Reading, yet the action of the *Liturgie* is as high and holy as that of the *Sermon* . . . as Preaching is the more originall, so Prayer is the more finall, as the difference is betweene the seed and the fruit."¹⁷ One of the grievances of the Puritans was the discouragement or prohibition of extempore prayer. Though Bacon recommended set forms, he did not believe unwilling ministers should be forced to use them. The word "minister" Bacon urged instead of "priest," thus conceding the emphasis already prevailing on teaching as opposed to sacrifice. On another Puritan complaint, that many ministers did not reside in their parishes but employed deputies, Bacon was emphatic: "That men should live of the flocke that they doe not feede, or at the Altar at which they doe not serve, is a thing that can hardly receive just defence."¹⁸ For men to hold several benefices at one time was also intolerable when ministers were insufficient in number to fill all the charges. To determine the question of sufficient trained men for all England's parishes, Bacon proposed a count of both. In such vein ran his proposed reforms, a moderate redressing of grievances that in the main found expression in the conclusions of the Hampton Court Conference. But James was adamant for conformity and uniformity. When moderate Anglicans of Bacon's persuasion proposed the same reforms in 1641, it was too late to stem the tide of Puritan agitation for the annihilation, rather than the modification, of the Anglican church government.

The central impetus of the Puritan movement, as Hooker had demonstrated in *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was toward the right of the individual to interpret truth, especially spiritual truth, for himself. Among all the

¹⁷ Bacon, *Certaine Considerations* (1640), pp. [21-22].

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. [34-35].

manifestations ascribed to Puritanism, this was its only uniqueness. From this assumption inevitably sprang the corollary that each member, however humble, had the right to participate in congregational decisions, a right that became a tenet of Independency, the Presbyterians before them having agitated for a partial democracy in church government. Events were to prove that a man who voted for the selection of a minister would expect sooner or later also to vote for his choice as a member of Parliament. As Bacon correctly anticipated, democracy in church organization was inimical to monarchical government in civil affairs. Though he was no absolutist in political belief, Bacon distrusted the decisions of the people in theological matters even more than in civil decisions. "It is hard in all causes," he wrote, "especially in matters of religion, when voyces shall bee numbred [*sic*] and not weighed."¹⁹ Bacon was appalled that the Puritan ministers should submit theological problems to their congregations and encourage them to interpret Scriptural passages. This was perilous business, to lay differences and controversies before the people: "The people is no meet judge or arbitrator; but rather the moderate, quiet, and private assemblies of the learned."²⁰ From small beginnings, men by exercising their private judgments soon ran to extremes no government could long permit.

How fiercely Milton himself ran counter to this position he revealed in his first pamphlets as well as in his swift transitions to the revolutionary principles of 1649. Nothing was more sacred to Milton than the right of the humblest person to interpret Scripture. If he ultimately rejected democracy in church organization, it was because he thought in the last analysis each man's church could encompass no more than his own breast. Though no political democrat himself, Milton was fully committed to the Protestant individualism that stirred democratic agitation among the Levellers and Diggers of his day and hastened the crystallization of the American Revolution. Bacon on the other hand profoundly distrusted the free trade of ideas Milton was to picture in *Areopagitica*, and even more so Milton's image of "all the Lords people . . . become Prophets." Though he was to grant in *Novum Organum* that government was not upheld by scientific proof of its superiority, but rather by authority and custom, Bacon had no confidence in the political or intellectual future of the humble man. His *New Atlantis*, in contrast to More's *Utopia*, was a community of select minds, with no assumption that their number increased with the level of education among the population or that the economic welfare of the multitude was a primary concern. To Bacon only a scientific revolution was possible,

¹⁹ Bacon, *Discourse* (1641), p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

one that would through cooperative research win for man command over the secrets of nature; such a revolution would breed no commotions in the state.²¹ In such a revolution Milton had no interest whatever; he was incapable, too, of the application of the scientific method to the problems of society. In a sense Milton's theological training nullified his interest in a utopia of select minds devoted to scientific pursuits; it was to prevent, too, a rationalistic analysis of the failures of the Cromwell regime. To Milton the vision of a political utopia in his day was worth twenty years of his active life; to Bacon the realist a political utopia was a mirage rooted in the multitude's intellectual deficiencies; only science held the keys to man's ultimate betterment. To Milton at the end utopia was possible only through the victory of Christ over men's hearts. In *Paradise Lost* Milton was to deliver a moral and theological verdict on the failures of mankind, a judgment remote from Bacon's scientific passion. Deep in Bacon's soul this passion had taken such deep root that no place, no honor, no king, no calamity, could overwhelm it. If he presented a spectacle of pitiful weakness to his contemporaries in writing *The History of Henry VII* for his rehabilitation with James I, he knew no betrayal of his inmost faith. Church quarrels were perpetual. Monarchs rose and fell. The superstitions of men were ineradicable. He would keep to the key of the future: a scientific method that would banish superstition in all departments of knowledge. One of Bacon's sorrows was that the religious differences of his day, like many other duties of state, separated him from his life's passion. "Myself am like the miller of Huntingdon," he wrote to Matthew, "that was wont to pray for peace amongst the willows; for while the winds blew, the wind-mills wrought, and the water-mill was less customed. So I see that controversies of religion must hinder the advancement of sciences."²²

4. BISHOP HALL AND THE *VIA MEDIA*

Among the Anglican apologists of the reigns of James and Charles, only Ussher spoke with a reputation of more substance and distinction than bishop Joseph Hall, who by 1641 would be the butt of Milton's and Smectymnuus' war against the prelates. In personality and method Hall differed as much from William Laud as John Milton from William Prynne. In Hall one finds, especially in his earlier tracts, an urbane blending of classical and Christian moderation; he was as devoid of fanaticism as Prynne and Laud of the genius of compromise. True, he

²¹ *Novum Organum*, in *Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis, and Douglas D. Heath (14 vols., Boston, 1857-74), I, 335; VIII, 161.

²² Spedding (1861), IV, 138. October 10, 1609.

thought all men should worship in the Church of England. But within this broad unity an infinite variety of beliefs and customs was not only inevitable but healthful. Could we expect unity anywhere but in Heaven? Hall thought not: "If ever you finde perfect unitie anywhere but above: either goe thither, and seeke it amongst those that triumph, or bee content with what estate you finde in this warfaring number. Truth is in differences, as gold in drosse, wheat in chaffe; will you cast away the best metall, the best graine, because it is mingled with this offall?"¹ Like Milton after him, Hall recognized the intellectual world as an inevitable commingling of truth and falsehood, with no perfect arbiter ever at the seeker's elbow. Truth was many-sided, and as John Goodwin was to say, much of it might yet be undiscovered to the world, like the unexplored continent of America.²

Born ten years after Shakespeare, Hall had attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he received the M.A. in 1596, taking "all his degrees with great applause."³ Celebrated as a wit and lecturer on rhetoric, Hall lived on at the college altogether some thirteen years. Preparing himself meanwhile for a literary career, Hall published in 1597 three books of *Toothless Satyrs*, calling himself the first English satirist, and following this promising volume in 1598 with *Three Last Books of Byting Satyrs*. The *Satires*, purporting to unmask vice, attacked contemporary writers, among them Marston, Shakespeare, and Spenser, the last of whom Hall nevertheless eulogized. Offensive to Archbishop Whitgift for their supposed licentiousness, the *Satires*, along with the works of Marlowe and Marston, were confiscated and burned by the Stationers Company on June 1, 1599.⁴ Less than two years later Hall entered the ministry, taking holy orders in 1601, pursuing simultaneously his writing career in graceful, urbane prose. In 1606 appeared his remarkable credo, *Heaven upon Earth*, a synthesis of pagan stoicism and Christian piety, revealing Hall at once as a master of prose style, less poetic perhaps than Donne or Taylor, but far superior to Milton in the easy flow and clarity of his sentences. In passages like the following Hall anticipated the distinction of the *Characters*: "The franticke man cannot avoid the imputation of madnesse, though he be sober for many Moones, if he

¹ *A Recollection of Select Treatises* (1615), p. 468. This volume (1,114 pp) contains all of Hall's prose written before 1615.

² *Imputatio Fidei* (1642), sig B4.

³ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, ed. P. Austin Nuttall (3 vols., London, 1840), II, 231.

⁴ *DNB*. In 1599 appeared all six books under the title *Virgidemiarum*, with additions of several poems and a dedication "To the worthiest poet, Maister Ed. Spenser." See Thomas Warton's incisive essay on Hall, reprinted in Philip Wynter's edition of Hall's *Works* (10 vols., London, 1863), IX, 570 ff.

rage in one.”⁵ Or this: “Wee live here in an Ocean of troubles, wherein we can see no firme land; one wave falling upon another, ere the former have wrought all his spight.”⁶ Hall’s conclusion in *Heaven upon Earth* is an anticipation of his dominant philosophical outlook: As the ancient stoics studied nature for her calming agents, so must we; but true peace of mind can come only through Christian faith: “Not *Athens* must teach this lesson, but *Jerusalem*.”⁷ In the *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608) Hall introduced in English the Theophrastian character: sketches embodying not only the easy, graceful prose of *Heaven upon Earth* but also its mingling of pagan and Christian piety that the humble man should strive for: “He is a lowly valley sweetly planted and well watered; the proud mans earth whereon he trampeth; but secretly full of wealthy Mines, more worth than he that walkes over them; a rich stone set in Lead; and lastly, a true Temple of God built with a low rooffe.”⁸ It is impossible to doubt either Hall’s passion for moderation or the stylistic freshness and vigor that express it. Only when he turned to social controversy did his style lose its bright images and pervasive urbanity; Hall was unfitted by temperament to use the barbs of a Martin Marprelate or the stinging epithets of an aroused bishop-hater like John Milton or William Prynne.

In 1609, addressing a letter to John Robinson of Amsterdam and his fellow Separatist John Smyth, Hall revealed at once his desire of a broad uniformity within the Church of England and his growing fear of divisions and heresies. For the first time one feels in Hall an almost superstitious reverence for the established church, combined with a retreat from his original admiration for the fearless quest for religious verities. Yet his tone is moderate, his plea restrained: “We heare of your separation, and mourn; yet not so much for you, as for your wrong: you could not doe a greater injury to your mother, than to flee from her. Say she were poore, ragged, weak; say she were deformed; yet she is not infectious: Or if she were, yet she is yours.”⁹ Stay within the church, Hall admonishes; she is broad enough to encompass all differences. Where, asks Hall, are the evils of Catholicism? Have we not abolished transubstantiation, indulgences, confessions, pilgrimages, penances, purgatories? Think then of the accomplishments of the English Reformation; if it has not proceeded far enough for you, “it had been a thousand times

⁵ *Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices*, ed. Rudolf Kirk (New Brunswick. Rutgers University Press, 1948), p. 87.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁹ *Epistles, Second Volume* (1614), in *Select Treatises* (1615), p. 451.

better to swallow a Ceremony, than to rend a Church."¹⁰ So far Hall is on firm ground, pleading as he does for reform from within rather than revolution and escape. Yet, as with all liberal Anglicans, indeed with all Puritans, Hall came to a line he could not cross, an idea that he could not examine with Baconian detachment: "Compare the place you have left, with that you have chosen . . . Loe, there a common harbour of all opinions, of all heresies; if not a mixture. Heere you drew in the free and cleere aire of the Gospell, without that odious composition of *Judaisme*, *Arianisme*, *Anabaptisme*: There you live in the stench of these and more."¹¹ Spiritually John Robinson had not found it so. Though the dynamics of individualism had now separated the church at Amsterdam into three dissenting congregations, his own little company at Leyden was cheerful on a foreign soil, not having known in England the comforts of a Hall, a Prynne, or a Milton. When poverty, as Bradford wrote, would come "upon them like an armed man,"¹² they would set sail a few years hence (September 6, 1620) to the bleak shores of New England. Though scholarly and humane, Hall was not the man to understand fanatics who fled to the wilds of America for a matter of conscience, leaving behind the urbanity of Cambridge and Oxford, the beauty of April gardens, Elizabethan houses, the Anglican cathedrals, the stained-glass windows, the sonorous prayers of Cranmer, the music and ritual centuries deep in the collective mind.

When Robinson replied to Hall's letter with his *Answer to a Censorious Epistle* (1610), Hall wrote *A Common Apology against the Brownists* (1610), his first real sally in the accepted polemic method, quoting passages from Robinson and replying point by point: a task in which Hall as a creative artist was essentially ill at ease. Nevertheless to Hall the churchman this was vital work indeed: Robinson and his fellows did not wish, like the Puritans, merely to cleanse the Church of England of its popish remnants; they had sharply separated themselves, set up a new church, migrated to Amsterdam, thence would set out to the bleak shores of New England. Hall felt the urgency of the occasion to reply not only to Robinson, called by Baillie "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England,"¹³ but also to the more vehement Brownist apologists whose prose lacked Robinson's dignity and moderation. Consequently *A Common Apology*

¹⁰ *Epistles, Second Volume* (1614), in *Select Treatises* (1615), p. 453.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 452-53.

¹² William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (2 vols., Boston, 1912), I, 37.

¹³ *The Works of John Robinson*, ed. Robert Ashton (3 vols., London, 1851), I, lxx.

reflects a hundred facets of Protestant intellectual method and the anxiety of the Church of England to contain its restless children. Had the Church of England not itself separated from Rome, asked Robinson, and thus set a precedent for the Separatists? If the Church of England is the mother of the Separatists, is not the Church of Rome their mother's mother? To this Hall replies that the Roman church was sister, not mother; he asks, in effect, where is the doctrine of separation and schism to end? Already the church at Amsterdam is divided into three parts. Somewhere we must achieve a unity with the light already gained: "What! so true and glorious a light of God, and never seen till now! No worlds, times, churches, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, fathers, doctors, Christians, ever saw this truth look forth besides you, until you!"¹⁴ In such sallies did Hall, like all his fellow Protestants, reveal a lack of comprehension of the power of the individualism unleashed by Luther and Calvin and Arminius, and Arius long ago. But Robinson, like the Anglican martyrs before him and the restless Roger Williams to follow, was a seeker of new light, a rebel against any intelligence but his own. When Hall speaks of "the confusion of your democracy,"¹⁵ the equality of members, the lack of gradation and rank in church organization, he cites assumptions familiar to generations of classical scholars, a theory nevertheless now breaking down with every splintering religious faction and the growth of a sense of power among artisans and traders. The mere mention of King James's dictum, "No bishop, no king," Hall sets forth as if his readers will accept such a concept on kingly authority alone.¹⁶ But like the Independents to come, Robinson lost his reverence for the king in the zeal of his religious fervor: "Shall your loyalty toward men excuse your treasons against the Lord?"¹⁷ In the Separatist creed as in the Anglican, agitation against the bishops inevitably involved the kingly function in both his secular and ecclesiastical supremacy. Hall closes his tract with a fearful diatribe: "Whosoever wilfully forsakes the communion, government, ministry, or worship of the Church of England, are enemies to the sceptre of Christ, and rebels against his Church and anointed."¹⁸ This passage, struck off in the fiery jousts of pamphlet propaganda, and unrepresentative of Hall's placable and moderate spirit, suggests the extremes in which he, John Milton, and many other ardent spirits were to clash in the pamphlet warfare of the impending revolution.

¹⁴ Hall, *A Common Apology*, in *Works* (1863), IX, 36.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Of the three great Anglicans, Hooker, Bacon, and Hall, Bacon possessed the most acute and realistic insight into the practical political consequences of both Puritan agitation and the abuses of prelatical power. He was aware of the explosive effects of repressive measures against men convinced as the Puritans were that they spoke as prophets of the Lord. It was easy for the extreme Puritans of Elizabeth's time to see in the bishops the descendants of Roman Catholic persecutors of Queen Mary's day. Whereas Hall could not imagine the feudal society of king, lords, and commons slowly accommodating its structure to a rising class of prosperous urban merchants and craftsmen, Bacon gauged the growth of Puritan strength and sought to formulate a national policy that would contain its power but allow it elastic self-expression. All three men possessed a broader charity toward the sectarians than were such men as Pym and Cromwell and Milton to show toward the Anglican bishops. Indeed the strength of Hooker lay in his revelation of the Anglican conception of human nature and its accommodation of ritualistic appeal to the common man as well as to the intellectual. No theorist among the Puritans, not even Robinson or Baillie, was to muster for the defense of Calvinism the store of classical and humane learning that Hooker incorporated in his *Polity*. In the history of English thought Bacon, Hooker, and Hall held much in common. Unlike Laud, each sought with varying degrees of success to provide in the Anglican church for the deviations of Puritan agitation.¹⁹ Each represented for the most part a moderate and conciliatory tone in disputes. Each presented a solution to the difficulties that more nearly was to represent English public opinion after the Restoration than the demands of Milton, Vane, or Cromwell.

¹⁹ "Howe Sencelesse are these two extreames?" wrote Hall. "Of the Papists, that one man hath the Keyes: Of the Brownists, that everie man hath them." *The Sixt Decade of Epistles* (1610), pp. 47-48.

CHAPTER III

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE: LEIGHTON, PRYNNE, BURTON, AND LILBURNE

IF THE watchword of English church policy under Charles I had been moderation and conciliation after the tradition of Bacon and Hooker, a clash of arms might have been avoided in 1642. Unfortunately Charles I was incapable of gauging either the growing strength of Puritan fanaticism or of yielding early enough even to minor reforms in the Anglican church. In Elizabeth's time the ceremonies and ritual of the Anglican church had been relatively fluid and adaptable, depending upon the preferences of particular congregations. Charles, however, instead of permitting extreme low churches and extreme high churches to exist side by side, now insisted on uniformity at a high-church level. In William Laud Charles chose the worst possible instrument for reconciling the Puritan factions to the Anglican church. By enforcing uniformity in service and ritual that offended even the moderate Puritans as Roman Catholic in essence, Charles precipitated the extreme resistance of such men as Leighton, Burton, Prynne, and Lilburne. This resistance Laud and Charles met with even more extreme measures; thus one extremity was to breed its opposite on each side until the civil war would become inevitable.

1. TACTICS OF REPRESSION: WILLIAM LAUD

In accommodating national policy to the dynamics of Protestantism, no one was less likely to yield ground than William Laud, whom Charles had appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He attempted to meet diverse beliefs with the tactics of conformity at a time when each year brought new resisters to Episcopacy, whether Separatist or Presbyterian. Even James I, in appointing him to the see of St. David's in 1621, had sensed disaster for England in Laud's flinty nature: "He hath a restless spirit," said the king, "and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain."¹ But Laud's strength as well as weakness lay in his

¹ *Documents Relating to the Proceedings against William Prynne*, ed. Samuel R. Gardiner, Camden Society Publications (hereafter cited as CS), n s, XVIII (1877), p xxvii. An illuminating account of Laud in the setting of his time is found in William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism*, pp. 226-36.

blind devotion to his image of the Anglican church; from early manhood to his speech on the scaffold he did not waver, fearless and resolute to the end. When Laud suspended preachers, he acted without doubts: "Nor have I by these Suspensions, hindred the Preaching of Gods Word, but of Schism and Seditious."² The refugees were at fault, not he: "Nor have I caused any of *his Majesty's* Subjects to forsake the Kingdom; but they forsook it of themselves, being Separatists from the Church of *England*; as is more than manifest to any Man, that will but consider what kind of Persons went to *New-England*."³ What Roger Williams or Henry Vane thought of such sentiments we may well imagine, or their friend, John Milton, who bemoaned in *Of Reformation* the "numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen" who could escape the anger of the bishops only by crossing the ocean to "the savage deserts of *America*."⁴ To such charges Laud yielded nothing. In his *Answer* to Lord Saye and Sele, written December 3, 1641, he wrote: "They [the Separatists] have thrust themselves out . . . run a madding to *New England*, scar'd away (as they say) by certain *gross Corruptions*, not to be endured in this Church."⁵ To Laud there was no middle ground: Anyone who did not worship according to the prescribed ritual was a Separatist, whether the deviation involved the wearing of the surplice, bowing at the name of Jesus, fencing off the altar, speaking a prayer extempore. In private, yes, a man was permitted to pray in his own words; but in the church, not so: "Let them not make *publick Abortion* in the Church. 'Tis an overhasty mother, that brings forth so soon as she has Conceived: And yet, Extemporary men out-run these Mothers; and Conceive and bring forth their unnatural monsters, both at once."⁶ In the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of 1640, Laud's hand was bold as ever. Four times a year, for example, each parish priest was required to read the church's interpretation of regal function: "The most High and Sacred order of Kings is of Divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of nature."⁷ When the rabble followed Laud through the streets upon his arrest, he recorded with pride their railings and revilings against him. On January 10, 1645, when Laud ascended the scaffold, his mind unruffled, his resolution stiff as ever, he spoke without doubt or fear: "This is an uncomfortable time to preach. . . . As for this people, they are at this day miserably misled. . . . I have not found

² *History of the Troubles and Tryal of . . . William Laud*, ed. Henry Wharton (1695), p. 164.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Below, p. 585.

⁵ Laud, *Troubles* (1695), p. 509.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

⁷ *Constitutions and Canons* (May 17, 1640), E203(2), sig. B6.

. . . any one sin [in myself], which deserves death by any known law of this kingdom. . . . The Pope never had such an harvest in England since the Reformation, as he hath now upon the sects and divisions that are amongst us."⁸ In falling a victim to the tide of revolution, Laud served as the focal point of hatred and satire; dozens of pamphlets celebrated his arrest, imprisonment, and execution. Yet he was a catalyst, not an origin, of the decisive conflicts of the next few years.

2. ALEXANDER LEIGHTON SCOTCH FIREBRAND

A fanatical early resister of Laud was the Scotch physician and theologian, Alexander Leighton, who in 1628 sent forth a book of far-reaching influence in the cause of Puritanism, *An Appeal to the Parliament; Or, Sions Plea against the Prelacie*. Born in Scotland in 1568, Leighton had procured an M.A. from Saint Andrews before studying medicine at the University of Leyden. Settling in London, where he practiced medicine in defiance of the College of Physicians, Leighton in 1628 circulated among influential citizens a petition against Episcopacy that formed the basis of his *An Appeal to the Parliament*.¹ With the aid of friends, Leighton crossed to Holland to write *An Appeal* and have his petition printed.² Returning to England in July, 1629, he was arrested on February 17, 1630 (at the instigation, charged Leighton, of Laud and Neile) and thrust into a Newgate dungeon.³ Tried before the Star Chamber in June and the High Commission in November (arrested under a warrant signed by Laud), Leighton was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 pounds, suffer the slitting of one nostril, the loss of one ear, and the branding of his cheek with SS for "sower of sedition." After this punishment (apparently not exacted against him), he was to be sent back to prison for a few days, whipped again, and sentenced to the slitting of another nostril, the loss of his remaining ear, and imprisonment for life.⁴ Though he escaped the night (November 4) before the execution of his sentence, Leighton was soon apprehended. The first part of his sen-

⁸ *The Works of William Laud* (7 vols., London, 1847-60), IV, 430-33.

¹ DNB; Leighton, *An Epitome or Briefe Discoverie . . . of the Many and Great Troubles* (1646), p. 2.

² *An Epitome* (1646), p. 2.

³ DNB; *An Epitome* (1646), p. 3.

⁴ "Speech of Sir Robert Heath," CSP, n. s., XIV (1875), p. xi. Leighton charged that Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford (*An Epitome*, 1646, p. 68), "used many violent and virulent expressions against me"; one Parliament member wept; and Laud (p. 78) "gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his Enemies." Leighton called Laud (p. 67) a "great and angry B. indeed with a dangerous sting . . . he fell on with a discourse of almost two houres long."

tence was inflicted on November 26. "Your Petitioners hands being tyed to a stake," wrote Leighton, ". . . he received thirty six stripes with a terrible Cord. After which, he stood almost two houres on the Pillory, in cold Frost and Snow, and suffered the rest; as cutting off the Eare, firing the Face, and slitting of the Nose." Leighton charged that his keepers in Newgate had given him poison; "his hair and skin came off in a sicknesse (deadly to the Eye)." ⁵ Leighton remained in prison from 1630 until November 9, 1640, when he was released by the Long Parliament.⁶

Like Burton and Milton after him, Leighton regarded himself as a prophet, an agent of the Lord's will; he was conscious too of his place in the tradition of protest against the prelates beginning with Cartwright's *A Second Admonition*. In vain, he wrote, "these fiftie yeares, and upward, the Lord hath pleaded by his agents, at the bar of your Parliament, for his owne priviledges, against the intrusion of the *Hierarchy*." ⁷ Leighton wrote with fearless zeal and a style full of memorable if inflammatory images. The bishops he called "knobs & wens and bunchie popish flesh" clinging to the church, putrefying its body and distorting its features.⁸ For these wens there was no cure but the surgeon's sharp knife. In its primitive government, asserted Leighton, the church was not a monarchy but an aristocracy such as Venice and Athens, in which the governors were chosen by the common people, ministers and bishops and teaching elders being identical in spiritual function. As Milton was to do after him, Leighton traced the failures of English reformation from the time of Henry VIII, pointing also to the origin of ecclesiastical courts, asserting that the prelates had not possessed temporal power to punish violators of their canons until the reign of Henry II. Only since Henry II had bishops sat in the House of Lords. About the ex officio oath, which required men to tell the truth in the Star Chamber and High Commission even when it might incriminate themselves or betray others, Leighton was particularly bitter, citing Bacon's condemnation of the oath and denouncing it as contrary to the law of nature, the word of God, the common law, the councils, and the Roman statutes. Like many Puritan reformers to follow, Milton among them, Leighton reviewed the hindrances of the prelates to monarchy itself: "Undermining *Prelates*, and dominiering *Favorites*, have cast our brav-

⁵ *An Epitome* (1646), p. 89.

⁶ "Speech of Sir Robert Heath," preface, p. xii; Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *Journal*, ed. Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1923), p. 17.

⁷ *An Appeal to the Parliament; Or, Sions Plea against the Prelacie* (1628), p. 240.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

est Kings into many cold sweats." ⁹ One of Leighton's main grievances against the prelates was their income not only from the annual state salary (which was six thousand pounds a year, a fact later mentioned by Milton in *The Reason of Church-Government*), but also from extortionate law suits, probating of wills, matrimonial cases tried in ecclesiastical courts, the income from wills and matrimonial cases alone amounting to 150,000 pounds annually, which income, asserted Leighton, should go to the king rather than to the prelates. On the silencing of preaching ministers Leighton records that in 1604 and 1605 alone four hundred ministers were either suppressed or suspended: "*The Ministers*," cried Leighton, "*are in bonds, and the word in bonds*, there are none to cutt the cordes of their Tyranny, and to sett Christ at liberty." ¹⁰ All the main ills of England Leighton thus laid at the foot of the prelates. Still not content, however, he advised the Parliament to be peremptory and forthright in stating to the king their charges against the prelates. God's word must guide kings as well as subjects, though some kings "thinke themselves by a priviledge exempted from the command of the word." ¹¹ Evil counsellors who confirm such an attitude in the monarch were enemies of both God and the king: "To sooth up Princes in this their misconceit, there are to many *Flesh-flees*; who spawne out their corrupt flatteries upon the eares of Kings; to the undoing of the King, and State." ¹² Such counsellors the Parliament should stamp as traitors to the kingdom. It should also encourage ministers to preach against superstitions, ceremonies, images, and idols: "We separate not from the Churches, but from the *evills* of them, and also from obedience to Antichristian Lords over them." ¹³ To demolish the hierarchy and remnants of popery was not schism or rebellion, but rather supreme loyalty to God and king. In a last peroration Leighton urged Parliament to insist upon the traditional redress of grievances before dissolution: "Your Honours know, that everie dissolution of a Parliament, without reall reformation, is against *right, reason, & record*. Is it not the right of the State, to be disburdened of *Caterpillers, moathes, & Canker-wormes*?" ¹⁴ If Parliament did not stand firm, beginning at the hierarchy and demolishing their power, all other measures would be impotent and vain.

No Puritan reformer of later decades, not even Milton himself, set forth so comprehensive and compelling a single attack upon the prelates as Leighton in *An Appeal to the Parliament*. True, as a Presbyterian

⁹ Leighton, *An Appeal* (1628), p. 210.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

and like all Protestant reformers, he wished to set limits to those reforms to which his own demands had been beacons and signals. Unlike his Separatist contemporaries, the Pilgrim fathers, Leighton wished to transform the Church of England into a Presbyterian phalanx, thus substituting for the Anglican discipline one less hierarchical, but equally severe. In his passages on Arminianism Leighton was unexpectedly narrow, accusing the prelates of maintaining a grave heresy in their so-called Arminian philosophy, praising the Dutch for suppressing the followers of Arminianism; even when they met in private homes, "their house & means are like to be ruined & spoyled by the multitud, the people persegued to the danger of their lives."¹⁵ Many militant Puritans were blind to the implications of such persecution. Leighton's power over his contemporaries lay in his fanatical sacrifices for what many believed just. Like Lilburne and Prynne after him, he knew the value of the unsparing, unshaded attack on his enemies, and the profound appeal of the printed account of his sufferings and tortures.

3. PURITAN AGITATOR: WILLIAM PRYNNE

One of the most zealous critics of Laud was William Prynne, a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford, admitted to the bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1628.¹ Like all his fellow Puritans, Prynne vilified the imposition of symbols and gestures in the Anglican church service; he devoted a whole pamphlet to an excoriation of bowing at the name of Jesus (*Lame Giles His Haultings*, 1630) and another (*A Quench-Coale*, 1637) to the Laudian insistence on placing a rail around the communion table, the consecrating of communion cloths and candles, the prescribed bowings and kneelings, all remote, asserts Prynne, from primitive Christian customs. If Laud represented the extremes of Episcopal conformity, Prynne embodied as many relentless and unlovely tenets of Puritanism as any man of his day, combined indeed with a fanatical courage and incredible industry. As he hints in his first pamphlet, *The Perpetuities of a Regenerate Mans Estate* (1626), Prynne considered himself one of the unchangeable elect.² In *The Church of Englands Old Antithesis* (1629),³

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

¹ *DNB*.

² See *The Perpetuities* (2d ed., 1627), pp. 649–54. Prynne argues that God's will to keep his elect upright is much more powerful than temptation to which they are subject (1627, p. 133) "The holy Ghost himself doth secretly, powerfully, and fully resolve and witnesse to their soules and consciences, that they shall never returne unto their sinnes againe, or fall finally or totally from Grace." *The Perpetuities* (1627) is 656 pages long.

³ See Prynne's illuminating contrast of Arminian and anti-Arminian positions on pp. 49–50.

Prynne attacks the Arminian concept of free will that Milton was later to adopt, a concept broadly prevalent among the liberal theologians of the Church of England (though condemned by Bishop Hall), but by some Puritan standards too hopeful of man's redemption. By the Arminian concept all men may choose a life leading to salvation; in Prynne's view only the few elect chosen by God from eternity can hope to be saved. If from the beginning God had destined a few only for eternal life, then man in the mass could not hope for salvation, whatever the uprightness of his conduct. Even the blood of Christ, in Prynne's view (*God, No Imposter nor Deluder*, 1629), can save only those God has already chosen from eternity "in his secret Will."⁴ Prynne's stern theological outlook, molded irretrievably by the environment of his youth, rendered him incapable of comprehending either the tradition of sympathy for erring man inherent in the Anglo-Catholic tradition or the compassionate spirit of his Puritan contemporaries, Walwyn, Saltmarsh, and Winstanley.

The Puritan distrust of the senses Prynne delineates with unflinching thoroughness, castigating drinking, acting, dancing, especially mixed dancing, long hair, frizzed and curly hair, amorous "ribaldrous Songs and Ditties."⁵ In *Healthes: Sicknesse* (1628) Prynne attacked the "unnaturall, unthrifty, odious, and swinish sinne of Drunkennesse,"⁶ especially as encouraged through the land by the dangerous English custom of drinking healths to each other on all social occasions. *Histrion-Mastix* (1633) is a thousand-page diatribe against stage plays without a mention of Shakespeare, Marlowe, or Jonson, abounding in long citations from the church fathers. One of the great evils of plays in Prynne's view was their disastrous effect on "beautiful tender Virgins" whose chastity is too often the price of their attendance at lascivious and amorous actings.⁷ Prynne quotes with high approval a passage from an Albigenese book on the sin of dancing: "*The Devill tempteth men by women three manner of wayes; that is to say, by the touch, by the eye, by the eare. By these three meanes, he tempteth foolish men to Dancings, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, hearing their songs and musicke. . . . For the woman that singeth in the dance is the Prioress of the Devill, and those that answer are Clerkes, and the beholders are the Parishioners, and the musicke are the Bells, and the Fiddlers, the Ministers of the Devill.*"⁸ The publication of *Histrion-*

⁴ P. 33.

⁵ *Histrion-Mastix* (1633), pp. 230, 262, etc.

⁶ Preface, "To the Christian Reader"

⁷ *Histrion-Mastix* (1633), pp. 340-41.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

Mastix brought Prynne his first imprisonment and degradation in the pillory. His mention of women players was called to the attention of royal officers who remembered that the queen and her ladies had taken part in Walter Montagu's *Shepherd's Paradise* in January, 1633.⁹ Imprisoned in the Tower on February 1, 1633, Prynne was sentenced February 17, 1634, to be imprisoned for life, fined 5,000 pounds, expelled from Lincoln's Inn, degraded from his Oxford degrees, and to lose both his ears. Pilloried on May 7 and May 10, Prynne was degraded from his degrees April 29, 1634.¹⁰

Undeterred by his sufferings, Prynne now began to agitate against the bishops, chiefly William Laud. In *Newes from Ipswich* (1636) Prynne for the first time turned to the pressing business of social and political reformation as opposed to the evils of the flesh: "This is the deplorable News of our present age, that our Presses formerly open onely to *Truth* and *Piety*, are closed up against them both of late, and patent for the most part, to nought but *error superstition, and profaness*." ¹¹ The country abounds in books full of error and impiety published by authority; yet the people are not allowed to hear sermons on Sunday afternoons. This, continues Prynne, in order that the "prophane vulgar might have more time to dance, play, revell, drinke, and prophane *Gods Sabbaths*, even in these days of plague and pestilence." ¹² Prynne appeals to King Charles to hear the petitions and cries of the people against the prelates who have conspired to prevent preaching, especially by powerful ministers of the true religion. These prelates deserve the extreme punishment. Prynne exhorts Charles to "hang up these Popelings for these and other their innumerable oppressions, extortions, innovations and harmes, who suspend, imprison, and ruine others for meere toyes and trifles." ¹³ In *A Looking-Glasse for All Lordly Prelates* (1636) Prynne contrasted, as Milton was to do after him, the worldliness of the prelates and the ornamentation of the church service with the simplicity

⁹ DNB; see Prynne's account of this in *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny* (1641), pp. 8-9, and Sir Philip Warwick's mention of Prynne's "libells against the Queen for her dancing and such like innocent and courtly sports," in his *Memoires of the Reign of Charles I* (London, 1701), p. 248. *A New Discovery* (1641) contains warrants and petitions relating to Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton

¹⁰ *Documents Relating to . . . Prynne*, p. 21. A part of Prynne's sentence was that his books should be burned in Cheapside or Paul's Churchyard. See list of Prynne's works, over two hundred in all, *Documents*, pp. 101-18. In D'Ewes, *Journal*, ed. Notestein, may be found valuable and accurate notes of the Prynne hearings.

¹¹ P. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Pp. 6-7.

of the primitive Christians. In *A Breviate of the Prelates Intolerable Usurpations* (1637) Prynne anticipated Milton in denying to the prelates any secular power, any right of punishment except ecclesiastical. It was unlawful, as well as unchristian, asserted Prynne, for any bishop either to hold secular office or to inflict fines or imprisonments for religious offenses.¹⁴ Prynne was now convinced that no progress could be made in reformation except through the annihilation of the bishops and their secular power. He quotes with high approval the statement of William Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man*: "As thou canst heale no disease, except thou beginne at the roote, even so canst thou preach against no mischiefe, except thou beginne at the Bishops."¹⁵

4. THE RESISTANCE OF FANATICISM: BURTON AND BASTWICK

Two other militant leaders who had rallied popular outcry against the Laudian program were Dr. Henry Burton, of St. Matthews Church, London, and his parishioner, Dr. John Bastwick. Both men had attacked with a furious disregard of Laud's retaliations in the offing. On November 5, 1636, Burton had preached two sermons (partially reproduced in his pamphlet, *For God and the King*, 1636), protesting the imposition of new ceremonies, the flood of suspensions, excommunications, threats, evictions. Though careful to assert his loyalty to the king, Burton castigated the prelates in violent terms: "They have gotten such a power into their hands, as doth overtop and countermaund the Kings Lawes, and the peoples Liberties."¹ Do not the prelates push the people to worship the name of Jesus, altars, images, crosses?² As for the laws of the land: "Alas! Have they not got the Lawes under their girdles, and doe they not trample them as durt under their feet?"³ Now and then Burton strikes off a memorable analysis, anticipating a tenet of *Areopagitica*: "This liberty, and freedome of speech in such cases, is not without the feare of God, but is the branch and fruit, that springeth of it."⁴ The *Letany of John Bastwick* (1637) echoed the fierce resistance of Burton and Prynne, tracing patterns of resentment to come: "Consider, their magnificent and Stately Palaces . . . great revenues . . . the pomp & state they wallow in."⁵ The bishops use the lackeys of secu-

¹⁴ *A Breviate of the Prelates Intolerable Usurpations* (1637), pp. 305, 306, 309.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 324. See below, p. 598.

¹ P. 70.

² P. 15.

³ P. 164.

⁴ P. 27.

⁵ Part I, p. 5.

lar power to enforce a spiritual conformity. Bastwick throws a democratic straw to the wind when he notes that the archbishop of Canterbury had sent colliers to prison for docking their coal barges at Westminster stairs.⁶ In attacking the shrewd claim, "No bishop, no king," both Burton and Bastwick show that as yet the Puritans are unwilling to extend their desire for reformation to an alteration of the kingly function. "CHRISTS GOSPELL," asserts Bastwick, striking another persistent strain of Puritan propaganda, "*is not a CEREMONIAL LAW . . . but a religion to serve God, not in the bondage of the figure and shadow, but in the freedome of the Spirit.*"⁷ Overwhelmed, like most of their Puritan contemporaries, with the persuasion of ideas, Bastwick and Burton found images and symbols, beauty of color, gesture, incense, and dress distasteful to their consciences.

Such bitter resistance Laud could meet only with punitive action. On February 1, 1637, Laud's charges against Burton having been laid before the High Commission, a sergeant-at-arms and Alderman Abel broke into Burton's house with a crowbar an hour before midnight, removed some of his books, and carried him off to prison.⁸ Brought before the Star Chamber, Burton was condemned on June 14 to be fined 5,000 pounds (a penalty never exacted), removed from the ministry, degraded from his degrees, to be set in the pillory and have his ears cut off, imprisoned for life at Lancaster Castle, prohibited access to wife or friends, and denied use of pen and ink.⁹ Prynne and Bastwick were condemned to similar punishments; Prynne suffered branding on each cheek (with the letters *SL* for "seditious libeller") and the loss of the remaining fragments of his ears.¹⁰ In the Star Chamber Laud made a long speech in justification of the sentences, refuting one by one the defendants' attacks on the bishops, finally thanking the judges for their "unanimous dislike of them," and saying of Burton, "You see the boldness of the man, and in as bad a cause as, . . . in this kind ever any man had."¹¹ When the sentences were carried out on June 30, Prynne's stumps were

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4

⁷ *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 2.

⁸ *Several Humble Petitions of . . . Bastwicke . . . Burton . . . Prynne* (1641), p. 17. Details of the arrest appear in D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 194.

⁹ *Several Humble Petitions* (1641), p. 19; *A Narration of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton* (1643), p. 13.

¹⁰ *Documentis Relating to . . . Prynne*, pp. 51, 75. See also *Several Humble Petitions* (1641), pp. 6, 14.

¹¹ *Works* (1847-60), I, 69, 70. In his account of the three men Clarendon writes (Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion* [3 vols., Oxford, 1702], I, 73): "There were three Persons most notorious for their declared Malice

sawed instead of cut off, and Burton's ears were sheared so close to his head that his temporal artery was opened, and the blood gushed out upon the scaffold.¹² A witness to the scene testified to the sympathy of the on-lookers: "There were very many people; they wept and greivd much for Mr. Burton, and at the cutting of each eare there was such a roareing as if every one of them had at the same instant lost an eare. Bastwicke gave the haingman a knife, and taught him¹³ to cutt of his eares quickly and very close, that hee might come there noe more. The haingman burnt Prin in both the cheekes . . . presently a surgeon clapt on a plaster to take out the fire."¹⁴ In *A Narration* Burton describes his own sufferings with a martyr's eye. Like Lilburne after him, he felt an ecstasy in his dedication to the cause; his wife had accompanied him to execution "as to the celebration of our marriage."¹⁵ In the pillory Burton said "it was the happiest pulpett hee had ever preacht in."¹⁶ From this tree (the pillory), asserted Burton, God would bring forth fruit; from the holes (confining his head and arms) God would bring forth light.¹⁷ In such fanaticism, and in the approbation of the multitude, a less logical and less courageous man than Laud might have smelled disaster for his cause. "Most moderate men," wrote Fuller, "thought the censure too sharp, too base, and ignominious, for gentlemen of their ingenuous vocation."¹⁸ But Laud was unyielding as ever: those who had openly honored the three defendants he hunted down to bring them to justice, too.

With what accuracy Burton and his comrades had spoken the sentiment of Londoners became evident on July 28, when Burton was taken from the Fleet to be imprisoned at Lancaster Castle. Strafford estimated that a hundred thousand people lined the streets to acclaim the earless hero.¹⁹ "On the day appointed," wrote Burton afterward, "I passed on horseback from the Fleet through Smithfield, where for throng of people

against the Government of the Church by Bishops, in their several Books, and Writings, which they had publish'd to Corrupt the People, with circumstances very Scandalous, and in language very Scurrilous, and Impudent; which all men thought deserv'd very exemplary Punishment."

¹² Fuller, *Church History* (1837), III, 386. Fuller reproduces parts of the scaffold speeches. "Were the press open to us," asserted Bastwick, "we would scatter his [Canterbury's] kingdom, and fight courageously against Gog and Magog."

¹³ *Documents Relating to . . . Prynne*, p. 87.

¹⁴ *A Narration* (1643), p. 13.

¹⁵ *Documents Relating to . . . Prynne*, p. 87.

¹⁶ Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans* (3 vols., London, 1813), III, 50.

¹⁷ Fuller, *Church History* (1837), III, 386.

¹⁸ Brook, III, 50. See *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, ed. William Knowles (2 vols., London, 1789), II, 114.

all along I could not passe, but very slowly, though the Keeper hastened all he could, who fretted to see so many thousands all the way we went, he reckoning the number to be forty thousand. By the way so many taking me by the hand, pressed the very blood out at my fingers ends, but with another minde then the great ones drew the blood out at mine eares."¹⁹ That night as he rode toward St. Albans, five hundred followers accompanied him on horseback. Burton remained in close confinement at Lancaster Castle for over three years, denied access of family or redress of grievances until the Long Parliament met on November 3, 1640. Released by November 22, Burton rode triumphantly toward London, met at Bagshot by his wife and hundreds of friends, the houses opening in joyful hospitality along the way.²⁰ As the company rode along, people came forth with garlands of rosemary and bays; at every town bells rang and citizens lined the streets.²¹ The sun rose that day with remarkable brightness in the clear air; this Burton took to be an omen of God's good will and righteousness rising over England, like many such omens he had observed at Lancaster Castle.²² In the crowds that hailed Burton (ten thousand accompanied him from Charing Cross to London), and believed in his fanatic resistance to the prelates, lay an explosive hint of dire retaliations in the months to come.

5. JOHN LILBURNE, APPRENTICE REBEL

Though strikingly dissimilar in background and education to Burton and Prynne, his manifestoes for secular reform yet to come, John Lilburne meanwhile had also come forth as a defiant enemy of the prelates. A gentleman's son, Lilburne was nevertheless no university man. After attending school some ten years in Auckland and Newcastle, he had been apprenticed by his father to Thomas Hewson, a wholesale cloth merchant of London who found Lilburne a reliable young man in business negotiations.¹ In the period from fifteen to twenty, living in the midst of pamphlet agitation, Lilburne had thrown his energies into printing and distributing the new magic. Forced in 1636 to flee to Holland for having assisted in the printing of Bastwick's *Letany*,² Lilburne

¹⁹ *A Narration* (1643), p. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 42. See Clarendon's arresting analysis (1702, I, 158-60) of the agitation and petitions of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick.

¹ John Lilburne, *Innocency and Truth Justified* (1646), p. 8; *The Christian Mans Triall* (2d ed, 1641), p. 2; *Legal Fundamental Liberties* (2d ed, 1649), p. 25.

² Mildred A. Gibb, *John Lilburne the Leveller* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1947), pp. 40 ff.

read there many of the forbidden books and actively engaged in printing pamphlets for distribution in England, one of which was probably Prynne's *Newes from Ipswich*. On January 14, 1637, Lilburne was committed to the Gatehouse by Sir John Banks, chancellor to Laud, on the charge of sending scandalous books from Holland to England. Already Lilburne gave evidence of his study of law and courtroom procedure by refusing, until he was "better advised,"³ to take the oath of the Star Chamber to answer in truthful terms. While in prison Lilburne wrote several short pamphlets, one of which, *A Cry for Justice*,⁴ was printed in Amsterdam. A more important manifesto, suggestive of later propaganda methods, was his *Letter to the Apprentices of London*.⁵ When Lilburne was finally brought before the High Commission, Laud accused him of being "one of the notoriousest disperser of Libellous bookes that is in the Kingdome."⁶ Lilburne's ally in his refusal to take the "ex-officio" oath was Mr. John Wharton, an ardent bishop-hater of eighty-five. On April 18, 1638, having refused persistently to take the oath, Lilburne was lashed through the streets from the Fleet to Westminster, receiving meanwhile two hundred strokes of a corded whip. In this experience Lilburne describes himself as suffering a small martyrdom not only with patience but with ecstasy: "And this I counted my wedding day, in which I was married to the Lord Jesus Christ; for now I know hee loves me, in that hee hath bestowed so rich apparell this day upon mee."⁷ Anyone who follows Christ, he asserted, must expect to suffer persecution. According to Lilburne's account, he won even the executioner's admiration: "I have whipt many a Rogue, but now I shall whip an honest man, but be not discouraged . . . it will be soone over."⁸ Required to stand in the pillory, Lilburne found himself surrounded by sympathizers, to whom he distributed some of Bastwick's pamphlets,

³ *Triall* (1641), p. 6.

⁴ *A Cry for Justice* (1639) may be found in *The Picture of the Councell of State* (2d ed., 1649), pp. 21-26. *A Worke of the Beast*, dated April 18, 1638, also written during Lilburne's first imprisonment, appears in *Triall* (2d ed., 1641), pp. 17-38.

⁵ In this pamphlet, written May 5, 1639, Lilburne appealed to his fellow-apprentices to intervene with the Lord Mayor: "By hundred or thousands goe in a faire and peaceable way in my behalfe to the honourable Lord Maior of this City." Here we have Lilburne for the first time making a direct appeal to the apprentices who were later fertile ground for his tireless propaganda. Burton, Prynne, and Milton addressed themselves to intellectuals, not apprentices, as instruments of reform. Lilburne's *Letter to the Apprentices of London* (1639) is reprinted in *The Prisoner's Plea for a Habeas Corpus* (April 4, 1648), E434(19).

⁶ *Triall* (2d ed., 1641), p. 8.

⁷ *A Worke of the Beast* (1638), in *Triall* (2d ed., 1641), p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

saying, "There is part of the Bookes for which I suffer . . . reade them and see if you find any thing in them against the Law of God . . . I am stung by the *Scorpions* (the *Prelates*)."⁹ In the glorification of his suffering, Lilburne stated several times his fanatic creed of social action, in future years to be devoted almost entirely to secular reform: "If Parents, Husband, Wife or children, lands or livings, riches or honours, pleasure or ease, life or blood, stand in the way, you must be willing to part with all these, and to entertaine Christ naked and alone."¹⁰ In Lilburne's humorless fanaticism, as in Burton's and Prynne's, we may read the portents of divisions to come. In their hatred of the prelates the Puritans found it easy to unite; but within a few years, with Burton as an Independent, Prynne as a Presbyterian, and Lilburne as a Leveller, these leaders and their followers were to attack each other almost as fiercely as they had warred on the hated prelates.

A common strain of Puritan resistance was a fanatical courage that carried Leighton, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Lilburne through imprisonment and torture. All five men regarded themselves as martyrs to the Lord's cause, as much as any of those pictured by John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*. Like some of the martyrs of Queen Mary's time, Lilburne exulted in his whipping; he was "cheerfull and merry in the Lord." Of the four men, Prynne was the most learned, combining with his legal background a long study of history and theology. With his background and prolific citation of sources, Prynne became the teacher of John Lilburne, and of John Milton, too, who had little respect for learning exclusively theological. In turning from ceremonies and sins of the flesh to law and politics, Prynne became a forerunner of Leveller agitation for more extreme secular reform than Prynne himself could sanction. In terms of toleration and the right of each man to interpret the Bible, Burton was more sophisticated than his three defiant colleagues. Like Vane, Milton, and Cromwell, he believed in liberty of conscience and democracy in church organization without extending the democratic principle to the field of political action. This extension of Puritan thought was to be adopted by John Lilburne, the only one of the four lacking a university education and the only one who agitated among the apprentices for support. Thus far, it is true, Lilburne was a religious reformer only. Within a few years, however, he would apply the principles

⁹ *Triall*, p. 31. For his pillory conduct Lilburne was ordered by the Star Chamber on April 18 to be placed in irons, denied access of friends or gifts of money. A copy of the Star Chamber's order appears in *Triall* (2d ed., 1641), pp. 38-39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

of law and history learned in prison (some of them from the books of William Prynne and Henry Parker) to democratic agitation on a broad secular basis. In the four men, then, were embodied several of the diverse strains of Puritanism: fanatical resistance, individualistic interpretation of the Bible, and the application of Biblical principles to social ends. In their resistance against Laud the four men were united, often mentioning their fellow sufferers in their pamphlets. Yet within a few years Prynne and Lilburne would be bitter enemies. The dynamics of Puritanism worked often for sects and divisions, seldom for uniformity, as John Dury was to learn to his sorrow.

CHAPTER IV

SCOTTISH PRELUDE: BAILLIE AND HALL AS HOSTILE CHAMPIONS

April-May, 1640

MEANWHILE Scotland had been seething with a revolt against Laudian principles that Charles could not ignore. On November 1, 1638, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met at Glasgow under the uneasy eye of Charles's commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton. Only with great reluctance Charles had consented to the assembly; he now had new reasons almost daily to regret it. Step by step the assembly, with its great leader Alexander Henderson acting as moderator, swept away the last vestiges of Episcopal authority, acting with an almost unanimous root and branch thoroughness that only a minority of the English Commons was to feel three years later.¹ The assembly passed more than seventy-five principal acts before its adjournment on December 20. Former acts of six assemblies permitting prelacy were now annulled. The assembly deposed all "the pretended bishops" and excommunicated eight of them as well, meanwhile dividing the fifty-three presbyteries into provinces for synodical assemblies. The service book was condemned, the book of ordination, the canons, the High Commission, the Articles of Perth. Ministers who had objected to the assembly, especially to its admission of lay elders, found themselves deposed. In keeping with Knox's educational dream, the assembly passed an act for the "planting of Schooles in the Countrey."² It imposed pro-

¹ Masson, II, 4-42.

² Charles I, *A Large Declaration* (1639), pp. 320-24. Of the principal acts of the Assembly Charles wrote (p. 324): "By these it is easie to be discerned what

hibitions against printed attacks on the assembly's actions and ordered all ministers to explain and defend the assembly's deliberations from their pulpits. In vain did the Scottish bishops condemn the assembly as "most unlawfull and disorderly"; in vain, too, did Charles by proclamation on November 29 order the assembly dissolved.³ Charles was on solid ground in gauging the assembly's actions a defiance of his royal authority. If he permitted Scotland thus to defy the Laudian program, he would weaken his position at home and lend aid and comfort to the English Puritans. Thus the first bishops' war became inevitable. The war, which began in March, 1639, and lasted until June 24, ended in an ignominious peace for Charles, with his army spiritless and disorganized, the populace behind him restive and fearful. To the extreme English Puritans the Scots were fighting for the reformation long overdue in England itself. One libellous pamphleteer wrote that "Our ministers are taken away or their mouths stopped, and our souls are like to be starved; and we have as much need to stand as the Scots have in this behalf."⁴ The war had been an unpopular one. Though the clergy as a whole had subscribed generously, the city of London, where the Puritans exerted great influence, subscribed only £5,200, which the king indignantly refused.⁵ Lord Brooke and Lord Saye and Sele were the only ones among the lords who refused to contribute. Still resolved in his course, Charles initiated the second bishops' war (June–September, 1640), which ended even more disastrously than the first for English arms.⁶

Meanwhile both Charles and the Scottish leaders appealed with fervor and assurance to public opinion. To justify his measures against the Scots, Charles issued in 1639 his *A Large Declaration Concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland*. With Laud's encouragement, Hall was impelled to write his *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640) as an appeal to the reason and conscience of the Scots.⁷ The Scotch leaders in turn, like John Knox before them, sought to accelerate the Reformation in England. Robert Baillie, with the approval of the General Assembly, prepared his pamphlet, *Ladensium . . . the Canterburians Self-Conviction*

conclusions, tending to Sedition and Rebellion, and the overthrow of the lawes both of Church and Kingdome, were agreed upon "

³ Charles I, *A Large Declaration*, pp. 290–94. The acts are reprinted in full in *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Alexander Peterkin (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 21–42.

⁴ Masson, II, 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 135–42.

⁷ Throughout *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640) Hall uses the pronoun "you" in addressing the recalcitrant Scotch.

(1640), in justification of the Scottish cause and the protests of English Puritans.

1 SCOTCH ALLY AND REFORMER. ROBERT BAILLIE

Published in April, 1640, Baillie's *Ladensium* reviewed the complaints that were to reverberate in hundreds of English pamphlets within the year to come. From his own experience in Scotland Baillie knew the obstacles to reformation that the English Puritans were yet to grapple with. Born in Glasgow in 1602, Baillie had entered the Church of Scotland after receiving an M.A. in 1620 from the University of Glasgow and serving there as regent in philosophy.¹ In 1637 he had refused to preach a sermon in favor of the canon and service book which Laud sought to impose upon Presbyterian Scotland, which had voted the abolition of Episcopacy as early as 1580. In February, 1638, Baillie had been leader in the assembly at Glasgow which had ended with the signing of the National Covenant.² In the first bishops' war Baillie enlisted as chaplain in Lord Eglinton's regiment and was with the army of Covenanters which fought with Leslie at Dunse Law.³ After participating in the second bishops' war, which began in June, 1640, Baillie proceeded to London in the interests of the English Reformation, in which he thought Scottish experience would be invaluable. Within a year his *Ladensium* had gone into three editions, the third of which was published in 1641 with *A Large Supplement to the Canterburian Self-Conviction*. In his first edition of *Ladensium* Baillie reviewed the Laudian practices and beliefs as represented in the books of White, Montague, Hall,⁴ Heylin, Pocklington, and the new fiery champion of royalism, John Corbet. In his preface Baillie expressed amazement that the English Parliament would support

¹ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ed. David Laing (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1841-42), I, xxi

² Catholicism was officially abolished by the Scottish Parliament August 24, 1560. An uneasy compromise between Presbyterianism and Anglicanism prevailed until 1592, when the Presbyterian church government was officially established on June 5. To resist Charles's attempts to impose the Laudian system on the country, the Scotch signed a new confession of faith, the National Covenant, on February 28, 1638. This document (*Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Peterkin, pp. 9-13) provides an invaluable review of the issues already resolved in Scotland, but now to be agitated in England during the revolutionary years 1641-1649

³ *DNB*. In Baillie's letter to Spang, September 28, 1639 (Baillie, *Letters*, 1841-42, I, 210 ff.), he gives vivid impressions of camp life in this war.

⁴ *Ladensium* (1640), p. 12. Baillie takes Hall to task for his *Remedy of Prophanenness* (1627). This tract may be found in Hall, *Works* (1863), VI, 324-84.

the Canterburian faction in their war against Scottish Protestants. He was also disappointed that after the tortures inflicted on Bastwick, Burton, Prynne, Leighton, and Lilburne, English champions should be silent. Was it possible that these persecutions "should binde up the mouths of all the rest of the Learned"? ⁵ It was evident that he intended his own book to be a beacon of light and encouragement to the English pamphleteers. In *Ladensium* Baillie devoted many pages to the creed of Arminianism fostered in Anglican writings. He attempted to show (as later in *A Parallel*, 1641) that the prayer book imposed by Laud upon English subjects was full of similarities to the mass, parallels many of which the Scots had rejected long ago. The prelates had removed the table of the Lord's supper from the people; they had attacked the office of preaching, "Preaching being thus far cryed down," wrote Baillie, that "there will be the lesse ado to get up the *Masse*." ⁶ Thousands of people had been "cast out from their homes, as farre as to the worlds end, among the savadge *Americans*." ⁷ Though professing his loyalty to King Charles and his confidence in Charles's integrity, Baillie made clear in *Ladensium* that he regarded the English monarchy as limited, not absolute. "We are for Monarchie," he wrote, "but against Monarchicke tyrannie." ⁸ Indeed, one of his complaints against prelates was that they had heightened the secular power of kings. Baillie's opinion, like Knox's before him, was that the people had a right to rebel against tyrants. Did not the Canterburians teach that the king alone could tax, also that the lands of Scotland were originally the king's own property? This to Baillie was the inculcation of a tyranny all Presbyterian Scotland was prepared to resist.

In his argument on limited sovereignty Baillie was addressing himself in part to a renegade Presbyterian minister, John Corbet, who in 1639 had fled from Scotland to Ireland, where he wrote a blast against the Scots called *The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour*.⁹ In early January, 1640, Corbet had written *The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus*

⁵ *Ladensium* (1640), preface, p. [13].

⁶ *Ladensium* (1640), p. 93.

⁷ *Ladensium* (1640), preface, p. [11].

⁸ *A Large Supplement of the Canterburian Self-Conviction* (1641), postscript, p. 9.

⁹ Born in 1603, Corbet proceeded M.A. from the University of Glasgow in 1623, afterward becoming a schoolmaster and serving as ordained minister at Bonhill in 1637 and later at Dumbarton, where he was accused of "*contumacie and contempt to the Presbyterie and other points both of unsoundnesse of opinions, and disobedience to the ordinance of the generall assemblie*" *DNB*; John Corbet, *Ungirding of the Scottish Armour* (1641), p. 54. In the Irish rebellion of 1641 Corbet was "hewn in pieces by two swineherds in the very arms of his poor wife." *DNB*.

Nicanor, a pamphlet to be noticed by John Milton in *Animadversions* only a few months later.¹⁰ The burden of Corbet's argument, which he advances with effective quotations from a Scottish proclamation, *Informations for Defensive Armes*, is that Presbyterian democracy in church organization inevitably means a challenge to the monarch's power. It was heinous to Corbet that the Scots should "acknowledge the *peoples superiority* above the *Prince*."¹¹ Corbet, despite his own Presbyterian background, took the position that the monarchy of England held its place by divine right and was therefore not to be resisted. He was horrified that the Scots should say that subjects should obey God, not man, and that tyrants should be deposed.¹² Subsequent events were to prove the accuracy of Corbet's analysis. Once the king was resisted, and the principle established that the rights of government are inherent in the people, revolutionary departures of many kinds would be justified. With remarkable success the Scots were able to resolve the Reformation in Scotland into an orderly and disciplined church government with a reassuring measure of agreement among all classes of people. In England, however, once the revolt against Anglican and royal authority began to churn the minds of English subjects, it provoked far greater divisions and dissensions than in Scotland, leading eventually to the abolition of the kingship and the establishment of the republic in 1649.

¹⁰ Below, p. 667.

¹¹ Corbet, *Ungurding* (1641), p. 39.

¹² How incapable Charles I was of understanding the forces against him is revealed on many pages of *A Large Declaration*. Passages like the following from Charles's proclamations were fair warning of his resistance to English reform in years to come (p. 5): "And if by their stubbornnesse they shall force Us to a severitie displeasing to Us, and unwelcome to them, We call Him by whom We reigne to witnesse, and heaven and earth and all the world to record, that they with their owne hands doe unsheath Our just sword, which Wee cannot but use as the Minister of God, unlesse We will betray that trust which the King of Kings hath reposed in Us for the maintenance of Religion and Justice amongst all His people whom He hath committed to Our charge." To Charles the Scottish Presbyterian demands were only another name for treason (p. 6). "Religion is onely pretended and used by them as a cloak to palliate their intended Rebellion." In *A Large Declaration* Charles attempted an appeal to Scottish reason by reprinting *The Confession of Faith of the Kirke of Scotland* and other Presbyterian manifestoes, together with his own proclamations and replies. Except by such Presbyterians as John Corbet, however, Charles's large volume fell from the press unheeded. It is nowhere evident that Charles learned from his bitter experiences in Scotland how to deal with English political leaders of the same persuasion.

2. EPISCOPACY IN THE BALANCE: HALL'S DEFENSE

To English Anglicans in early 1640 the Laudian program was in grave danger. Scotland had repudiated Episcopacy root and branch, setting up a model of Presbyterianism that many English Puritans longed to emulate. The wars against Scotland such men as Joseph Hall recognized as impotent to make men believe in the Anglican way. At home the imprisonment and torture of Prynne, Bastwick, Lilburne, and Burton had made them champions of truth among the vulgar. In such a dilemma Hall could not believe that a reasoned defense of Episcopacy would fall on deaf ears even among the Scots themselves. After submitting his plan to Laud,¹ who made revisions and corrections, Hall brought out his *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640), tracing the origins of bishops and justifying hierarchy by the practices of the primitive church and the testimony of the fathers. That anyone should doubt the status of Episcopacy, least of all a bishop himself, Hall finds incredible: "Good God! what is this, that I have lived to heare? That a Bishop in a Christian Assembly, should renounce his Episcopall function, and cry mercy for his now-abandoned calling?"² In the course of his argument Hall defines Episcopacy as "an eminent order of sacred function, appointed by the Holy Ghost, in the Evangelicall Church, for the governing and over-seeing thereof; and for that purpose, besides the Administration of the Word and Sacraments, indued with power of imposition of hands, and perpetuity of Jurisdiction."³ That bishops are justified by the Holy Ghost Hall assumes from their institution by the apostles themselves of leaders like Timothy and Titus, who, though not named bishops, were empowered to lay hands, oversee doctrine, hear accusations, deal impartially with presbyters.⁴ In any single church all was done, Hall grants, with the consent of the presbyters; but the power was derived not from the presbyters but from the apostles, who communicated their authority

¹ In *Cyprianus Anglicanus* (1668), Peter Heylyn stated that Laud "recommended" that Hall write a tract defending Episcopacy as a divine right. Heylyn quotes (pp. 398-99) a suggested outline of the tract that Laud submitted to Hall.

² *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640), Part I, p. 1. The tract was divided into three parts, each separately paged: Part I, 80 pp.; Part II, 135 pp.; Part III, 56 pp. *Episcopacie* may be easily examined in Hall, *Works* (1863), IX, 148. On November 28, 1638, Alexander Lindsay renounced his office as bishop of Dunkeld. On February 11, 1639, George Grahame, bishop of Orkney, made a similar recantation. The text of the recantations may be found in *The Recantation and Humble Submission of Two Ancient Prelates* (1641). Hall refers to the Orkney recantation in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" of *Episcopacie* (1640), sig. a1.

³ *Episcopacie* (1640), Part II, p. 4.

⁴ See the Smectymnuan reply to Hall on this point in *An Answer to a Booke Entitled, An Humble Remonstrance* (1641), pp. 50-66.

to men of their own selection, and by an unbroken line to the bishops of the present day. The democratic aspects of primitive church organization, which Milton later was to set forth so vehemently, were to Hall largely a figment of the imagination, though he granted that "at the first, all to whom the Dispensation of the Gospell was committed, were called Presbyters."⁵ So far as antiquity and the continuous practice for fifteen hundred years could justify Episcopacy, Hall built a solid argument. He was on firm ground when he asserted that bishops grew up with an enlarged membership and the multiplying of congregations:

This then was the Apostles course, for the plantation of the Church, and the better propagation of the Gospel, where ever they came, they found it necessary to ordain meet assistants to them, and they promiscuously imparted unto them all their owne style (but Apostolicall) naming them Bishops and Presbyters, and Deacons according to the familiarity and indifferency of their former usage therein But when they, having divided themselves into severall parts of the world, found that the number of Christians (especially in the greater Cities) so multiplied, that they must needs be divided into many Congregations, and those Congregations must necessarily have many Presbyters, and those many Presbyters, in the absence of the Apostles, began to emulate each other, and to make parties for their own advantage; then (as St. Jerome truly notes) began the manifest and constant distinction betwixt the Office of Bishops and Presbyters to be both known and observed. For now, the Apostles, by the direction of the Spirit of God, found it requisite and necessary for the avoyding of schisme and disorder that some eminent persons should every where be lifted up above the rest.⁶

In this account of the primitive church Hall traces the inevitable tendency, in the growth of an organization, to gradations, ranks, and the centralization of power, a process tremendously accelerated, as Gibbon was to show, when the Roman Empire adopted Christianity as its state religion. When Hall cited one of the functions of Episcopacy as "the avoyding of schisme and disorder,"⁷ he cited again a historical fact, the emergence of a kind of primitive Protestantism that the bishops and their benefactors, the Roman emperors, thought fit to suppress. But the

⁵ *Episcopacie* (1640), Part II, p. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 21-22.

⁷ Hall's source here, Jerome's Letter CXLVI, to Evangelus, is a critical one in the whole controversy. In it Jerome says, "The apostle clearly teaches that presbyters are the same as bishops." Later in the letter he says, "When subsequently one presbyter was chosen to preside over the rest, this was done to remedy schism and to prevent each individual from rending the church of Christ by drawing it to himself." See *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series, ed Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (14 vols., New York, 1890-1900), VI, 288-89. (Hereafter cited as *Fathers, N. and P.N. 2.*)

facts about primitive church organization as it changed from century to century are difficult to untangle, even after thirty decades of further scholarship. The Presbyterian pamphleteers of Milton's day replied, in effect, "But what happened early in the first century, before the congregations became numerous?" If antiquity be the touchstone, then the very oldest churches elected bishops without distinct spiritual powers; they were, in effect, as Milton was to argue so vehemently, merely head-presbyters elected by the members of each congregation.

It is plain from *Episcopacie by Divine Right* that Hall, despite his deep learning and genuine humility, possessed little understanding of the forces that were uprooting English society. There is no indication that he sensed the growth of Puritan economic power as a challenge to the feudal order of which he was a part. Accustomed as he was to hierarchy in church and state, Hall was largely unaware of the democratic impetus generated by the new Protestant individualism, an impetus encouraging each man to read his own Bible and draw his own conclusions about society, the church, and his own code of morality. The resentment of the bishops' palaces and carriages, clothes and retinues, votes in Parliament—all dismayed him: "We have the Lands, Rents, Royalty, possessions of Lordships, Rights of Barony: What? Have we not yet been prey enough to this malignant and sacrilegious envy?"⁸ Hall pictures with caustic derision reminiscent of the *Satyrs* a democratic English church not responsible to bishops: "Perhaps a young indiscreet giddy Pastour; and for a Doctor, who, and where, and what? *John a Nokes* and *John a Stiles* the Elders! *Smug the Smith*, a Deacon; and whom or what should these rule, but themselves, and their plowshares? And what censures, trow we, would this grave Consistory inflict?"⁹ Hall was horrified that in such a situation the laymen should claim equal votes with their pastor in judging spiritual causes. Such a church would be "a Pope and his Conclave of Cardinals within his owne Parish, not subject to controlement, not liable to a superiour Censure."¹⁰ Nor was the topic of church organization in Hall's mind separated from the rightful gradations and ranks of civil life. He rejoiced that the English Reformation was effected in an orderly manner by kingly action, unlike that of France and Holland: "Ours, beginning from the head; theirs, from the feet: Ours proceeding in a due order; theirs, with confusion."¹¹ As for kingship itself, "It were a crime, of strange braine-sick giddinesse, to say

⁸ *Episcopacie* (1640), Part II, p. 106.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Part III, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 22.

nothing of the hainous morall transgression, to cast off the yoke of just and hereditarie Monarchie." ¹² It is true that in 1640 thousands of Englishmen believed as did Hall in the divine right of kings; but Hall's reverence for kingship was more deep-rooted than that of most fellow bishops, inspired in part by his personal attendance on King James and his years at Cambridge in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign.

CHAPTER V

THE LONG PARLIAMENT AGAINST THE BISHOPS

November, 1640–February, 1641

IN THE months of November, 1640, to March, 1641, the House of Commons, supported by Puritan agitation and liberal aristocrats, enforced a crucial shift of power in the structure of both church and state. Since his coronation in 1625, but especially since 1633 and the advent of Laud, Charles I had attempted an absolutism in church and state for which there was memorable precedent in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Side by side with the absolutism of Elizabeth and James, however, had rested uneasily the constitutional traditions derived from earlier centuries, traditions that the Long Parliament was now determined to reassert. By March, 1641, it was evident that the economic and political forces of England ranged against Charles were too strong to be thwarted again by royal admonition. At the same time Parliament so reasserted its control of the state church that a Laudian program in England could never again claim for itself even the sanction of the monarch. Even in 1660, with the Revolution dead and its surviving leaders threatened with execution, England was to revive, not the absolutism of Laud and Charles I, but the Parliamentary control of 1641.

1. NOVEMBER CRISIS: THE LONG PARLIAMENT

On the day the Long Parliament met, November 3, 1640, the long-smouldering complaints of the kingdom found voices at last. On ship money, on the power of the prelates, on the actions of Strafford, on royal absolutism, the issues were clearly joined between king and Parliament, the Parliament determined that its monarchy should be limited in power, the king hoping to win appropriations for his depleted treasury. Beneath the pageantry of that day, when the king came by barge from Whitehall

¹² *Episcopacie*, Part I, p. 25.

to Westminster Bridge, thence accompanied by the Lords to Westminster Abbey, then after a sermon by the bishop of Bristol, to the House of Lords, where the Commons were summoned to hear the king's message¹—beneath this pageantry, which embodied in each stage the glories of a feudal monarchy unaware of its fading power, lay the rising economic strength of the Puritan classes which they were now determined to translate into political representation. To the king's civil and divine supremacy they were willing to give lip service only, expecting to redress through Parliament the abuses of prerogative. With formalities over, the critical work began on Saturday, November 7, when Pym presented the petitions of Susannah Bastwick and Sarah Burton on behalf of their imprisoned husbands. On the same day the House received the petition of John Brown, servant to Mr Prynne, on behalf of his earless employer. The House ordered that Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick be released to appear before the Commons. After a speech by Oliver Cromwell on his behalf, the House decreed further that John Lilburne should have liberty of the Fleet prison and the right to "*prosecute his Petition*" under safe custody outside the prison walls.²

On the same day Pym opened the fusillade of complaints in the Commons, stressing the violation of Parliamentary privileges, the country's religious beliefs and customs, and the economic and political liberties of the subject. Without pausing to elaborate or dramatize, Pym traced the whole chain of abuses, protesting against abridgement of Parliamentary freedom of speech, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of Parliament members, sudden dissolutions of Parliament, innovations in religion. At this point in his listing of grievances Pym paused to specify the insistence on conformity as a primary virtue, refusal of the bishops to allow preaching on Sabbath afternoons, declarations of Episcopacy as *Jure Divino*, prosecution of ministers who refused to read *The Book for Sunday Recreations*, and "*Popish Ceremonies* countenanced and enjoined, as Altars, Images, Crucifixes, Bowings, Ec."³ Turning then to economic grievances, Pym protested the imposition of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament, the granting of monopolies, especially the monopoly on wine (which brought into the king's treasury thirty thousand pounds a year), the imposition of taxes, mentioning especially taxes imposed arbitrarily for the upkeep of the army, the tax on tobacco "insupportable to the poor Planters in America."⁴ The Star

¹ John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of the Great Civil War* (8 vols., London, 1721), IV, 11 (hereafter cited as Rushworth); D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 4.

² Rushworth, IV, 20; Masson, II, 175.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Chamber had been used, asserted Pym, as an agency of oppression instead of a court of justice to which Parliaments originally referred important cases. According to statute, continued Pym, parliaments should be called annually; instead long intermissions had interrupted them. Of these grievances, political, economic, and theological, Pym selected as most crucial the grievances against the bishops, "the ambitious and corrupt Clergy, *Preaching* down the Laws of God, and *Liberties* of the Kingdom; pretending Divine Authority and Absolute Power in the King, *to do what he will* with us" ⁵ Thus broad and deep ran the tide of Puritan resentments, a tide contained for a decade by royal skill, but now running in full torrent, shortly to be joined by hundreds of pamphleteers.

How fully and pointedly Pym represented the sentiment of the Commons the speeches that followed revealed with dramatic suddenness. On the same day spoke Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Edward Bagshaw, Sir John Holland, Lord Digby, each of them supporting the complaints Pym had set forth. Rudyard protested the scornful use of the word "Puritan" as a means of evading reformation: "Whosoever squares his Actions by any Rule, either Divine or Humane, he is a *Puritan*; whosoever would be governed by the King's Laws, he is a *Puritan*, he that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, *he is a Puritan*: Their great work, their Masterpiece, now is to make all those of the Religion, to be the *suspected Party* of the Kingdom." ⁶ Bagshaw stressed the need the subjects felt for a sense of security from illegal arrests, from further enclosures, from the suits of monopolists, from innovations in religion and the imposition of strange oaths, especially in the High Commission and ecclesiastical courts. Sir John Holland recalled the increase in royal prerogative, the enhanced and unusual powers of the prelates. So numerous were the petitions and complaints presented to the House on November 7 that the House was divided into forty committees to read and discuss them. ⁷ In the body of these many petitions, according to Rushworth, the four most persistent subjects were church irregularities, popery, affairs in Ireland and Scotland, and last, ship money and courts of justice. ⁸ Never was a parliament more unanimous in its complaints,

⁵ Rushworth, IV, 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷ Rushworth, IV, 28. By November 9 petitions had been received from fifteen counties. William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church, 1640-1660* (2 vols., London, 1900), I, 8. The number of petitions received the first few days must have run into several hundred, most of which unfortunately have been lost.

⁸ Rushworth, IV, 29.

or the petitioners who appeared at its doors.⁹ For the first time in twelve years the people of England could exercise their traditional right of petition and through printed petitions wield a propaganda force that helped to crystallize the mounting tension.

2. HENRY PARKER AND THE CAUSE OF PROPERTY

Meanwhile, in a pamphlet significantly dated November 3, *The Case of Shipmony Briefly Discoursed* (1640), Henry Parker had set forth with remarkable precision and fullness the converging forces of the Parliamentary cause. An Oxford man and Lincoln's Inn barrister, more subtle and graceful in expression than Pym, Vane, or Prynne, Parker at thirty-six possessed a far deeper insight into the economic and political origins of the conflict than Milton, Burton, or Goodwin. True, he lacked the urbanity of Walwyn, the racy thrusts of Overton; nor did he speak for the propertyless mass, as would Winstanley nine years later. But Parker expanded in elastic and pointed style those political aspects of Puritan reasoning that his contemporaries of 1640 left too often in simple outline. Monarchs in other countries are of various kinds and powers, runs Parker's analysis; but England's monarch is by tradition limited in prerogative by laws and charters, limitations purchased by prolonged resistance and "expence of blood."¹ In this long struggle to circumscribe the king's power, the country has now reached a new crisis in the matter of ship money, a new danger to the cause of the people: "It is vaine to stop twenty leakes in a ship, and then to leave one open, or to make lawes for the restraint of royalty all otherwaies, that it may not overflow the estates of the Comminalty at pleasure, and yet to leave one great breach for its irruption."² Though the king is the highest civil officer, bound to act in time of national danger, he is by right neither the sole judge of danger nor the means of combating it. If the nation needs ship money to meet an emergency, the king should have the advice and consent of Parliament. Parker dwells at length on the fallibility of kings, citing the careers of King John, Henry III, Edward II, all of whom have acted contrary to the laws of England. Even good kings have been guilty of despotic acts: "It is more probable and naturall that evill may bee expected from good Princes, then good from bad."³ When it degener-

⁹ Clarendon's analysis (1702, I, 161) of the genesis of some of the petitions is worth close study.

¹ *The Case of Shipmony Briefly Discoursed* (1640), p. 24.

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*, p. 22.

ates into despotism, monarchy is the worst of all governments, its people slaves: "There is no Tyranny more abhorred then that which hath a controlling power over all Law, and knowes no bounds but its owne will."⁴ Despotism inevitably drags in its train corruption and misery, as to the French peasants and the Italians of Naples and Sicily in their present wretchedness; yet by the law of nature the lowliest people deserve freedom as fully as those people protected by law from arbitrary rule. Not the people in an unhappy kingdom, but the rulers, are responsible for conditions. Whereas kings are changeable and capricious, the people are constant and predictable: "The people as the sea have no turbulent motion of their owne, if Princes like the windes doe not raise them into rage."⁵ In Parker one finds no such reverence for kingship as pervaded even the Puritan classes and was to sustain the Restoration of 1660; though he holds Charles to be "one of the mildest, and most gracious of our Kings," he cites with relish the irony of God's vicegerent doing the work of a tyrant.⁶

Parker's praise of parliaments reveals at once his fear of the growth of royal prerogative and his sense of the Puritan resistance as the enemy of prelatical tyranny. Calling ship money "a picklock tricke," Parker derides the assertion that parliaments could not expeditiously have been called to grant ship money to the king in the accepted manner. The factions opposed to frequent parliaments, asserts Parker, are the prelates, the papists, and the court parasites, all of whom have good reason indeed to distrust parliaments, crying them down as seditious and Puritanical, insinuating to the king that parliaments desire the fall of monarchy even more intensely than the abolition of Episcopacy.⁷ Appealing to the king to prefer frequent parliaments to prelates and court favorites as true friends of monarchy, Parker warns Charles that "that mischief which makes all mischiefs irremediable, and almost hopelesse in England at this day, is that Parliaments are clouded, and disused, and suffered to be calumniated by the ill boding incendiaries of our State."⁸ Thus did Parker set forth the grievances of the kingdom, citing the safety of the people as the supreme law ("*vox populi* was ever revered as *vox Dei*"),⁹ anticipating the early theories of Lilburne and Overton, sowing

⁴ *Case of Shipmony* (1640), p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26. After a cautious beginning, Parker's words take on new boldness as his argument lengthens. One of his last statements runs (p. 45): "That the Vicegerent of God should doe the office of a tyrant, will be no light thing one day."

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

the seed of many a pamphlet shoot of later propaganda.¹⁰ In Parker the dynamics of Protestantism rested from the beginning not on the sins of the flesh, as in the early mind of William Prynne, but on political reform and the theory of democratic rights from which the Leveller movement was to grow. To Parker thus far, as to Milton and Prynne, the word "people" signified the property-owning members¹¹ of the rising middle class, not the two millions of laborers, servants, and enlisted men at the bottom of the social scale. These had as yet no Cambridge or Oxford men to set forth their unreasoning demands.¹²

3. FIRST BLOWS AGAINST THE PRELATES

In the weeks that followed, the Commons moved with striking unanimity against Strafford, the judges who had sanctioned ship money, and the hated canons of Archbishop Laud. To reach agreement in a campaign of annihilation, especially as visualized in familiar hated faces, was an

¹⁰ Another arresting pamphlet on ship money, stressing, like Parker's tract, the illegality of taxation without sanction of Parliament, is *An Humble Remonstrance to His Majesty, against the Tax of Ship-Money* (1641). The *Remonstrance* describes the economic consequences of ship money in much greater detail than *Case of Shipmony*. One inequity was the discrimination against businessmen (*An Humble Remonstrance*, p. 23): "Ordinary Merchants [were] charged, to pay, ten, twelve, fifteene, yea, twenty five pound, or more; when as diverse of your great Officers, Earles, and Lords, who had fortie times greater Estates and Annuall revenewes, payd but two, three, foure, or five pound at the most." This tract has been ascribed to William Prynne (McAlpin).

¹¹ Milton considered the protection of property one of the main functions of government. "What stirs the Englishmen . . . sooner to rebellion," he wrote (below, p. 592), "then violent, and heavy hands upon their goods and purses?" The constitutional viewpoint of the Englishman's right to protection of his property even against royal prerogative was presented in *A Learned and Necessary Argument*, by Henry Yelverton, licensed on May 20, 1641. Yelverton cites many precedents to show that the king (p. 11) "cannot take his subjects goods, without their consent." He also stresses the ancient right of merchants to buy, sell, and travel freely. In his speech against Justice Crawley (July 6, 1641) William Waller condemned Crawley's assertion that ship money tax was a right inherent in the Crown (*Mr Waller's Speech*, 1641).

¹² One learned writer, however, in *Imprisonment of Mens Bodyes for Debt* (1641) spoke for a segment of the propertyless mass. He appealed to Magna Carta, the common laws of England, and the dictates of Biblical justice as prohibiting imprisonment for debt. The author deplored the legal customs which (p. 3) "by Usury, forfeitures, and such like" not only take away man's goods, but "cast his body into Prison for an usurious Debt, wherein his misery is extreame and endlesse," without comfort of his family or any prospect of earning a livelihood. A petition attached to the tract estimates that in 1628 ten thousand people were confined in debtors' prisons.

easy task; the time had not yet come for divisions in the tasks of reconstruction, though many hints hovered in the offing.¹ Acting with a suddenness even the Commons did not expect, Pym on November 11 initiated high treason proceedings against Strafford, who on the same day was forbidden his place in the House of Lords and committed by them to custody.² Though assured of the king's protection, Strafford was already a lost man; on November 24 the Commons formally passed charges against him and sent them to the Lords. On December 5 Falkland spoke against ship money and the judges appointed, not to work oppression, asserted Falkland, but to make secure the property and the persons of the subjects. If the judges administered the law fairly, "the greatest Person in this Kingdom cannot continue the least Violence upon the meanest."³ The great delinquency of the ship-money judges, continued Falkland, echoing the analysis of Henry Parker, was their lodging with the king the sole judgment of the nation's necessity, thereby permitting him to take what goods he wished from his subjects, though still persuading the people they had lost neither their property nor their liberties. The Commons forthwith voted ship money illegal and the opinions of the judges a contradiction of the nation's laws, the people's property rights, and the Petition of Right.⁴

As for the bishops and their canons, the agitation against them mounted daily. Upon first access to pen and ink Prynne had at once burst forth with *Lord Bishops, None of the Lords Bishops* (1640). Not from God, asserted Prynne, but from the Pope, the prelates until Henry VIII had derived their power; now they have their power from the kings of England: "So as passing from one man to another, it was meerly humane still." Citing the Gospel according to Matthew, "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant," Prynne asserted on the basis of such doubtful evidence that Christ specifically prohibited prelacy.⁵ The prelates exercise a domination over people's minds and bodies more cruel than the Egyptians' over the Israelites. On November 28 Prynne and

¹ On November 19, when an election of a member from Marlow Magna of Buckinghamshire was voided, the critical question was raised as to whether or not "the poore should have voice or noe." Sir Simonds D'Ewes moved (*Journal*, p. 43) "that the poorest man ought to have a voice that it was the birthright of the subjects of England and that all had voices in the election of Knights." In this revolutionary motion, foreshadowing the Leveller debates in Cromwell's army, D'Ewes was supported by Sir Hugh Chomeley, Sir John Hotham, Sir Peter Haimond, and John Couchet.

² Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (1702), I, 140; *The Tryal of Thomas Earl of Strafford*, in Rushworth, VIII, 1-4.

³ Rushworth, IV, 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁵ *Lord Bishops, None of the Lords Bishops* (1640), chap. 2 (no pagination)

Burton entered London in a blaze of triumph, amid the cheers of many thousands; on December 4 the tumultuous citizenry acclaimed Bastwick with similar zeal. On December 11 the great Root and Branch Petition, signed by fifteen thousand Londoners, was delivered to the Commons by a crowd of fifteen hundred. The signers prayed for the abolition of Episcopal government "with all its dependencies, roots and branches," citing twenty-eight particular complaints, among them prevention of godly men from entering the ministry; tyrannies over those already preaching; Sabbath profanation; the printing of lascivious books, ballads, and pamphlets (such as Ovid's *Fits of Love* [*sic*]); the increase of whoredoms and adulteries (dealt with laxly by the bishops); the daily use of excommunication, an extremity hitherto almost unknown; the use of images, candles, crucifixes; the ex officio oath and such methods of inquisition, "reaching even to mens thoughts."⁶ In such vein ran the London Petition, opposite extreme to Laud's *Canons*, encompassing at once the reforming zeal and the narrowness of its Puritan signers. Three days later, on December 14, Edward Dering rose to echo the petitioners with an unsparing attack on the bishops' canons, scorning their crown of triple pretensions: Episcopacy by divine right, secular power, and the writing of canon law. The bishop who wrote the canons, asserted Dering, acted illegally, without sanction of Parliament or representation of laity; since neither they nor their inferior officers were elected by the people, the canon law could have no force or effect. In primitive times, insisted Dering, bishops were chosen by the laity; yet in England, many centuries later, bishops not elected presumed to bind their decisions upon the whole people: this is "contrary to the Law of Nature and Reason."⁷ Less philosophical and more Erastian in reasoning than Dering, Nathaniel Fiennes clung tenaciously to the charge of usurpation of Parliamentary right: The bishops had assumed a Parliamentary prerogative, first in evaluating the power of the king at all (the canonical argument of divine right); second, in maintaining his right to impose taxes; third, in defining a heresy; fourth, in imposing new oaths. In each of these assertions the bishops had usurped the power of Parliament to themselves.⁸ Of all the speeches against the bishops, Fiennes'

⁶ Rushworth, IV, 95, Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, pp. 537 ff. This indispensable document (hereafter cited as the London Petition), together with Laud's *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1640), is reprinted below, pp. 976-84, 985-98. The term "root-and-branch" was common among the Puritans. In his agitation of 1628 Alexander Leighton had declared (according to his own account in *An Epitome*, 1646, pp. 1-2): "The lopping of the branches had done no good, the striking at the roote, would make all fall together."

⁷ Rushworth, IV, 103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-10.

was the most devastating in a secular sense: He derided the hierarchy for drawing their conclusions about government and kingship from the Bible, which did not forbid kings to levy taxes or make laws without the consent of parliaments. From this absence of specific Biblical injunctions the bishops had built a governmental structure inimical to English welfare and Parliamentary right. We must base our actions, insisted Fiennes, upon the precedents, charters, and written laws, not upon a theological but upon a human tradition out of which national decisions in England have always crystallized.

Under the impetus of pamphleteering sallies, petitions, and Parliamentary speeches, actions against Laud and his canons moved forward with new energy. On December 16, without a single dissenting vote, the canons were declared by the Commons void and illegal. On December 18, in a fiery speech, Harbottle Grimston urged the Commons to accuse Laud of high treason. "He is the Sty of all Pestilential Filth," cried Grimston, "that hath infested the State and Government of this Commonwealth."⁹ Together with the men he appointed, Laud was the root and source of the national miseries for the past ten years, including the elevation of Strafford: "This Man [Laud] is the corrupt Fountain, that hath corrupted all the Streams, and till the Fountain be purged, we can never expect, nor hope to have clear Channels."¹⁰ Beneath such vindictive language, now heard on every side, lay the realities of power, as Gardiner points out, that Laud had held over English subjects.¹¹ In nine thousand parishes each Sunday morning, with each subject required to attend the state church, he could make his power felt in interpreting not only religious but also state matters, each minister in theory a propagandist for the canons. The clergy who resisted he forced out of their positions; the laymen who refused to pay taxes or wrote pamphlets against him, like Burton and Prynne, he haled into the courts. The rising masses of Puritans had no appreciation for the beauties of the Anglican service, of music, ritual, or color. Not poets or traditionalists, they saw only popery in the Anglican forms so loved by Hall and Herbert. But Laud's power over them was an insistent weekly threat; and this power for good or ill Parliament was now determined to destroy. On the same day of Grimston's speech Laud was voted a traitor by the Commons and the accusation carried to the Lords, who committed him to custody. Stiff-backed and courageous as ever, Laud was now, like Strafford, a lost man, his canons voided, his voice impotent. From this

⁹ Rushworth, IV, 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-42* (10 vols., London, 1883-84), IX, 249. (Hereafter cited as Gardiner.)

moment until his execution, five years later, Laud was to be hunted and persecuted as zealously and righteously as he had harried Prynne and Leighton to pillory and cell.

4. OLIVER CROMWELL. SPOKESMAN FOR LILBURNE

In the exciting weeks of November and December, 1640, Oliver Cromwell first made himself felt in the new Parliament, his rough voice raised in significant causes. Now forty-one years old, a prosperous gentleman farmer, cousin to John Hampden (and related to eighteen other members of the House of Commons), Cromwell was a man of combative temperament and few intellectual interests. In his boyhood and youth, including his year at Cambridge, he was convivial rather than reflective, excelling in sports, especially cudgels and football; afterward (1638) he wrote of himself as a youth having "lived in darkness and hated light."¹ With his conviction of a sinful waste of himself as a youth Cromwell combined a curious mystical sense of his potential greatness. On this point the story told by Warwick, if not factual in detail, is authentic in delineation: "A spirit appeared to him [Cromwell], and told him, that he should be the greatest man (not mentioning the word *King*) in this Kingdom."² On November 7, when Cromwell presented Lilburne's petition, Warwick was amazed that anyone could make so trivial a matter appear so momentous that "one would have beleived, the very Government it selfe had been in great danger by it." Though his appearance was striking, and the Commons gave him close attention, his matter to Warwick was disappointing:

His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hatt was without a hattband: his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervor . . . but the subject matter would not bear much of reason.³

That Cromwell stood forth for Lilburne is significant not only of his capacity for timely maneuver but also of the democratic aberration of his Puritan outlook. Though the Commons had accorded Lilburne the same privileges as Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne, his station in life made his release less imperative. Lilburne was an obscure agitator, a mere apprentice, whereas Burton and Prynne as university men possessed

¹ *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Wilbur C. Abbott (4 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937-47), I, 39.

² Warwick, *Memoires* (1701), p. 249.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48, see *The Journals of the House of Commons* [1547-1847] (102 vols., London, n. d.), II, 24. (Hereafter cited as *Commons Journals*)

some worldly distinction by the accepted standards of the day. On December 30 Cromwell moved for the second reading of the bill for annual parliaments that William Stroud had introduced on December 24; ⁴ this revolutionary measure, which significantly did not become law, anticipated the persistent demands of the Leveller radicals in 1647-1649. Now a member of several important committees, Cromwell advanced daily in the esteem of his more radical colleagues, pressing always for the extreme position among the Parliamentary reformers. In the violence of the moment men already faced the dread prospect of war with Charles and thought of probable leaders in the Parliamentary cause. Identifying Cromwell to Lord Digby, John Hampden spoke prophetically: "That slovenly fellow which you see before us, who hath no ornament in his speech; I say that sloven, if we should ever come to have a breach with the King (which God forbid) in such case will be one of the greatest men of England." ⁵ Already Cromwell was a master of men; already it was apparent, too, that his wrestling with ideas was weak and ineffectual. That his incoherent fervor commanded attention we know from the march of events; but the reasons for Hampden's confident prophecy lie still obscure in the scanty records of Cromwell's youth.

5. INTEREST AND USURY: ECONOMIC NEED AND THE CHRISTIAN CODE

Almost unnoticed in the fires of controversy, the religious convictions of both Anglicans and Puritans were yielding to the hard persuasions of economic change. On January 4, 1641, an illuminating debate took place in the House of Commons on the subject of interest to be paid to Sir John Harrison and the city of London, who had lent fifty thousand pounds to the king. It was immediately brought to the attention of the House that to pay interest was unlawful, being contrary not only to Parliamentary statute but to the teachings of the Church of England. The difficulty was finally settled when Sir Simonds D'Ewes moved to use the word "damages" instead of "interest," ¹ an ironical comment on the acceptance of interest as a way of economic life while it was still condemned by church and state. In the accumulation of capital in Elizabethan times, still mounting apace in the seventeenth century, together with the necessity for new capital to finance exploration and colonization, Christians of all persuasions, but especially the Puritans of the business classes, were endeavoring to reconcile the practice of usury

⁴ D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 196.

⁵ Abbott, *Cromwell*, I, 121.

¹ D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 214.

with traditional polemic against it. In 1640 Dr. Nathaniel Homes had sent forth his remarkable treatise, *Usury Is Injury*, asserting that not only the Biblical heroes but also poets, philosophers, historians, and orators had condemned it. Both Aristotle and the church fathers had pronounced usury contrary to the law of nature. Usury, asserted Homes, results "by the Use of a thing which increaseth not, [when] gaine is sought without any labour, cost, or hazard."² If you pay back a usurer before the time set, he will charge you interest for the whole period. He will insist upon payment of usury for all his sleeping and waking hours, "for all the time he prayed, heard Sermons, received the Communion: For the time of eating, sleeping, &c. when, nor he nor his client could or ought to be otherwise busied."³ Yet money itself cannot earn money: "Money brings not forth profit, by all industry of all men, but by singular industry of some, and with some hazard."⁴ In the *Commonplace Book* Milton quoted Dante's condemnation of usury as against nature "because it makes money beget money, which is an unnatural begetting; against art because it does no work."⁵ For the contrary view, however, Milton cites Rivet, and in *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* he was to declare usury not inconsistent with Scripture. Milton faced a dilemma that puzzled many thoughtful contemporaries. The son of a money lender, living as he said, "out of the sweat of other men," Milton could neither accept nor wholly reject the concept of Aristotle, Dante, and his own contemporary, Homes, that usury was contrary to nature and justice. Nor could such an unrealistic if Christian view maintain itself long against the necessities of expanding English commerce.⁶ Enlightened business leaders like Henry Robinson successfully campaigned for a revision of ethical concepts to comply with economic realities.⁷

² *Usury Is Injury* (1640), p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ *CPB*, p. 160

⁶ By the early seventeenth century public opinion in England was won over to acceptance of the word "usury" as meaning excessive interest rather than any interest. See William Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 5th ed. (3 vols., London, 1910), II, 159. The Canons of 1604 condemned usury. The Canons of 1640 did not mention it.

⁷ Henry Robinson, *Englands Safetie, in Trades Encrease* (August, 1641), E167(5), pp. 41-42. See Thomason, I, 26. W. K. Jordan discusses the ideas of Parker and Robinson at length in his *Men of Substance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

6. SYMBOLS AND CEREMONIES UNDER FIRE

The tide of Puritan fanaticism was now running high, rising with each month of the Long Parliament's decisive campaign against the bishops. On January 13 a Kentish petition set forth twenty grievances against the bishops, most of them anticipated in the Root and Branch Petition, protesting the use of images and altars, the enforcing of obsolete ceremonies, the imposition of the canons, the encouragement of Papist priests, the "lycentious liberty for the Lord's day," the usurpation of temporal power by the ecclesiastical courts.¹ A similar series of complaints Richard Bernard set forth in his *A Short View of the Praelaticall Church of England*, castigating the bishops especially for the fees imposed for licensing curates, parish clerks, physicians, midwives, ordaining of ministers and deacons.² On January 22 a Dr. John Cosin, dean of Peterborough, was castigated in the Commons for setting up images and using a "multitude of candles" on holy days.³ On the twenty-fifth Pym traced the unfinished work of the Commons; though much stood accomplished, many grievances remained, especially the bishops' power.⁴ In pamphlet agitation the Presbyterian ministers represented the extreme position against images and altars, as well as prelates. On the twenty-seventh John Ley sent forth his letter against altars, saying, "Can there be any thing in that heap of stones, which may serve to re-paire the ruines which an *Altar* may make? If *Altars* had been needfull, the first and purest Churches would not have wanted them."⁵ In *The Altar Dispute* (July 3, 1641) Henry Parker was to take a less extreme position: "God is in a speciall manner present in consecrated things and places to assist us . . . so that though they [altars] have no reall quality of holinesse . . . yet by their very consecration they gaine a certaine fitnessse to stirre up holy thoughts."⁶ To John Vicars it was sinful even to paint or possess a picture of Jesus as a human being.⁷ With such fa-

¹ Thomason 669f4(9). One of the most illuminating tracts on abuses of ecclesiastical courts is the satire, *The Spirituall Courts Epitomized* (June, 1641), E157(15).

² E206(2), p. 13 (published in January).

³ D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 270.

⁴ *A Speech Delivered At a Conference with the Lords* (January 25, 1641).

⁵ *A Letter (against the Erection of an Altar)* (written June 29, 1635, and printed in 1641).

⁶ P. 76.

⁷ *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of Having or Making the Picture of Christs Humanity* (1641). Cf. George Salteren, *A Treatise against Images and Pictures in Churches* (1641). "Images are such an abomination to the Lord, as to make them among all men odious." Salteren maintained that God "finally curseth the Images themselves, the Image-makers, and the Image-servers, or worshippers."

natic hatred of symbols and consecrated places revolved the persistent Presbyterian demand for the abolition of all Episcopal officers above the rank of parish minister. In January Alexander Henderson sent forth his *Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Prelacie*, ridiculing the divine right of bishops, but maintaining nevertheless a divine order of church hierarchy described by the New Testament, i.e., apostles, evangelists, presbyters, and deacons. A pastor, asserted Henderson, is merely another name for bishop; no pastor is superior in spiritual power to any other, nor does he act within his church without the approval of his presbyters.⁸ In his *The Equality of the Ministry Plainly Described*,⁹ an unidentified Presbyterian set forth much the same argument, anticipating the stand that Milton himself was to argue for in *The Reason of Church-Government*.

A great many Puritans of moderate beliefs, disturbed by the revolutionary demands in the London Petition of December 11, came forth on January 23 with proposals for reform of Episcopacy as opposed to its abolition.¹⁰ Signed by seven or eight hundred clergymen,¹¹ various petitions in a moderate vein were collected into one document at a meeting of about a hundred Puritan clergy and presented to the House as *The Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance*.¹² Though it contained some eighty heads (Baillie said it was written on twenty sheets of paper), no copy of this petition has been preserved. Two of the leaders who appeared before the Commons to avow *The Ministers' Petition* on February 1 were the Smectymnuans Calamy and Marshall.¹³ Though stopping far short of the extreme measures of the London Petition, *The Ministers' Petition* asserted that bishops were not of divine institution, nor did they possess by right the sole power of ordination. The petition objected to the consecration of churches, the temporal power and property of bishops, the ex-officio oath, the drinking of healths, the burdensome support of bishops' officers and dependents, the exaction of exorbitant fees, the granting of licenses to physicians, midwives, and butchers at Lent.¹⁴

⁸ E206(5), p. 3. See John Calvin's comment on evangelists in *The Institution of Christian Religion*, IV, iv, tr. Thomas Norton (1582), ff. 356v ff. A convenient modern edition is the *Institutes* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1843).

⁹ E205(11). The author's identification of himself is "D. F." This may be Dr. Daniel Featley, whose later pamphlets run in the same vein as this pamphlet.

¹⁰ *Commons Journals*, II, 72; Baillie, *Letters* (1841-42), I, 292. The best account of this document is found in Shaw, *English Church*, I, 23-49.

¹¹ The number is variously estimated. Sir John Coke the Younger says 750 (D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 315 n.); Peyton says 1,000 (D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 277 n.); Baillie estimated 800 (*Letters*, 1841-42, I, 292).

¹² D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 313.

¹³ Shaw, *English Church*, I, 24.

¹⁴ A succinct account of the *Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance* is found in

Puritans of all leanings from left to right could agree on these abuses. The debates in the House on *The Ministers' Petition*, however, showed the fear that many members felt about the root and branch abolition of Episcopacy as demanded by the London Petition. Though the members could agree on grievances, they were not yet ready to do what Vane and Cromwell wished, to pluck up Episcopacy root and branch. It was finally decided to submit both the London Petition and *The Ministers' Petition* to a committee, reserving the question of the abolition of Episcopacy to a later debate by the House itself. In the committee discussions Selden spoke effectively for the institution of Episcopacy, though not defending it *jure divino*.¹⁵ In the final report of the committee (March 9) it was decided to refer to the House the secular employment of the bishops, "their judicial Power in the Star-Chamber . . . and their employment as Privy Counsellors . . . and in Temporal Offices."¹⁶ Another important point referred to the House was the claim of the bishops to sole power of ordination and excommunication. Still another abuse referred to the House was "the greatness of the revenues of deans and chapters."¹⁷ On March 10, 11, and 22, the Commons passed three resolutions anticipating the legislation to come: (1) "The legislative and judicial Power of Bishops, in the House of Peers . . . is . . . prejudicial to the Commonwealth"; (2) "For Bishops . . . to have any judicial Power in the Star-chamber, or in any Civil Court, is . . . prejudicial to the Commonwealth"; (3) "For Bishops . . . to have Employments, as Privy Counsellors, at the Council-table, or in Temporal Offices, is . . . prejudicial to the Commonwealth."¹⁸ But none of these resolutions was root and branch. The significance of *The Ministers' Petition*, then, was that it represented the compromises with Episcopacy that were to prevail in England in the decades and centuries to come, notwithstanding the agitation of such extremists as Vane, Cromwell, Milton, and Lilburne.

7. PAPIST: A MAGIC EPITHET

In the arraignment of the Church of England by the Calvinists, nothing was more effective as propaganda than tarring the bishops and their ceremonies with the black brush of Roman Catholicism. On January 21, when John Goodman, a priest, was condemned to death, the traditional

Verney Papers (London: CS, 1845), pp. 4 and 5. Hall's *Episcopacie* was one of the books objected to.

¹⁵ *Verney Papers*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Commons Journals*, II, 100.

¹⁷ *Verney Papers*, pp. 14, 15.

¹⁸ *Commons Journals*, II, 101, 102, 110. Shaw, *English Church*, I, 51-53.

English hatred of Catholicism found new justification. Charles added fuel to the flames by reprieving Goodman, saying, "If he is only condemned for being a priest, I will assure you he shall not die."¹ True, Charles had granted Goodman's reprieve upon the appeal of the papal agent, Rossetti. But, as Gardiner says, "To show mercy to a priest was unfortunately to rouse the indignation of all good Protestants."² The Commons took note of the reprieve on January 24. Three days later the Lords concurred with them in desiring not only the execution of Goodman, but also the enforcement of the law against "all other priests and Jesuits."³ In a joint *Remonstrance* dated January 29, the two houses reminded the king of the Elizabethan statute that all Jesuits and priests ordained by authority of the Pope should be penalized as traitors. Now more than ever, asserted the houses, the realm was in danger. These laws should be strictly enforced, especially with Catholics attending mass as publicly as Protestant subjects their parish churches. So great was the resentment against the reprieve of Goodman, continued the *Remonstrance*, that the citizens of London had refused to lend money for the supply of His Majesty's army. His Majesty should act speedily to execute the laws against priests and Jesuits, to which Goodman should be no exception.⁴ The *Remonstrance* alone dramatizes the hysterical state of public opinion toward the hated papists. Scarcely a Puritan pamphlet appeared that did not trace the miseries of England from the bishops to the mother church. Even the names of such pamphlets of 1641 as *The Black Box of Roome Opened*, *An Antidote against Romes Infection*, *Rome for Canterbury*, *The Popes Proclamation*, *Romes A B C* show the skillful use the Puritan pamphleteers made of the dominant hatred of Catholicism. If Parker complained against the indiscriminate use of the word "Puritan," the Catholics had far better reason to resent the application of the word "papist" to crosses, images, paintings of Jesus, altars, kneeling at communion, music, dancing, sports on the Sabbath. Nothing was easier than to attack the king as having associated with Catholics and permitting them to worship. Whatever the Anglican apologists maintained, it was true that the Church of England had maintained the ceremonies of the mother church, while rejecting such fundamental tenets as purgatory and transubstantiation. But the genius of the Catholic and Anglican tradition lay in its acceptance of the whole man, his need for color and pageantry, his senses as the pathways to his devotion, his need for play and rhythm and music, his lapses and de-

¹ Gardiner, IX, 265.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Commons Journals*, II, 72, 74.

⁴ Rushworth, IV, 158-61.

iciencies. The Puritans, however, especially the Presbyterians, attempted to reduce man to a reasoning mechanism in which his conquest of the senses was pervasive and automatic; the extreme Puritan could not enjoy the Sabbath, could not play with abandon, could not enjoy stained-glass windows or beautiful music, could not engage even in marital congress without abasement and mortification.

8. WHAT IS A PURITAN?

In January Henry Parker sent forth another incisive and illuminating pamphlet, *A Discourse Concerning Puritans*. No extremist, careful to separate himself from Anabaptist sectaries, "the dregges of the vilest and most ignorant rabble,"¹ Parker declares he is neither Puritan nor anti-Puritan; but he is impatient with the careless use of the word. "Those whom we ordinarily call Puritans," he wrote, "are men of strict life, and precise opinions, which cannot be hated for any thing but their singularity in zeale and pietie, and certainly the number of such men is too small, and their condition too low, and dejected: but they which are the Devils chief Artificers in abusing this word when they please, can so stretch and extend the same, that scarce any civill honest Protestant . . . can avoid the aspersion of it."² There are, asserted Parker, ecclesiastical, political, and moral Puritans. They must be carefully distinguished. Indeed, each generalization about the Puritans must be qualified many times.³ In analyzing the Puritan position, Parker sets forth his own views on vital issues. As for the ceremonies which ecclesiastical Puritans dislike, suitable, it is true, to primitive peoples rather than reflective, Parker counts them as things indifferent; he objects to "Uniformity in Ceremonies to the disadvantage of unity in hearts."⁴ Peace within, not ceremonial conformity without, should be the aim of religious leaders, especially since ceremonies are not categorically prescribed by the Scriptures. In castigating the opponents of the Puritans, Parker cannot forbear a satirical thrust at the prelates, whom only bloodletting can

¹ P. 55.

² P. 11. Parker's moderation is shown by his analysis of Hooker, whom he calls (p. 40) "that sweet and noble Antagonist of Ecclesiasticall *Puritans*."

³ Parker cites some absurd extremes in which the word "Puritan" is used (p. 59): "In the mouth of a Drunkard, he is a *Puritan* which refuseth his cups; In the mouth of a Swearer, he which feares an oath; In the mouth of a Libertine, he which makes any scruple of common sins; In the mouth of a rude Souldier, he which wisheth the *Scotch* warre at an end without bloud."

⁴ P. 5. Parker appears unaware that Hall's reasoning on this point might be equally applicable: "It had been a thousand times better to swallow a Ceremonie, than to rend a Church."

cure. He cites Machiavelli's analysis that the Church of Rome had been saved by the "regular strictnesse of poore inferiour Priests and Fryers," while its great luxurious cardinals "did strive to sinke and demolish it."⁵ As for the political Puritans, Parker asks in effect, "Is there anyone in England who does not wish a limited rather than an absolute monarchy?" In the desire for reform Parliament is unanimous. If all such reformers are Puritan, then Parliament is Puritan, as well as the kingdom. In his analysis of the Puritan personality, Parker avoids the extremes of the Puritan moral code to which he is unsympathetic; nor does he consider the Puritan harshness that prevented many of them from accepting even the mildest Anglican formalities as things consonant to the spirit of Christianity. One finds in Parker neither the mysticism of Cromwell nor the rejection of all sensual pleasure embodied in the mind of William Prynne. In his zeal for secular reform, a zeal sustained by constitutional precedents as well as by Biblical interpretations, may be traced the essence of Parker's Puritanism.

9 FEBRUARY, 1641 BISHOPS AND ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS

Though the Puritan pamphleteers were more zealous and numerous than the Anglican, it would be erroneous to conclude that most Englishmen did not share Hall's belief in the bishops as an institution. Though at least two million of them were inarticulate, it is fairly certain that the articulate subjects wanted a reformation of the hierarchy rather than its abolition. On January 25 Charles had opposed alteration of the hierarchy in a speech to Parliament: "Now I must tell you, That I make a great Difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government; tho' I am for the first, I cannot give Way to the latter."¹ On this very question sharp divisions appeared in the House of Commons on February 8, when Lord Digby spoke against the Root and Branch Petition. Though Digby, like Hall, admitted the necessity for reform, he feared as Hall did "irregular and tumultuous Assemblies of People, be it for never so good an End."² As for certain abuses mentioned in the petition, such as the reading of Ovid, the so-called scandals of the cap, lawn sleeves, the surplice, the cope, the hood, the coat, these were to Digby contemptible reasons for tearing up prelacy root and branch. To remedy the abuses of Episcopacy, asked Digby, was it necessary to abolish the

⁵ P. 38.

¹ Rushworth, IV, 158.

² Rushworth, IV, 171. Maynard spoke first, followed by Digby, Falkland, and Fiennes. For the correct order and dating of the speeches, see D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 335-38. On the importance of Digby's speech to Milton, see George W. Whitting, *Milton's Literary Milieu* (Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, 1939), pp. 282-92.

institution? No man stood for reformation more than he, but to batter the institution to pieces was unthinkable. When he was convinced, continued Digby, that it would be impossible to restrain the evils which the bishops had brought upon the land, that a new church government would not bring like inconveniences, and finally "that this *Utopia* is practicable": only then would he vote for a root and branch remedy.³ Nathaniel Fiennes, however, who followed Digby and Falkland, had no such fear, he said, of petitioners in small numbers or large. He doubted, moreover, that prelates in any form would not continue to bring enmity between kings and parliaments. Bishops "did always look upon Parliaments with an evil Eye, as no Friends to their Offices and Functions, at leastwise to their Benefices, and Dignities."⁴ In his condemnation of the clergy's secular power, Fiennes pointed with a prophetic eye to the difficulty of fusing civil and ecclesiastical power. The bishops, he continued, have always yearned too eagerly for places of wealth and dignity: "*Experience sheweth us, that when Clergymen have once tasted the sweet of worldly Wealth and Honour, they are more eager and ambitious after them, than any other sort of Men.*"⁵ Thus the debate continued, with Falkland asserting that he did not believe the bishops would now attempt the arbitrary actions of the past. As for himself, he would not be willing to abolish with a few days' debate an institution which had lasted sixteen hundred years. In these divisions Digby hinted his fear of Presbyterian fanaticism, a fear to be well justified by the march of events, when, as Milton was to say, "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." On February 9, when Sir John Strangwaies asserted that equality in church government would soon lead to equality in the state, Cromwell replied to him with such violence that some members demanded he be called to the bar. When the outbreak was quieted by Pym and Hollis, assisted by an analysis of the censure of the bar by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Cromwell spoke again, saying he could see no relationship between parity in the church and parity in the commonwealth. More than ever, he said, he was convinced of "the irregularitie of Bishops . . . because like the Romane Hierarchie, they would not endure to have ther condition come to a triall."⁶ In this brief clash, as in Cromwell's later speeches, he exerted an electric effect on men's actions; yet his command of ideas was weak and capricious. Contrary to Cromwell's assertion in the debate, each passing year was to tighten the cor-

³ Rushworth, IV, 173.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁶ D'Ewes, *Journal*, p. 340.

relation in men's minds between democracy in church government and democracy in political organization.

By this time the bill for annual parliaments had yielded, like the Root and Branch Petition, to the moderation of conservative minds. On the point of frequent parliaments Charles had said that he would yield, but as for convocation of parliaments by the act of Parliament rather than by the call of the king, this he would not consent to.⁷ "The other day," Baillie had written on January 29, "it past the Lower House unanimously, that they should have annuall Parliaments, or at leist trienniall. . . . A terrible act! nothing yet done in Scotland that seemes to strike so much at royall prerogative. It is thought it will passe the Higher House also, albeit with some more difficultie."⁸ Baillie's worst fears were realized. On February 15 Parliament passed an act for holding triennial parliaments, the Lords and Commons, when not called in the usual way, to assemble by action of any twelve peers of the realm, who are authorized by the act to "issue out Writs in the usual form, in the Name of the King's Majesty."⁹ The Triennial Act put into bold words the determination of the rising men of substance to subordinate the king's authority to the will of the Commons. A more decisive act in limiting the king's power had not been passed since the Petition of Right. The Commons made sure of the passage of the Triennial Bill by sending it to the king with the subsidy bill. On the sixteenth the king reluctantly assented to both, even though the subsidies themselves could not be used except by Parliamentary directions. Had Charles yielded to the full implications of the Triennial Bill, the catastrophe of civil war might have passed without striking.

In the four months that had passed since November 3, Parliament had reasserted the constitutional concept of England's monarchy as opposed to the divine right of kings. By its action on the Triennial Bill, Parliament made doubly sure that redress of grievances would not for long periods again be interrupted. The problem of church government was in reality subordinate to the question of constitutional monarchy. On the side of constitutional monarchy one found the Puritans almost unanimous. In the agitation against the bishops they had between the lines (if not in flat declarations) stood for limitation of the king's prerogatives. Meanwhile also many Puritans had encouraged agitation for more extreme measures than England was yet ready to accept. "The courage

⁷ Rushworth, IV, 155.

⁸ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (1841-42), I, 291.

⁹ Rushworth, IV, 190.

of this people grows daylie," Baillie wrote, "and the number, not onlie of people, but preachers, who are rooting out of Episcopacie: all are for bringing them verie low; bot who will not root them clean away, are not respected."¹⁰ Though agitation for root and branch went on apace, Baillie's statement was an inaccurate gauge of English public opinion. Parliament, representing as it did the property holders of England, was determined to reform, not to obliterate, both the monarchy and the bishops.

CHAPTER VI

HALL AND THE SMECTYMNUNANS

January-June, 1641

THE pamphlet warfare between Joseph Hall and the Smectymnuans traces in both relief and shadow the intellectual cleavage now agitating the minds of literate England. It was a cleavage inevitably reflected soon or late in Parliament, counting house, and palace as well as in the pulpit, and at last on the battlefield as well. Tradition and Scripture; church fathers and new Puritan interpreters; bishops and ministers; ceremonies and ideas; authority and individual resistance; beautiful forms and the preaching voice; gradations and democracy in church organization: these were the opposing forces. Neither Hall nor the Smectymnuans took an extreme position. Hall was no Laudian at heart; the Smectymnuans wanted to purify the Church of England, not remove themselves to Holland or America. As Hall represented the liberal Anglicans, the Smectymnuans spoke for the conservative, moderate Puritans, unaware as yet of such firebrands as Milton and Lilburne in their midst.

1 HALL'S ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT: *AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE*

In the midst of the January outcries against the bishops, with Strafford in custody and Laud's canons voided, Joseph Hall had sent forth his *Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament*. "Lest the world should think the Presse had of late forgot to speake any language other then Libellous," began Hall, "this honest paper hath broken

¹⁰ Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (1841-42), I, 275. The misprints are thus in the original.

through the throng, and prostrates it selfe before you.”¹ From the first page of his address, Hall’s agitation at the turn of events is plainly evident. He is astounded at the multitude of pamphlets, the numbers of petitions, which he suggests represent far fewer people than his own lonely voice. “How many furious and malignant spirits,” he exclaims, “every where have burst forth into sclanderous libels, bitter Pasquines, railing Pamphlets!”² After such vehement exclamations at Puritan propagandists, Hall quotes King James on the desirability of steadfast institutions in a commonwealth. In the *Remonstrance* (which is less than one-tenth as long as *Episcopacie by Divine Right*) Hall repeats his argument of apostolic succession from the examples of Timothy and Titus and justifies the liturgy of the Church of England. As for the relation between temporal and spiritual power, Hall writes as follows: “Both of them have their proper object, and extent: The office is from God; the place, and station, and power, wherein that office is exercised, is from the King; it is the King that gives the Bishoprick, it is God that makes the Bishop; Where was it ever heard of, that a Sovereigne Prince claimed the power of ordaining a Pastor in the Church? this is derived from none, but spirituall hands.”³ In his evident fear of rash action by Parliament, Hall strikes in many places a conciliatory note; but it is evident, as in *Episcopacie*, that he does not comprehend the forces working for the destruction of the Anglican hierarchy. At no time does he show imaginative insight into such a Puritan mind as Henry Parker’s. Neglecting the evident fact that many Puritans of the House of Commons were men of large substance, Hall identified the enemies of the bishops as merely clamorous and vulgar: “What strange fury possesseth the minds of ignorant, unstable men, that they should thus headily desire, and sue to shake off so sacred, and well grounded an Institution!”⁴

2. SMECTYMNUAN ANSWER AND A MILTONIC POSTSCRIPT

Not until February did the first direct reply to Hall appear, a quietly worded pamphlet of seven pages titled *An Anti-Remonstrance to the Late Humble Remonstrance*. Fearful lest Parliament allow any bishops at all, the author pleads for decisive action. Antiquity is no argument for Episcopacy: “The Roman Church upon the same ground or plead-

¹ *An Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

ing of antiquitie makes her heresies and abominations warantable."¹ Not only such an institution as bishops' fees, asserted the author, is contrary to the customs of the primitive church. Is not the social distance between the ordinary minister and the archbishop also a violation of the spirit of the primitive Christians? To the highest bishops of today ordinary ministers "are so farre inferiour and distant . . . as a Prince from a poore tenant or a high sumptuous palace from a poore thatcht cottage."² Nor do the bishops have any right to delegate deputies to preach for them or sit as judges in courts. Reviewing the abuse of excommunications, the commuting of bodily penance to monetary payment, the requirements of fees for licenses, the author admonishes Hall to scan the history of his country under Henry II, John, and Henry III, when the Pope held sway in England through his bishops and abbots. Such a church government cannot claim divine authority, having violated not only primitive customs but the equity of England's laws and the sanctity of her courts of justice.

A much more ambitious reply to Hall which touched off a volley of pamphlets and precipitated John Milton into the church controversies of the day was the Smectymnuan pamphlet of over one hundred pages, *An Answer to a Booke Entituled, An Humble Remonstrance*, which appeared around March 20, 1641.³ For this pamphlet Milton's old teacher, Thomas Young, was mainly responsible, but assisting him in authorship were four Presbyterian ministers,⁴ Stephen Marshall,⁵ Edmund Calamy, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. Uninspired in style and method, the pamphlet is valuable in its thorough presentation of Puritan reasoning about the primitive church. After preliminary assaults on Hall⁶ for his condemnation of the Puritans' opposition as tumultuous libels, the authors proceed to quote Hall point by point and answer him in detail. One of the arguments persistently adhered to, a

¹ E206(7), p. 3.

² *Ibid*, p. 4.

³ Masson, II, 219.

⁴ For accounts of the Smectymnuans, see Appendix F, pp. 1001-08.

⁵ On February 23 Marshall delivered a sermon, *Meroz Cursed*, to the Parliament, avoiding explicit political issues, urging the efficacy of prayer, attributing the success of Parliament to divine intervention (p. 44): "Hath not God marvellously discovered wicked enterprises against you, and almost miraculously preserved you by his own naked arme, ever since the beginning of your meeting?"

⁶ The Smectymnuans politely professed not to know that Hall was the author of the *Humble Remonstrance*. Though they dared not compete with Hall, they were not afraid of the Remonstrant (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 72): "We will not enter the Lists with a man of that *learning* and *fame* that Bishop *Hall* is, yet we dare tell this *Remonstrant* . . ."

doubtful argument that Milton was later to adopt in his early tracts as did Pym in Parliament, was that the bishops have oppressed and hindered monarchy. To Hall's argument of the antiquity of the Episcopal liturgy the Smectymnuans replied with more skill and substance, asserting for the English ministry a latitude in the use of spontaneous prayer as opposed to the mere reading of the service book. They asked in effect, was conceived prayer not more ancient than liturgical prayer? Prayer was not channeled into set forms until danger sprang up from the Arian and Pelagian heresies. The bishops, asserted the Smectymnuans, "have not only thus raged with their tongues against this way of prayer: but by sealing up the mouthes of Ministers for praying thus in publike, and imposing penances upon private Christians for praying thus in their Families" have choked off the most vital expression of Christian life.⁷ On this point the Smectymnuans, being ministers themselves, speak with some passion and authority, complaining that the prelates "rob the people of the Ministers gift in preaching."⁸ Only by leaving the matter optional with each minister to use or not to use the service book, to preach at length or not, can the problem be solved. Turning to the definition of the word "bishop," citing the crucial passage from St. Jerome, the Smectymnuans argue closely that in primitive times "bishops" and "presbyters" were synonymous terms. A bishop by divine right was to the Smectymnuans a primitive presbyter with no jurisdiction except that of his own church.⁹ Since there was no division of parishes into dioceses until at least 200 A.D., how was it possible to justify one bishop's jurisdiction over another? For 290 years after the first conversions, priests and monks with no bishops at all instructed the Scottish nation.¹⁰ Aroused by Bishop Hall's slurs against tumultuous pamphlets, the Smectymnuans make a curious claim for the quality of the Puritan opposition: "There are a company of men in *the Kingdome*, of no meane ranke or quality, for Piety, Nobility, Learning, that stand up to beare witnesse against the *Hierarchie*."¹¹ Thus the Smectymnuans. Their answer is valuable not only for its detailed scrutiny of Hall's sources but also for its thorough Presbyterian analysis of theological issues, all voiced in a tone more moderate and conciliatory than that of John Milton to follow.

At the end of *An Answer* appears *A Postscript*, which, as Masson and Hale have pointed out, bears unmistakable marks of John Milton's mind

⁷ *An Answer* (1641), p. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

and method, especially as shown in *Of Reformation*.¹² Less than nine pages long, *A Postscript* plunges almost immediately into the history of English bishops, their hindrances to monarchy, their persecutions of nonconformists. In contrast to the Smectymnuan theological emphasis, the whole tone of *A Postscript* is secular, the sources cited Holinshed, Stowe, and Speed (Bede only once), and on one occasion the statutes of Henry VIII. As later in *Of Reformation*, Milton touches chronologically the reigns of British kings, citing first the influence of the Pope, "his proud demeanour toward the British Clergy,"¹³ even in the times of King Ethelbert, citing also the Pope's prohibition of marriage among the English clergy and Anselm's treasonous relations with William Rufus. Of the reign of Henry VIII, Milton writes, "The intollerable pride, extortion, bribery, luxurie of *Wolsey* Archbishop of *Yorke* who can bee ignorant of? selling dispensations by his power Legantine for all offences, insulting over the Dukes and Peeres, of whom some hee brought to destruction by bloodie policie, playing with State affaires according to his humour, or benefit."¹⁴ As he was to do in *Of Reformation*, Milton recalls the imperfect reformation of King Edward's days and the persecutions instigated by the bishops in the days of Queen Mary. Milton's general charge against the bishops is that it has been "their great designe to hinder all further reformation; to bring in doctrines of Popery, Arminianisme, and Libertinisme, to maintaine, propagate and much encrease the burden of humane ceremonies."¹⁵ In contrast to the conciliatory ending of *An Answer*, in which the Smectymnuans quote Hall's prayer for illumination as voicing their own feelings, the ending of *A Postscript* anticipates Milton's sharp belligerency. To the proverb used to describe something spoiled, "*The Bishops foot hath beene in it*," Milton adds the prophecy spoken by Bishop Bonner when King Edward's reformation changed the doctrine but kept the bishops and the ceremonies, "*Since they have begun to tast of our Broath, it will not be long ere they will eat of our Beeefe*."¹⁶ The ending of *A Postscript*, though much less vehement in tone than many passages in *Of Reformation*, nevertheless shows in places an acid antagonism unlike the Smectymnuan tone of moderation. Such phrases as "suspected fornicatour," "intollerable pride, extortion," "opened the vaines of the poore subjects to bleede afresh," "bloodie brawles," "inhumane butcheries," sound authentically Miltonian rather than Smectymnuan.

¹² See Appendix B for the text of *A Postscript* and evidence of Milton's participation.

¹³ *An Answer* (1641), p. 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

3. THE DEFENCE· HALL'S SPIRITED REPLY

No sooner had the Spectymnuan *Answer* appeared on the London streets than Hall was aroused to reply to his attackers. On April 12¹ was registered his *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, against the Frivolous . . . Exceptions of Spectymnuus*, 188 pages long, with two short pamphlets attached on the divine right of Episcopacy by Dr. Abrahamus Scultetus, Heidelberg professor of divinity. Though Hall now gives way to more caustic invective than in any previous pamphlet (to be answered in kind by Milton's *Animadversions*), and though like many men timorous of change he substitutes horrified ejaculations for reasoned arguments, *A Defence* is Hall's most compelling synthesis of Episcopal dogma. One of the most refreshing qualities of Hall's argument in *A Defence* is his candid admission of some vital Spectymnuan assertions. He freely grants that in the early years of the church "the name [*sic*] of Bishops and Presbyters were at first promiscuously used,"² also that St. Jerome's testimony is valid on the early elections of bishops by the presbyters. With the growth of the church, however, Hall contends, and more important, with the appearance of schisms and heresies, some kind of hierarchy became necessary, resulting in the appointment of bishops who had the power to ordain other ministers. Was it ever possible in the primitive church, asked Hall, for the presbyters to ordain without the bishop? Some superior officer had to act, rather by the advice than the authority of the presbyters. If you would deny the difference between the bishop and the presbyter, insists Hall, then why do you not deny the difference between a presbyter and a deacon?³ Were not the twelve apostles superior to the seventy disciples? What Hall achieves here is a challenge to the democratizing process in church government which Calvin had initiated in the congregation at Geneva and set forth in his *Institutes*. Hall does not deny that the apostolic succession has been broken or that many bishops have abused their power or wasted their revenues in unchristian display. But the fault is with the person, not the institution.⁴ When a law is broken, do we say that the law is at fault rather than the criminal? "It is not to be denied, Brethren," writes Hall, "that some such ill use hath beene made, by some, of their abundance: but . . . both the Wings and train

¹ Masson, II, 253 n. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*, ed G. E. Briscoe Eyre (3 vols., London, 1913-14), I, 20.

² Hall, *A Defence* (1641), pp. 55, 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 121. The several printings of *A Defence* (after p. 85) are inconsistent and confused in pagination. I am here following the pagination of the McAlpin copy H18D, Copy 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of many of ours have beene so Clipped, that there is no great feare of flying high. But if it bee so, the fault is fixed to the person . . . Cast your eyes upon others, even your owne great Patrons, and tell mee if you doe not espie the same ill use of large meanes, and flattering prosperity; yet you desire not to abridge their store, but to rectifie the employment of it.”⁵ In these arguments Hall strikes a high level of reasoning, asserting in effect that an institution should be judged not by leaders false to its traditions but by its exemplary representatives. Was ever a bishop, asks Hall, more autocratic than Calvin himself? ⁶ (Even Baillie was to write that “a Presbyterie is not a Democracie.”⁷) To reject bishops is merely to depend upon another kind of hierarchy, to admit that no complex organization can put into full effect the democratic principle.

In his analysis of the blending of conceived prayer with established liturgy, Hall again strikes a note of high constructiveness. Though he would not allow, it is true, a wide range of spontaneous prayer in the church service, he points out that the practice of such praying is indispensable to the Christian life: “God is a free Spirit, and so should ours be, in powring out our voluntary devotions, upon all occasions, Nothing hinders, but that this liberty, and a publique Liturgie should be good friends, and may goe hand in hand together.”⁸ Ministers are not forbidden to use conceived prayer on all occasions. On the other hand, asserts Hall, would it not be a catastrophe to rob people of the established liturgy? “Neither were it a lesser sacriledge to rob the people of a set forme, by the liberty of a free expression.”⁹ Here Hall probes a Puritan weakness as deeply ingrained, strangely enough, in Milton the poet as in Prynne the lawyer: Hostile in early or late years to all sensory reminders of Catholicism, many Puritans denied to themselves the beautiful rhythms of the Anglican liturgy, rejecting the reassuring impress of repetitive prayer week after week, year after year, for an uncertain wrestling with ideas. Because a prayer comes from the Catholic Church, does that mean it is evil? Is it hateful for its origin, not for itself? “If I find gold in the channell,” asks Hall, “shall I throw it away because it was ill laid? If the Devills confessed Christ the Son of God, shall I disclaime that truth, because it passed through a damned

⁵ *A Defence* (1641), pp. 121–22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁷ *The Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Episcopacie* (October, 1641), E174(4), p. 34. This is an expansion of the original tract, which appeared in January, 1641.

⁸ Hall, *A Defence* (1641), p. 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

mouth?"¹⁰ Despite the Puritan leaven, however, the appeal of the Anglican service had sunk too deep into English consciousness to be uprooted, even by the revolution to follow. The failure of the Puritan, in a sense, was the genius of the Anglican. To reach the inmost chambers of the mind, the Anglican knew to knock on the doors of man's heart; but to unlock the chamber doors, he knew, too, that only the magic of the senses would avail.

In other arguments, it is true, Hall falls into exclamations of pious horror or fear of theological anarchy. Whereas in a few years Milton was to welcome in *Areopagitica* the multitude of new thoughts bursting forth in the English Reformation, Hall was disturbed by the showering of pamphlets which he calls "*the lawlesse frequency of scandalous Libels*" and "the multitude of the late seditious Pamphlets."¹¹ It is evident that Hall, much as he wished freedom of prayer, had no comprehension either of the revolutionary implications of freedom of speech or its constructive applications in political or theological dispute. To Hall the unfailing response to authority was now a virtue more admirable than conscientious differences of opinion. Addressing the Smectymnuans on their differences with the state church, he wrote, "Like ill-bred sonns, you spit in the face of your mother; A Mother too good for such sonnes; The Church of *England*."¹² In justifying the enjoined liturgy, Hall felt only contempt for the conceived prayer of the humble artisan. It was regrettable to him that not one in five hundred of such men would think himself unfitted for the act of prayer. "Where God hath bestowed gifts," Hall asserted, "it is fit they should be imployed, and improved to the best advantage of his people: But where there is nothing but an empty over-weening, and proud ignorance, there is great reason for a just restraint."¹³ In the Church of England, then, liturgy was a restraint upon the outpourings of the incompetent majority. In the ancient church, as Hall takes pains to point out, enjoined liturgy had prevented the rise of schisms and divisions. Furthermore, he asserted, if the bishop in the Church of England did not have power, "there will be as many Schismes as Priests; the wofull experience whereof we finde in the miserable varieties of Separatisme, at this day."¹⁴ Here, as in his tract against Robinson almost thirty years before, Hall futilely opposed the tactics of restraint to the disturbing genius of Protestant individualism, a force divisive and unpredictable, full of creative aberrations, with each man

¹⁰ *A Defence* (1641), p. 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, "Epistle Dedicatorie"; and p. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

finally his own church, pregnant with ideas, but questing in vain for the ultimate assurance.

4. A TARDY VINDICATION

Though the Smectymnuans threw themselves at once into a reply to Hall, their *A Vindication*¹ (219 pages long) did not appear until late in June.² Beyond a tedious array of sources the *Vindication*, despite its length, adds little to the arguments presented in the Smectymnuan *Answer* of March 20. With their wonted thoroughness, the authors review from additional sources the argument against an enjoined liturgy, holding up the liturgies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian as less prescribed and more alterable by the priest than the liturgy of the Church of England. It is not the Puritans, say the Smectymnuans, who have created dissenters from the Church of England: "Some few *Prelats* by their over-rigorous pressing of the *Service-book* and *Ceremonies*, have made more Separatists, than all the Preachers disaffected to the Ceremonies in *England*."³ The difference between the English Reformation and the one on the continent runs very deep: "Our first Reformation was onely in doctrine, theirs in doctrine and discipline too."⁴ Though all the reformed churches, like the English church, provide official liturgies, they do not bind the minister to use them word for word. Time after time the Smectymnuans return to their Puritan position as opposed to the Separatist: They are not opposed to the use of a liturgy, but merely wish not to have it prescribed: "Wee are not against a *free use of a Liturgie*, nor doe we count a Liturgie a sufficient ground of separation from the Church."⁵ In an unexpectedly eloquent passage the Smectymnuans protest their abhorrence of divisions and their desire for harmony within the church: "Wee have written nothing out of a spirit of contention and faction, but onely as lovers of the Truth, and the peace of the Church, which is now miserably divided in judgement and affections . . . wee would willingly goe over divers Seas (as *Calvin* once said) to finde out one uniforme way of worshipping of God, in which all Christians

¹ The full title is *A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, from the Unjust Imputations of Frivolousnesse and Falsehood*.

² June 26, 1641. Masson, II, 255 n. The printer's preface reveals the Smectymnuan chagrin at this delay: "We cannot but confesse, that the crouding in of many little Pamphlets into the Presse hath for many weeks detained this Book, to the great grief of the Authors."

³ Smectymnuus, *A Vindication* (1641), p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

might happily agree." ⁶ Appealing to Parliament to judge their motives, the Smectymnuans assert that their chief prayer is that "peace and truth may kisse & greet each other." It must be granted that the Smectymnuans carry through the *Vindication* a tone of argument less factious and explosive than that of Hall, less violent and bitter than that of John Milton in pamphlets soon to come.

As in *An Answer*, the Smectymnuans in their *Vindication* batter away with telling strokes at Hall's weaker assumptions. On the score of apostolic succession, of which Hall had written, "Name but one yeare . . . wherein there were no Bishops in this Land," the Smectymnuans point to the hated Catholic linkage, asserting that the English bishops "must draw the line of their pedigree through the loynes of Antichrist." ⁷ If Cyprian ever asserted his superiority of place, he could not possibly have been so emphatic as the English bishops, his successors. Ancient bishops "never maintained any sole superiour power, but disclaimed it wholly, yet this is the thing our *Bishops* contend for." ⁸ Insisting that each church should have its bishop or pastor, as in primitive times, the Smectymnuans asked if a bishop supervising five hundred or a thousand parishes could possibly discharge his supervisory duties without the help of other ministers. In ancient times every bishop was a preaching bishop, not once a year but once a week; now in England such a one is hard to find. The most damning attack on Hall, however, appears near the end of the *Vindication*, when the Smectymnuans asked in effect, "What is the Church of England?" Was it the church as expressed in the canons of 1640 with which Hall himself is dissatisfied? These were called *Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England*; ⁹ yet Parliament itself was excluded by the bishops from a share in writing the canons, as indeed were all the members of the Church of England except the bishops themselves. If not the canons, was the Church of England, then, the particular forms and ceremonies it required? Upon entering the church, ministers had been examined upon the articles of religion and supposedly upon no other. Yet the bishops had required of more than one minister to say first what he thinks of Episcopacy. The incisive Smectymnuan complaint is that the bishops have appropriated to themselves the sole right to define the words "Church of England." ¹⁰

⁶ Smectymnuus, *A Vindication* (1641), pp. 46-47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁹ The Smectymnuans were in error here. The name given by the bishops to their tract was *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1640).

¹⁰ Smectymnuus, *A Vindication* (1641), pp. 202, 203, 204.

In the clash of ideas both Hall and the Smectymnuans sought in the ancient church a pattern of the Church of England in an age of Reformation. To Hall's vision of authority and orders, the Smectymnuans opposed a church without a hierarchy, resting its faith in members and ministers alone. Yet neither vision of the primitive church could rightfully claim exclusive support in the church fathers. If Ignatius spoke for the hierarchy, Cyprian's voice supported the claims of the Smectymnuans. Neither side granted that the sources, especially for the first hundred years A.D., were insufficient to build an impregnable argument. In a theological age, moreover, no one could bring to the evidence the detachment of a Thucydides or a Gibbon. As in other eras, the roots of conflicting interpretations lay deep in the events of youth. If Hall's youth reflected a willing acceptance of royal and Episcopal authority, the youth of the Smectymnuans was stamped with the rising energy and power of Puritan dissent. The Smectymnuans insisted, as Milton was to do later, on the "quality" (i.e., the social and economic rank) of the Puritan leaders. Each protagonist could find in the church fathers, as in the Bible, a justification of the position his intellectual environment made inevitable.

CHAPTER VII

IN THE COMMONS: THREEFOLD REFORM

February-May, 1641

THE actions of Parliament now embodied reforms on three levels: As Laud and Strafford symbolized the theological and political grievances of the realm, so the monopolists drew insistent fire for their daily pinch on the nation's economic life. On November 3 Sir John Culpepper had voiced the pervading complaint: "A Nest of *Wasps*, or *Swarm of Vermin* . . . have over-crept the Land, I mean the *Monopolers* and *Polers* of the People: These, like the *Frogs of Egypt* have gotten the possession of our Dwellings . . . They sup in our *Cup*, they dip in our *Dish*, they sit by our *Fire*, we find them in the *Dye-fat*, *Wash-bowl* and *Powdering-tub* . . . Mr. *Speaker*, they will not bate us a *Pin*; we may not buy our own Cloaths without their Brokage."¹ On January 21 four members of the Commons had been identified as monopolizers and declared unfit to sit: William Sandes (coal), Sir John Jacob (tobacco), Thomas Webbe (bone lace), Edmond

¹ Rushworth, IV, 33.

Windham (soap). On February 2 Sir Nicholas Crispe was unseated as a monopolizer of copperas stones.² From the names provided by D'Ewes alone it is evident that the monopolists were by no means limited to the aristocratic classes. Many of the new rich of England, some Puritan in persuasion, had grown powerful enough to obtain patents and monopolies granted in former decades largely to older families of the realm.³ In the Long Parliament gentry and commoner joined forces to combat economic favoritism as well as the absolutism in church and state.

1 PROCEEDINGS AGAINST LAUD AND STRAFFORD

Proceedings against Strafford, Laud, and Episcopacy now moved forward with the urgency of impending realization. On February 24 the Earl of Strafford made his defense before the Lords of the impeachment articles against him.⁴ To the anger and chagrin of the peers, the king appeared at the House, took his place on the throne, and listened with satisfaction to Strafford's speech. Considering the king's action a breach of privilege, the Lords nullified all actions taken in his presence and ordered the charges against Strafford and his answer read again before the House.⁵ On the same day Pym made a long speech in the Commons on the charge of high treason brought against Laud, after which the Commons voted unanimously for the articles of impeachment.⁶ On the twenty-sixth Pym, Hampden, and Maynard carried the articles of impeachment to the Lords, where Pym read them and urged their immediate adoption. Among the charges against Laud, Pym asserted that "those who labour in Civil Matters, to set up the King above the Laws of the Kingdom, do yet, in Ecclesiastical Matters, endeavour to set up themselves above the King."⁷ On the same day the Lords ordered that Laud should be removed to the Tower on the following Monday, March 1. As he was passing through the streets on the fatal Monday, a mob of apprentices thronged round the carriage, threatening Laud with violence, yelling and shouting to the very Tower gates. Laud's own account of his

² D'Ewes, *Journal*, ed. Notestein, pp. 267-68, 312. For a striking verse satire of monopolists, see *A Pack of Patentees* (1641; Thomason, I, 56), E163(5).

³ Sir John Suckling complained of the "upstart families" grown to wealth and power in the past twenty-five years, favored by the king with titles and honor, to the disadvantage of the old nobility. *The Cobby of a Letter* (1641), pp. 8-9.

⁴ For an abstract of Strafford's answer to the articles against him, see *The Tryal*, in Rushworth, VIII, 22-32, for the articles themselves, see Rushworth, VIII, 61-75.

⁵ Gardiner, IX, 296.

⁶ For the articles against Laud, see Rushworth, IV, 196-99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

ordeal is worthy of record: "Some one Prentice first Hallowed out; more and more followed the Coach, (the Number still increasing as they went) till . . . the shouting was exceeding great. And so they followed me with Clamour and Revilings, even beyond *Barbarity* it self."⁸ On March 10 the Commons resolved that a bill should be drawn up for annihilating "the legislative and judicial Power of Bishops, in the House of Peers."⁹ On March 11 the Commons took a decisive step against the bishops by resolving to deprive them of all judicial power: "For the Bishops and other clergimen whatsoever to bee in the Commission of the peace or to have anie iudiciall power in the starre-chamber or anye other civill Court is a hinderance to ther spirituall function, preiudiciall to the Commonwealth, fitt to bee taken away by a bill, and that a bill bee drawn to that purpose."¹⁰ Though the Scotch Commissioners rejoiced in these measures to make of Episcopacy, as Baillie said, "a poor plucked crow,"¹¹ they worked zealously for root and branch, not trusting any hierarchy, however reduced in power. In early March Henderson had written a pamphlet reaffirming the stand of the Scots against any bishops at all, reviewing seven main ills that the Scots had suffered from English prelacy, including a war to reduce them to conformity. The Church of Scotland had now thrown off the scourge of Episcopacy and established a church government by assemblies of ministers, in keeping with Biblical injunction, and more favorable to monarchy than the rule of the bishops. In Henderson's view England now stood at the crossroads, with a like liberty to choose the Presbyterian way of church government by assemblies. The latter, asserted Henderson, with the offices of pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, is really *jure divino*, whereas Episcopacy can claim its origin only from human invention.¹² However popular the Scotch ideas among London Presbyterians and the root and branch faction in Parliament, all parties could unite in resentment against foreign interference with English affairs. Under threats from the king and the hints of their friends, the Scots withdrew their pamphlet to wait for a more auspicious opening.

⁸ *Troubles* (1695), p. 174.

⁹ *Commons Journals*, II, 101; Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (1702), I, 184. See also *Reasons of the House of Commons Why Bishops Ought Not to Have Votes in Parliament* (March, 1641), 669f3(3).

¹⁰ D'Ewes, *Journal*, pp. 472-73.

¹¹ Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (1775), I, 251.

¹² *The Scots Commissioners, Their Desires Concerning Unitie in Religion, and Uniformitie of Church-Government* (1641), pp. 10-15. An indispensable source to Presbyterian ideas on church government is Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, ii-v (1843), II, 248-300.

2. THE DEATH OF STRAFFORD

By the end of April, with Strafford still in the Tower and no final action taken against the bishops, though the Long Parliament was now almost six months old, an explosive uneasiness pervaded the Puritan faction. On April 24 a petition signed by twenty thousand Londoners (stamped indeed with the concern for improved business conditions felt by the Puritan hierarchy) complained of the "unsettled Condition of the Kingdom," the decay of trade and consequent failure of many country tradesmen to pay their debts, the failure of Parliament to take action against those officers who had collected impositions, the payments of great sums of money to the English army in the North, church affairs still unsettled, the plot of the Earl of Strafford to plunder the citizens of London and levy huge sums against their will.¹ Strafford to the businessmen of London was a symbol of the struggle for power between king and Parliament. If Parliament could put Strafford to death, their purses would be safe from the arbitrary hands of the king's officers, successors to the hated earl. Unfortunately, as in all revolutionary moments, men cared less for the means of justice than the ends. When it became evident that the treason charge against Strafford would be difficult if not impossible to justify, the Commons against Pym's advice had unhesitatingly substituted a bill of attainder. In an eloquent speech on April 22, Digby spoke the minds of the wavering members, among them the poet Edmund Waller: "We must not piece up want of Legality with Matter of Convenience," he asserted; "nor the Defailance of Prudential Fitness, with a Pretence of Legal Justice."² Though Digby had predicted that neither the Lords nor the king would consent to a bill of attainder, Strafford's chance for escaping the block diminished almost daily. On April 28 the Commons communicated to the Lords a fear that Strafford would attempt to escape from the Tower, a fear that a few days later found substance in a plot to admit a hundred men into the Tower upon the king's order.³ Tumultuous crowds surrounded the houses daily, crying for Strafford's head. On May 1 the king unexpectedly addressed the two houses, denying the charges that he had planned to bring an Irish army into England (under Strafford's leadership), or had participated in any debate on this topic, thus flatly contradicting the Council notes that Sir Henry Vane had stolen from his father's papers. "I cannot in my Conscience condemn him of High-Treason," asserted Charles, while adding

¹ Rushworth, IV, 224.

² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 253.

that Strafford could never so much as hold a constable's office again.⁴ Meanwhile, on May 3, the House showed its fear of an impending military intervention, declaring in the *Preamble* to their *Protestation* that "endeavours have beene and are used, to bring the *English Army* into misunderstanding of this *Parliament*."⁵ On the same day a mob of merchants and shopkeepers waited at the doors of the House of Lords, crying out for justice against Strafford and displaying a placard containing the names of the fifty-nine members⁶ of the Commons who had held out against the bill of attainder. On May 4 Hollis in a fiery speech deplored the invasion of the subjects' property, the monopolies and taxations, the evil counsels that "have brought two armies into our Bowels."⁷ On May 5 Pym informed the Commons that a plot was under way to bring the army "up against the Parliament to over-awe them."⁸ With these revelations the consent of the Lords to the bill of attainder could no longer be denied. Strafford, indeed, in a remarkable letter to the king on May 4 had sealed his own fate by begging his master to assent to the fatal bill. "Now I understand," said Strafford, "the Minds of Men are more and more incensed against me, notwithstanding your Majesty hath declared, That in your Princely Opinion I am not Guilty of Treason, and that you are not satisfied in your Conscience to pass the Bill." However bitter the impending ruin of his children and family, asserted Strafford, his first concern was the welfare of the king and his realm. "I do most humbly beseech your Majesty," he wrote, "for prevention of Evils which may happen by your Refusal, to pass this BILL."⁹ Except in a mind traced deep with feudal patterns, such a letter would have sounded ridiculous and affected. But enemies as well as friends knew too well the hard backbone of Strafford to doubt his willingness to die for his vision of a world as absurd in some Puritans' minds as the visions of Don Quixote. On May 10, after a long council with his chaplains,¹⁰ Charles signed the fatal bill. On May 11 he made a last effort to save Strafford by asking life imprisonment, confessing between the lines his hopeless outlook and adding in a postscript, "If he must die, it were Charity to Reprieve him

⁴ Rushworth, IV, 239-40; *The Tryal*, in Rushworth, VIII, 735.

⁵ *A Preamble with the Protestation* (May 3, 1641), 669f3(2). According to Colonel Goring's testimony (Rushworth, IV, 253), Sir John Suckling was the first man to propose that the army march on London.

⁶ The names on the placard are reprinted in Rushworth, IV, 248-49.

⁷ *A Speech of the Honorable Denzell Hollis* (1641), p. 3.

⁸ Rushworth, IV, 240.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 251; *A Brieve, and Perfect Relation* (1647, NYPL), pp. 102-03.

¹⁰ *Strafford's Letters and Dispatches*, ed. George Radcliffe (2 vols., London, 1739), II, 432, *A Brieve, and Perfect Relation* (1647), p. 92. Milton later wrote scornfully (*Eikonoklastes*, Chapter II [1649, p. 16]) that the bishops "pick't the thorn out of his conscience."

'till Saturday."¹¹ Had Strafford sat upon the throne and the king in the Tower, one cannot doubt that Strafford would have broken down the gates to rescue his friend. Though a believer in the divine right of kings, Charles, unlike Strafford and Cromwell, was no man of action at decisive moments. This weakness in Charles made royal dictatorship impossible in 1641 and prepared the way for the Puritan Revolution to follow.

On May 12, saluting Laud at his cell window as he passed, Strafford walked through throngs of spectators to his place of execution on Tower Hill, dressed in a black suit and carrying white gloves, his tall frame stooped a little, his black hair streaked with grey.¹² The condemned man was only forty-nine. As he spoke to his friends on the scaffold, among them Bishop Ussher, the Earl of Cleveland, and his brother George Wentworth, the immense crowd was strangely quiet. "I am not the first Man that hath suffered in this kind," spoke Strafford: "It is a Common Portion that befalls Men in this Life, Righteous Judgment shall be hereafter."¹³ To the king's majesty he died loyal, happy that Charles did not think him deserving of this heavy penalty. Of antagonism to parliaments he was guiltless: "I am so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think Parliaments in *England* to be the happy Constitution of the Kingdom and Nation"¹⁴ Was it possible, asked Strafford, that the people's happiness and the country's reformation could begin with the shedding of blood? He hoped at least that "no drop of my Blood [would] rise up in judgment against them."¹⁵ After his speech Strafford took off his doublet, wound up his hair, placed a white cap on his head, knelt in prayer, and tested his head upon the block. Fitting his neck upon the block a second time, he stretched out his arms to signal the executioner, who struck off his head at one blow.¹⁶

Thus died Strafford, playing out the ritual of execution with superb composure, as his royal master was to do in 1649, and Sir Henry Vane in 1662. Milton afterward called his punishment "the most seasonable and solemn peece of Justice, that had bin don of many yeares in the Land," asserting that "none were his Friends but Courtiers, and Clergimen, the worst at that time."¹⁷ A contemporary satirist pictured Strafford crossing the Styx, with Charon saying, "Sigh not so deepe, take some of this Lethaeian water into thine hand, and soepe it up, it will make thee

¹¹ Rushworth, IV, 265.

¹² *A Briefe, and Perfect Relation* (1647), p. 99; *The Tryal*, in Rushworth, VIII, 759.

¹³ Rushworth, VIII, 759.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 760

¹⁶ *A Briefe, and Perfect Relation* (1647), pp. 107-08.

¹⁷ *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter II (1649, pp. 14, 15).

forget all thy sorrowes." The resentment many men felt against Strafford for his title William Noy speaks as the two men meet: "When last I saw you, you were but Sir *Thomas Wentworth*." Strafford assures Noy that "this present Parliament hath more eyes then *Argus*"; his love for his monarch is boundless: "The eye of my Prince is like the eye of heaven."¹⁸ Like King Charles, Strafford was one of the stubborn exemplars of a dying feudal order slowly yielding its power to the rising business classes, contemptuous still of commerce and trade as a way of life, imbued with a love of graceful patterns in art, architecture, and music, exalting aristocracy of blood and kingship by divine right. In the balance of power between the old order and the new, the death of Strafford tipped the scales toward a new surge of Parliamentary government and the decline of benevolent despotism.

3 MONOPOLISTS AND PATENTEES. THE SOAP BUSINESS

One of the economic realities beneath the clash of king and Parliament, cavalier and Puritan, Anglican and sectarian, is nowhere more clearly dramatized than in a remarkable statement issued in May by twenty or thirty former apprentices, titled *A Short and True Relation Concerning the Soap-Business*. For many years, assert the writers, they had engaged in soap making, having constructed soap houses with appropriate cisterns for oils and fats, "to make hard soape with Berilla, and soft soap without the use of fire," under the patent granted to Andrew Palmer and Roger Jones in 1622. On January 20, 1632, however, Sir William Russell, Sir Basil Brooke, and others, upon "pretence of a new Invention of making of white soape," procured permission from Charles I to set up a corporation of soap makers upon condition that they pay His Majesty four pounds on each ton of soap made and sold after the first year of manufacture. To this end they secured a charter which gave them a monopoly of soap making, permission to destroy soap made by any others, and the right to take apprentices. The patentees agreed to make five thousand tons of white soap annually, enough for the whole kingdom, and to sell the soap for not more than three pence a pound. On his part the king agreed to curb exportation of tallow from England and Wales and the importation of potash, to permit the corpo-

¹⁸ *A Description of the Passage of Thomas Late Earle of Strafford, over the River of Styx* (May, 1641), E156(21), no pagination. A less perceptive satire written before Strafford's execution describes Strafford and Laud in conversation, each picturing the doom of the other: *The Discontented Conference betwixt the Two Great Associates . . . Canterbury, and . . . Strafford* (May, 1641), E157(3).

ration to make soap of all kinds, with olive and whale oil as well as tallow. When the soap makers persisted in their trade despite the monopoly, the king granted a commission to Sir John Hale and John How to seek out offenders against the monopoly and compound with them, taking half the composition money for themselves, and holding the soap makers in custody until they gave satisfaction to the commissioners. To aid the corporation, the crown directed all sheriffs, mayors, and justices of the peace to apprehend those named by the corporation of Westminster as making or selling unmarked soap. Notwithstanding the advantages of their charter, the gentleman monopolists decided after three years to surrender their patent, receiving a grant of forty thousand pounds from the king, and three thousand pounds more for charges on their equipment and other materials at prices set by the corporation, all of which had been paid to the patentees by the soap makers of London, to their great loss, merely to have their right of doing business again. The soap makers moreover paid the king eight pounds to the ton of soap for the right to do business again, this money in turn being paid to the patentees for surrendering their monopoly. Their main grievances the authors summarize as follows:

That many Citizens of *London* were put out of an old Trade, in which they had beene bred all their time, and which was their onely livelihood, by Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, never bred up to the Trade, upon pretence of a Project and new invention, which in truth was not so, Their prosecution of the Soapemakers of *London* in Star-chamber, being beyond example, both in respect of the manner of proceedings, and of the Sentence it selfe, who for using fish-oyle, and not obeying their searchers, were fined at great summes; imprisoned at three severall times about twenty moneths; Their goods extended; Their Pannes, Fats, &c, broken and destroyed, Their houses of a great yearely value made unusefull; Their families dispersed and necessitated; and their estates almost ruined.¹

In this passage one senses the growth of economic worth from humble beginnings; the soap makers' resentment of aristocratic citizens' attempting to profit through their access to the council board and their command of monopoly procedure; the use of court machinery to enforce an economic monopoly, as Laud had used the secular arm to enforce a theological one; and, finally, resistance and imprisonment. At the end of their narration the authors appeal to the Parliament to punish the patentees of the corporation of Westminster, to recompense the soap makers for their damages, and to remove all import duties from soap that it may be sold at the customary prices. To exclude other aristocratic rivals, the

¹ *A Short and True Relation Concerning the Soap-Business* (May, 1641). E156(6), no pagination.

soap makers in their last request of Parliament ask that no one be permitted to engage in soap making except those men who have served as apprentices in the art. In the England emerging under Elizabeth, James, and Charles, trade and commerce assumed an importance hitherto unknown; and the times had fashioned a new man, unaccustomed to leisure and art, to perform the tasks of a changing world. This was one meaning of the soap makers' narration, a significance lost upon such men as Suckling, Davenant, Strafford, and King Charles, lost in the end, too, upon Cromwell and Ireton in their analysis of Leveller agitation.

CHAPTER VIII

EMERGING INDEPENDENCY: HENRY BURTON AND SIR HENRY VANE

May-June, 1641

IN PART at least to quiet the clamor of aroused Londoners and present a unified resistance to Charles, the Commons had meanwhile in the *Protestation* pledged their continued zeal in the cause of reformation and punishment of traitors, without altering the constitutional tradition of king, Lords, and Commons. The *Preamble* of the *Protestation* expressed the fear of treasonous plots and the army's defection; the *Protestation* itself bound the signers to defend "the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, against all *Popery*, and *Popish* Innovations."¹ Many members of the House signed the *Protestation* on May 3,² the Lords on May 4, and the clergy and citizens of London in the days that followed. Essentially the *Protestation* was an endeavor to unite the forces of Parliament against the machinations of the court. Yet in the framing of the document sharp divisions sprang up. The root and branch men objected to the proposed phrase, "the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it is now established in the Church of *England*." To soothe the radicals in church affairs, the phrase was changed to "expressed in the doctrine of the Church of *England*," leaving the question of discipline in uneasy abeyance.³

¹ *A Preamble with the Protestation* (May 3, 1641), 669f3(2); Rushworth, IV, 241; *Commons Journals*, II, 132.

² The names of the signers appear in Rushworth, IV, 244-49; *Commons Journals*, II, 132-33.

³ Gardiner, IX, 353. The equivocal nature of the *Protestation* is discussed in *A Learned and Witty Conference Lately betwixt a Protestant and a Papist* (1641),

1. BURTON AND THE PROTESTATION

Even so, the wording of the *Protestation* touched off a pamphlet controversy that anticipated many sharp divisions in the months to come. Already men were rejecting the idea, as Milton was to do, that all men should be bound by any state church, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian, with or without the hated bishops. They asked, in effect, "Why should men subscribe to any state church at all? Let men's consciences be free. However small the congregation, let it govern itself without assemblies or synods, creating its own doctrine as well as discipline." Such were the seeds of Independency, the great heresy in the offing; and such already was the position of Henry Burton, back at his Friday Street Church, a triumphant earless witness to his flock, asked like all other London ministers to sign the *Protestation*. In *The Protestation Protested*, which he issued in May, Burton again denounced the Episcopal hierarchy and their courts, calling for that root and branch action now advocated by Vane and Cromwell. Though in the *Protestation* Parliament had renounced popery, asserted Burton, it was impossible for honest men to keep the vow they had made against popery until a law was passed against it. Burton then projected his own definition of popery to include the liturgy, discipline, government, and ceremonies of the Church of England. To Burton anything was popery that usurped "dominion over our Faith and Conscience in the worship and service of God."⁴ The Anglican government, continued Burton, is the "perfect image of the Papall Beast, from horne to hoofe."⁵ Since Parliament had passed no law against the Anglican liturgy, ceremonies, or church government, what was the duty of individual Christians who had taken the *Protestation* vow? Should such Christians "never reforme themselves, untill they see a generall *Reformation* over the whole Land? What if they shall never live to see this?"⁶ To Burton there had been such a long darkness under the prelates that "Religion in *England* is very farre

which evidently appeared in May or early June. About the same time appeared *Certaine Queries of Some Tender Conscienced Christians about the Late Protestation* (1641), suggesting that a commission be appointed to interpret the document and asking that the king be excepted from the threat of condign punishment; there is no remedy against kings except the "flight from their wrath, or patient suffering, or humble supplication with teares and prayers." For the Commons' clarification of their meaning of the *Protestation* (on May 12), see Rushworth, IV, 273.

⁴ Henry Burton, *The Protestation Protested* (May, 1641), E158(14). This tract has no pagination. The numbering used here begins with the first page of text as page [1]. P. [6], sig. A4v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. [9], sig. B2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp [4-5], sigs. A3v-A4.

degenerate." In comparison to the whole population there were but a few Christians in the full saintly sense, "a remnant . . . whose hearts are perfect before God."⁷ It was the duty of such saints, especially if they had signed the *Protestation*, to proceed with their own reformation within their particular churches, not waiting for Parliament to act. Burton faced realistically the fact that the Church of England was established by law, together with its liturgy and ceremonies. To the genuine Christian such a law in Burton's view was invalid. His prevailing principle was a rejection of all tyranny over conscience. "Hee that sets up man as Lord over the Conscience, in prescribing and imposing what service of God he pleaseth of humane invention, denyeth Jesus to be the *Christ, to wit*, to be the sole King of his Church."⁸ By virtue of the vow in the *Protestation*, then, Burton asserted that each small group of saintly Christians must organize themselves outside the great mass of sinners: "A particular church or *Congregation* rightly collected and constituted, consists of none, but such as are visible living Members of Christ the head, and visible Saints under him, the one and onely King of Saints: but so it is not with a Nationall church: all the Members thereof are not visible Saints, or visible living *Members*, wherein the greatest part of a Nation commonly is found to consist of persons either ignorant or *profane*."⁹ To such saints the kind of church government a Parliament set up was in reality a matter of indifference, so long as individual Christians might organize independent churches following only their own analysis of church government as prescribed in the Bible. On June 20, about a month after he sent forth *The Protestation Protested*, Burton preached a sermon to Parliament entitled *Englands Bondage and Hope of Deliverance*,¹⁰ in which he again reviewed tyrannies over conscience imposed by the liturgy, ceremonies, discipline, and government of the Church of England. The *Protestation* of the Parliament, he asserted, was a noble declaration against popery, but impotent indeed, a "leaden dagger in a golden sheath," unless Parliament acted for annihilation of those tyrannies. Not only must images and crucifixes be taken down, especially crosses on the highways, but even organs should be abolished!

Of these heresies, encompassing the seeds of many others, most members of Parliament and most pamphleteers were yet unaware. But Burton's central heresy, that no one should be the judge of another's conscience in matters of religion, a position soon to be adopted by Milton

⁷ *The Protestation Protested*, p. [12], sig. B3v.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. [6], sig. A4v.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. [11], sig. B3.

¹⁰ E174(2).

himself, was to stir endless repercussions in the years to come. It was the justifying principle, indeed, by which the soldiers in Cromwell's army would be permitted to discuss political as well as religious innovations, leading finally to the revolutionary activities of the Levellers and the resolution of Cromwell's army to destroy the English monarchy and House of Lords. For liberty of conscience in religion led inevitably to liberty of conscience, as *Areopagitica* was to demonstrate, in all matters of public concern. It is true that the Independents, radicals as they were in matters of religious conscience, remained saints to the end, few of them passing over to the ranks of the secular Levellers. But their agitation for religious freedom, beginning in 1641, paved the way for the secular agitation of 1646 and 1647. Hence the critical importance of Burton's first propaganda for Independency.

A few intellectuals visualized at once the implications of Burton's heretical position. In *Vindiciae Voti* John Gereë brought forth a reasoned attack against Burton's interpretation of the *Protestation*, denying that the Anglican ceremonies or service book could possibly be considered popish, or any religious custom sanctioned by law. When the doctrine of the Church of England had been established by Parliament, asked Gereë, how could one dare to stamp it as popery? Essentially the Church of England was a "Society of men and women, separated from the blind world, by divine vocation."¹¹ Such a church should be judged by the intentions in the minds of the believers, not by the political chicanery and corruption of its leaders. In such a society it was impossible to exclude those Christians still not perfected: Christ's "Kingdome was to be gathered in the world, in which Kingdome should appeare the Tares with the Wheat."¹² As for the true way, the Scriptural pattern of a national church Gereë found in the Church of Scotland. Visualizing the disintegrating principle of Burton's position, he affirmed that "this *Protestation* gives men no leave to breake their Ranks, it puts not a sword of authority into every private man's hand, but every thing is to be don in a lawfull way."¹³ In contrast to Gereë's patient reasoning,

¹¹ John Gereë, *Vindiciae Voti* (1641), sig. C4v. This tract in the McAlpin Collection has no pagination. On May 25 Gereë had hailed the new *Protestation* in *Judahs Joy at the Oath* as "an excellent meanes of . . . suppressing the false, and setting up the true Religion." Gereë's concepts of Puritan reform are reflected in his *Downfall of Antichrist* (June, 1641), one passage of which runs as follows: "One man comes to Church with a gowne, another with a coate, who complains of any deformity? If variety in the same congregation . . . be no deformity, why should variety in habit of Ministers in diverse congregations seeme so strange, deformed, and undecent?"

¹² *Vindiciae Voti*, sig. D4v.

¹³ *Ibid.*, sig. D3.

another attack on Burton was as violent as its title, *A Survey of That Foolish, Seditious, Scandalous, Prophane Libell, the Protestation Protested*. Though full of bitter tirade, opening, "Goodman Cobler, (it is you that hath stitched together this Tubb-Sermon)," *A Survey* showed a more profound insight than Geree's pamphlet into the revolutionary implications of Burton's ideas. One violent objection to Burton's Independency was its rejection of all tradition: "You therefore begin *ab ovo*, and call together the Holy ones, to make up your new household congregations."¹⁴ The author spoke more truth than most contemporaries realized when he said that Burton was the "image . . . of Schisme and Democracie."¹⁵ The word "democracy" was now dreaded as "Leveller" was to be in 1646, or "all things in common" in 1649. "The spirits of all good men doe already groane under your spirituall Democracy,"¹⁶ cried the author. Burton's rejection of secular law as having a claim over men's religious beliefs was correctly evaluated in *A Survey*. The author was aware of the endless divisions to arise from Burton's elevation of the individual conscience: "What reformation do you conceive? when shall you make a stand? must every yeere produce you a new religion? every moneth a new faith?"¹⁷ If Burton and his kind are not frustrated, the author anticipates "a demolished Church and state."¹⁸ Like Joseph Hall, to whom this pamphlet has been attributed, the author urged upon Burton and his kind a voluntary exile to the New World: "Pray you spare us the paines of Separation, separate your selves for some new colonie in Virginia . . . would to God you would leave us, or your madnesse you."¹⁹ Though both Geree and the author of *A Survey* denounced Burton and the impending birth of new heresies, they were not united in the kind of uniformity they wished to impose upon England. Whereas *A Survey* hoped for a uniformity stamped by the Church of England, Geree anticipated the new uniformity of Presbyterianism, soon to be as bitterly resented by the Independents as Laud and his hated bishops.

2. FOR ROOT AND BRANCH: SIR HENRY VANE

Meanwhile the radicalism inherent in Burton's Independency was crystallizing in the House of Commons in the minds of Cromwell, Vane, and Vane's old classmate at Westminster School, Sir Arthur Haselrig.

¹⁴ *A Survey* (1641), E164(8), p. 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Both the reasoning and the diction of *A Survey* bear in many places the stamp of bishop Hall.

As Cromwell was to become Milton's military hero, Vane in future years was to embody his ideals of statesmanship, especially on the crucial issues of state church and toleration. Clarendon describes Vane as "a man of great natural parts, and a very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his Father and Mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was something in him Extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination."¹ Born in 1613, accustomed in youth to aristocratic gaiety and good fellowship, Vane at fourteen or fifteen experienced a religious conversion that shaped many patterns of his later life. The repentance Vane felt for his aristocratic boyhood he expressed even on the scaffold: "When my Conscience was thus awakened, I found my former course to be disloyalty to God, prophaneness, and a way of sin and death, which I did with tears and bitterness bewail."² In Vane's early personality there mingled with this self-abasement a remarkable conviction that he possessed God's special favor, that he "might, even whilst here in the body, be made partaker of Eternal Life, in the first fruits of it."³ After attending Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Vane at nineteen visited the continent, entrusted with important state secrets by his father, stopping at Leyden, Vienna, and Geneva. To these experiences Clarendon attributes in part Vane's prejudice against the Church of England, a prejudice that undoubtedly had its roots in his boyhood repentance and conviction of grace. A contemporary letter says that Vane upon his return would not take the sacrament for two years because he could not find a clergyman who would administer it to him standing.⁴ After a sharp clash with Laud, Vane set sail for New England in September, 1635, with John Winthrop and Hugh Peters among his shipmates. He was to feel, like Williams, Peters, and many others, the impact of radical Protestant theorizing, going to a land which Clarendon

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (1702), I, 148.

² *The Tryal of Sir Henry Vane, Kt* (1662), p. 87, George Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, Kt.* (1662), p. 8.

³ *The Tryal of . . . Vane* (1662), p. 87. Vane's curious mysticism is best examined in *An Epistle General, to the Mystical Body of Christ on Earth* (1662), and *A Pilgrimage into the Land of Promise, by the Light of the Vision of Jacobs Ladder and Faith* (1664), both written during his imprisonment in the Tower. A still more complete exposition may be found in *The Retired Mans Meditations* (1655). Though he was often shadowy and vague, Vane's expression on secular affairs could be impressively concrete, as in the numerous statements during his trial about the actions of the Long Parliament. See *The Tryal of . . . Vane* (1662). His proposal for a national settlement during Cromwell's dictatorship Vane summarized in *A Healing Question Propounded and Resolved* (1656).

⁴ Strafford, *Letters* (1739), II, 463 (Garrard to Wentworth, Sept. 1, 1635).

asserts "within a few years before [had been] planted by a mixture of all Religions."⁵ Elected governor of the Boston colony within seven months after his arrival, Vane gave staunch aid to Roger Williams in founding Rhode Island, helped to establish Harvard College,⁶ took an active part in theological and political discussions, and was finally forced out of office by the election of 1637.⁷ On August 3, 1637, he set sail for England, arriving in the midst of the ship money agitation and the barbarous punishments of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. Appointed joint treasurer of the navy in 1639, Vane was elected to Parliament from Kingston-on-Hull in 1640, serving in the Short Parliament which met on April 3.⁸ In the Long Parliament, which convened on November 3, Vane, despite his court connections, soon won the confidence of Pym and his followers, among them the fiery Oliver Cromwell.

By late May, Vane and Cromwell as leaders of the root and branch faction determined to make a bold move for action by the Commons. On May 27, at the instigation of Haselrig, Sir Edward Dering introduced a bill for the root and branch abolition of Anglican church government, saying, "It [this bill] speaks a free language and makes a bold request. I give it to you as I take physic, not for delight, but for a cure."⁹ To the surprise of the radicals, the bill on the same day passed not only the first but the second reading. On June 11, when the critical debates took place in Hyde's committee, Vane rose to speak for his root and branch solution. The purpose of church government, asserted Vane, "is to advance and further the perfect reformation and growth of Religion."¹⁰ Since the Commons had voted that the Anglican church govern-

⁵ Clarendon (1702), I, 149. The Hutchinson heresies to which Vane was sympathetic (and many other New England ideas) are nowhere better summarized than in *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians Familists &c Libertines, That Infected the Church of New-England* (1644; NYPL).

⁶ *Records of the Governor and Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (5 vols., Boston, 1853-54), I, 183: "The Court agreed to give 400 l towards a schoole or college."

⁷ Of the main point at issue Winthrop wrote (*History of New England* [2 vols., Boston, 1853], I, 246): "The governour, Mr. Vane, a wise and godly gentleman, held, with Mr. Cotton and many others, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in a believer, and went as far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the Holy Ghost; but the deputy [Winthrop] with the pastor and diverse others, denied both."

⁸ James Hosmer, *The Young Sir Henry Vane* (New York, 1888), p. 100; Sikes, *Vane* (1662), p. 105.

⁹ Masson, II, 232. *Commons Journals*, II, 159. Abbott erroneously dates this event May 21 (*Cromwell*, I, 128).

¹⁰ *Sr. Henry Vane His Speech in the House of Commons, at a Committee for the Bill against Episcopall-Government* (June 11, 1641), E198(20). Masson

ment was a hindrance to such reformation, root and branch abolition was the logical consequence. This church government, continued Vane, has had "so powerfull and ill an influence upon our Laws, the Prerogative of the King, and liberties of the Subject, that it is like a spreading leprosie, which leaves nothing untainted, and uninfected which it comes neere." ¹¹ True, admitted Vane, if England kept her church government, they might be able to achieve a partial reformation. But if they wished a perfect reformation, there was no recourse but annihilation of the whole structure. "For the whole Fabrick of this building is so rotten and corrupt, from the very foundation of it to the top." ¹² Much of Vane's language, as we might expect, was flavored with Biblical symbols, though less mystic and more lucid than the statements of his later years. Vane attacked the Episcopacy of the early church as "exalting it selfe above its fellow Presbiters, under the forme of a Bishop; then over its fellow Bishops, under the title of Archbishops, and so still mounting over those of its own profession, till it come to the Pope." ¹³ Not through the humility of Jesus, continued Vane, but through the impulse of ambitious pride, had Episcopacy erected its structure now "full of rottennesse and corruption." ¹⁴ With such a rottenness no halfway measures would avail. In such fiery words did Vane set forth the turbulent cause of root and branch, pregnant with the fanaticism of religious fervor that was to justify revolutionary departures in the years to come.

Vane's extreme position, heightened and justified by New England Independency,¹⁵ had not yet brought forth a platform as daring as Burton's in favor of Independent congregations free from all state supervision. But the proponents of root and branch, more violent than any of their contemporaries in asserting the sanctity of individual conscience, errs (II, 239) in saying that Thomas Underhill published Vane's pamphlet. Both the copy in the Thomason Collection and the copy in the McAlpin Collection are marked "Printed for Francis Constable."

¹¹ *Sr Henry Vane His Speech* (1641), p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ In *A Coppy of a Letter* (1641), E163(11), in Thomason, I, 54, John Cotton set forth an illuminating account of the semi-Separatism of New England, admitting indeed that each congregation elected its own minister and imposed its collective discipline but denying that its members refused communion with the Church of England, or rejected it as "limbs of the devill." Roger Williams, it was true, "blew a Trumpet of such a seditious Separation" but with his followers was excommunicated and banished from the colony. Men of "such a spirit," explains Cotton significantly, "are wont not onely to renounce the Churches of *England*, but ours also."

found themselves drawn inevitably to a defense of the separated sects in England. Soon they were to crystallize as the Independent party, as opposed to the Presbyterians who wished to substitute their own state church for the Anglican; to those further on the right like Pym and Falkland, who wished only the erasing of abuses and the drastic curtailment of the bishops' power; and, finally, to men of the extreme right like Hall and Gauden, who sought to maintain the traditional dignities of the Anglican state church. Though most literate Englishmen were repelled by Laud's rigid canons, they were not prepared for the revolutionary aims of root and branch. Despite the eruptions of the Civil War, England was to retain her state church; only in America were Vane's and Milton's ultimate ideals of separation of church and state to win in the next twenty decades the sanction of a whole society.

CHAPTER IX

TIMELY SPOKESMEN FOR EPISCOPACY

May, 1641

MEANWHILE, in the confusion of Parliament's inaction on church affairs, proponents of Episcopacy came forth with timely appeals on behalf of the traditional Anglican discipline. On May 12 the University of Oxford presented a petition to Parliament for Episcopacy, praying for the continuation of the traditional Church of England organization, including deans and chapters, together with their lands and revenues, established "soone after the plantation of Christianity in the English Nation."¹ As established by law, the Episcopal government had encouraged scholarship, especially in divinity, provided portions for younger brothers of good families, established schools, hospitals, highways, and bridges, provided chairs for university professors. On the same day, May 12, the University of Cambridge also presented a petition deploring agitation "tending to the Subversion of Cathedral Churches, and Alienation of those Lands, by which they are supported, being the ancient Inheritance of the Church."² There were now two bills against the bishops before the House, one to reduce cathe-

¹ *To Parliament. The Petition of the University of Oxford* (May 12, 1641), E156(22), in Thomason, I, 10 *Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (24 vols., London, 1751-66), IX, 318-20. (Cited hereafter as *Old Parliamentary History*)

² Rushworth, IV, 273.

dral establishments and the other to exclude the bishops from secular affairs, both of which were destined to meet staunch opposition in the Lords. True to his pamphlet principles, Bishop Hall had risen in the Lords on May 1 to defend the right of bishops to participate in secular affairs, saying, "This is the strangest bill that ever I heard, since I was admitted to sit under this roof." Though granting a bishop's time should be absorbed mainly in ecclesiastical offices, Hall declared that a monarch had a right to require the services of bishops in the secular affairs of his realm. As might be expected, Hall defended the bishops' places in Parliament as a right "no less ancient than these walls wherein we sit."³ On May 24 Bishop Williams spoke with equal vehemence against the bill, saying, "I do not believe that your Lordships ever saw such an heavy Weight of Censure hang upon such thin Wires of Reasons," and stressing the consequent impotency of clergymen in the Lords to aid their king or country if the bill were passed.⁴ Oblivious as Hall and Williams of the march of economic change, Viscount Newarke on May 21 rose in the Lords to protest the exclusion of the bishops, pleading also right by ancient tenure, asking why, if bishops were to be excluded, it should not have been done six hundred years earlier. To Newarke the loss of voting Lords was an alarming innovation. "Which of your Lordships can say then hee shall continue a member of this House, when at one blow twenty sixe are cut off?"⁵ Three days later Newarke rose again to oppose the cutting off of the political power of the bishops. If the bishops, he said, "have contracted any filth or corruption through their owne or the vice of the times, cleanse and purge them throughly. But still remember the great difference between reformation and extirpation."⁶ Sensible of the crisis in church affairs, Ussher was circulating in manuscript his compromise plan for reducing the power of prelacy, keeping the institution of bishops while providing that they could not act without the consent of the presbyters. Bishops relieved of autocratic authority, weekly parish courts, monthly synods of pastors in each parish, the right of each pastor to judge discipline as well as doctrine, these customs, asserted Ussher, which had lapsed in the Church of England, might easily be restored to their efficacy in primitive times. "This kind of Presbyterial Government," wrote Ussher, "hath been long disused, yet seeing it still professeth that every Pastor hath a right to *rule* the church (from whence the name of *Rector* also was given at first unto him) and to

³ *Works* (1863), VIII, 281 ff.

⁴ *Old Parliamentary History*, IX, 351.

⁵ *Two Speeches Spoken in the House of Lords by the Lord Viscount Newarke* (May 24, 1641), E198(13), p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

administer the *Discipline of Christ*, as well as to dispense the *Doctrine and Sacraments*, and the restraint of the exercise of that right proceedeth only from the custom *now received in this Realm*; no man can doubt, but by another law of the land, this hinderance may be well removed.”⁷ As in all revolutionary movements, however, such qualifying and moderate proposals as Ussher’s fell before the onslaught of passionate extremes. Between Newarke and Hall on the right and Vane and Cromwell on the left, the concept of Ussher’s democratized Episcopacy faded quickly into oblivion.

Outside of Parliament, defenders of Episcopacy had also come forth anew, this time, however, aware as never before of the danger of Presbyterian church discipline as an alternative to their own. In May a significant petition was presented to the Lords on behalf of the inhabitants of Cheshire, tracing again the apostolic origin of bishops, the bishops’ purging the Gospels of the corruption of Rome, their glorious martyrdoms for the truth, and the virtues of Episcopal church government so long established by law. The petitioners deplored the virulence of the agitation against the bishops, in press and pulpit, “dangerously exciting a disobedience to the established forme of Government.”⁸ Horrified at the prospect of Presbyterian government, which would require in England forty thousand church officials (elders and presbyters) more powerful than Parliament and monarchy itself, the petitioners call upon Parliament “to suppress the future dispersing of such dangerous discontents amongst the Common-people.”⁹ According to Sir Thomas Aston, the moving spirit of this petition, it was immediately reprinted in garbled form and distributed “upon every Stationers stall.”¹⁰ About May 25 appeared Ussher’s *The Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes Touching the Originall of Episcopacy*, purporting to trace bishops in apostolic succession from the time of earliest primitive Christianity. This pamphlet Milton shortly was to grapple with at length in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*. On May 31 appeared *A Compendious Discourse, Proving Episcopacy To Be of Apostolicall, and Consequently of Divine Institution*,¹¹ a pamphlet mentioning Milton’s *Of Reformation* and to be dealt with by Mil-

⁷ *Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government* (1656); *The Whole Works of . . . Ussher*, ed. Charles R. Elrington (16 vols., London, 1848), XII, 527–36; Masson, II, 230. The 1641 wording of *Reduction* appears in Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), pp. 238 ff.

⁸ *A Collection of Sundry Petitions* (1642), p. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰ “To the Reader,” *Remonstrance against Presbitery* (May 28, 1641), E163(1 and 2)

¹¹ E157(13)

ton in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*. Friends of Episcopacy grew daily more aware of the Presbyterian threat to their own church government. In *A Modest Advertisement* George Morley sent forth an incisive reply to Baillie's *Ladensium*, differentiating carefully between elders and priests, presbyters and bishops, in terms of Episcopal tradition. Whereas Episcopacy may be traced to earliest times, says Morley, Presbyterian doctrine originated in Geneva under John Calvin, "a wise man, and knowing what was fit and necessary for that Citie, stood not upon Names, so he had the things."¹² Morley, like other Anglican apologists, was quick to note the authority vested in Presbyterian leaders such as Calvin or Knox. "I should be sorry to see any Bishop in this Land have such authority over other Ministers, as he had at Geneva, or John Knox in Scotland."¹³ Morley contends against a "Poperie of the Presbyterie" as infinitely more tyrannical than that of the bishops. Avoiding a tone of abuse or ridicule, Morley in *A Modest Advertisement* makes a skillful effort on rational grounds to make distinctions highly useful in church controversies. On May 28 appeared Aston's long *Remonstrance against Presbitery*, reviewing in horrified accents the agitation of church reform zealots, whose aim "is to shake off the yoke of all obedience." Aston was fearful that many reformers were already prepared to break through more walls than merely Episcopal government: "It is not Reformation, but a totall Innovation many men look for."¹⁴ Aston is particularly amazed that the common people assault the House of Commons with petitions, assuming to dictate to their own Parliament. Like Bancroft before him and Thomas Edwards to follow, Aston quotes from many radical pamphleteers to prove the dangers of the propaganda of fanaticism. While Episcopacy, asserted Aston, was the support and comfort of monarchy, Presbyterian doctrine was inimical to kingly power. Presbyterian apologists were violent and rebellious, challenging not only the bishops but also princes, while "they boldly assume to themselves (to the little Bishop, absolute Pope of every parish) that their office is *jure Divino*."¹⁵

Notwithstanding its exaggerations, Aston's *Remonstrance*, like its predecessor, Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions* (1593, reprinted in 1640), reflects not only the conservative fear of impending danger to the established order, but also a very real correlation between the Protestant

¹² *A Modest Advertisement* (1641), E156(7), p. 6.

¹³ *Ibid*

¹⁴ *Remonstrance against Presbitery*, p. 188 (McAlpin copy pagination in pen and ink).

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 250.

liberty of conscience in religion and individualistic agitation in political affairs. In *Dangerous Positions* ¹⁶ Bancroft had traced with a sure hand the relation between John Knox's religious beliefs and his political doctrine of defiance of monarchs. The whole subsequent history of the Puritan Revolution was to justify Bancroft's and Aston's assumption of the political as well as theological extremes to result from the Protestant intellectual method. True, the Anglicans themselves had initiated the process by challenging the mother church and establishing the right of each believer to read the Bible for himself. As early as 1614, in *The Discovery of the Man of Sinne*, John Rainolds had written, "Here have I just occasion to complaine of our adversaries [the Papists], who have made it a ground of their religion, *to bee ignorant*: for which they labour by all meanes to keep away from men the key of knowledge: whatsoever other grounds they pretend: that it is not good for the common people to heare or read the Scriptures." ¹⁷ Each succeeding reformer, however, wished to place a limit on the reforming zeal of his followers. As the Anglicans had revolted against the Catholics, so the Presbyterians agitated for far-reaching reforms in church government, meanwhile rejecting Independent and Anabaptist heresies to which their own had been signposts and signals.

¹⁶ See McAlpin, I, 134 (1593); I, 543 (1640) How fully the agitation of 1641-42 was foreshadowed in Elizabethan times is nowhere better illuminated than in this tract. Another valuable tract by Bancroft is *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse the 9. of Februarie . . . 1588* (1588). After describing sympathetically the communism of the early Christians, Bancroft addresses himself to the poor people in his audience (pp. 25-26). "You can not but groane under the heauey burden which is laid upon you. Your landlords do wring and grinde your faces for the maintenance of their pride in apparell, their excesse in diet, their unnecessarie pleasures, as gaming, keeping of haukes & dogs, and such like vanities. They enhance your rents, they take great fines, and do keep you in very unchristian slaverie & bondage." Bancroft concludes, however, that the doctrine of primitive communism is not practical for the present day (p. 26). "The whole maner thereof is wholly Anabaptisticall, and tendeth to the destruction and overthrowe of all good rule and government."

¹⁷ P. 48. See McAlpin, II, 274.

CHAPTER X

MILTON'S LEFT HAND AGAINST THE PRELATES

May–August, 1641

NOT UNTIL this point, the turbulent months of May and June,¹ did Milton inject himself into a pamphleteering career he was to follow for twenty years. It cannot be claimed for him that he led the van of the struggle for church reformation or suffered for seditious pamphlets as did his contemporaries, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Lilburne. Early in 1638, indeed, his private studies still unfinished, still expanding his central hope of a creative immortality, he had left England for a leisurely trip to the continent, while the leading agitators against the prelates lay in prison, denied books and paper and the presence of their families. It was over three years before Milton was to write, "I dare not wish to passe this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues."² Even after the opening of the Long Parliament, in November, 1640, Milton did not choose to inject his "left hand" into the fires of controversy. But some time in early 1641, as the *Postscript* to the Smectymnuan *Answer* demonstrates, Milton made his decision to turn aside from his life purpose in order to engage in political action. Though slow and reluctant to exchange a literary for a pamphleteering career, his will to act thereafter did not falter until the Restoration. In Milton's own words the story of his crucial decision runs as follows:

The vigour of the parliament had begun to humble the pride of the bishops. As long as the liberty of speech was no longer subject to control, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops; some complained of the vices of the individuals, others of those of the order. They said that it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other reformed churches; that the government of the church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal. I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic; and as I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the church,

¹ See below, pp. 514 ff.

² *Apology against a Pamphlet*, below, p. 883.

and to so many of my fellow-Christians, in a crisis of so much danger ?

It were sad for me if I should draw back, for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to . . . the Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destin'd of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till comming to some maturity of yeers and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withall, which unlesse he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either strait perjure, or split his faith, I thought it better to preferre a blamelesse silence . . . Howsoever thus Church-outed by the Prelats, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters.⁴

The first of these passages shows how fully Milton had been fired in early years by the Puritan fervor for reforming the Church of England,* a process that made him especially receptive to the pamphleteering agitation that increased in volume with every month of the Long Parliament's life. "This agitation," wrote Milton, "awakened all my attention and my zeal." Unlike his aristocratic contemporaries, Waller and Suckling, Milton with every year of his intellectual growth found himself more hostile to the Church of England, in which in his boyhood he had planned to take orders. The strong Puritan influences of his youth made him inevitably, then, an enemy of the prelates and a citizen zealous for secular as well as religious reformation. The tone of his first pamphlet proves that he felt against the prelates a bitter personal as well as theoretical antagonism, however tardy he was in entering the lists against them.

1. MILTON'S FIRST SALLY. OF REFORMATION

In *Of Reformation*, which appeared in late May or early June, Milton made his first attempt at systematic prose, the work, as he afterward said, "but of my left hand."⁵ A gifted critic of his own talents, Milton was never more accurate than in this statement. His prose is like a hard pine log full of knots and unexpected twirls, rarely straight and smooth and easy to follow. Milton almost never strikes off a simple declarative sentence. Though his diction, as we might expect, is remarkable for its

³ *Second Defence*, in *The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. J. A. St. John (5 vols., London, 1848-53), I, 257-58. Hereafter cited as Bohn.

⁴ *Church-Government*, below, pp. 822-23.

* In "Il Penseroso" (ca. 1630?) Milton had praised the "storied windows," "pealing organ," "full-voiced choir," "service high and anthems clear" of the Anglican setting and ritual. These, he wrote, "dissolve me into ecstasies." But by the time of "Lycidas" (1637) Milton's zeal for reform had extinguished for life his enthusiasm for the church service of his boyhood.

⁵ Below, p. 808.

variety of stinging thrusts, his sentences are often long and unwieldy, encompassing at times the qualifying ideas of a modern paragraph. If Milton's diction has a tough, muscular quality communicating consistently the burning images of his many-faceted mind, his sentences, with exceptions of memorable beauty, are so bulky, cumbersome, and complex as to require often many readings for full comprehension. An even greater barrier to the modern reader is Milton's topical arrangement of ideas, which is often so disorganized as to defy logical analysis. Almost never in Milton's prose does one find the logical organization and thematic unity of his verse paragraphs. Compared to the prose of Bacon, Dryden, and Jeremy Taylor, or even that of Sidney and Raleigh, Milton's prose is singularly chaotic and capricious in organization. If he had trained himself in youth to write English prose, as he had poetry, Milton would have been prepared in 1641 to issue pamphleteering sallies of consistent literary as well as polemic distinction. Milton's awareness of his own limitations in prose may have delayed his enlistment in the crucial ideological warfare of his day.

Milton opens *Of Reformation* with an arresting comparison of the spirit of primitive Christianity with what he considers the corrupt ceremonies of the Church of England. These he calls "the new-vomited Paganisme of sensuall Idolatry,"⁶ deriding the superstitious dependence on the senses which breeds in the worshipers no quickening of the spirit, but only mechanical motions accompanied by slavish fear. Even the first page of *Of Reformation* thus shows a striking contradiction between Milton the poet and Milton the religious thinker. As a poet Milton was constantly aware of the need of images, of dependence upon the magic of color and sound and touch, of the efficacy of pageantry and music to release the inmost springs of his reader's mind. Master of the classicist art, he understood how to transport his readers into the realm of fantasy through the medium of sensory language. Yet in religious practices he rejected the uses of art. Scorning tradition and hating ritual, he held in contempt all effort to create periodically amid the bleakness of daily life a world of mystic beauty and spiritual exaltation.⁷ Images he despised as idols, ceremonies as superstitions. Already with Milton the true Protestant was in effect his own church, rejecting the efficacy of ecclesiastical discipline for his own unaided interpretation of the Scriptures.

This picture of depravity in church discipline Milton follows with a historical analysis of the factors in English history which have prevented a true reformation of the discipline of the church. In a secular sense,

⁶ Below, p. 520.

⁷ I am here following my own words in *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, p. 115.

though not expanded sufficiently to be fully compelling, this section of *Of Reformation* was new and vital material in the pamphlet literature of 1641. William Prynne's *Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie* (July 5) was the only contemporary pamphlet to trace in full the historical process Milton reviews in brief. As for Henry VIII, says Milton, it is plain that he was not interested in reforming religion, but only in the supremacy of the crown as opposed to the supremacy of the Pope. In the reign of Edward VI wars interrupted a halfhearted attempt at reformation. The bishops persecuted and burned at the stake in the reign of Queen Mary, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, Milton was unwilling to count as Protestant martyrs. To him martyrs who died for mistaken causes were no martyrs at all. Of Queen Elizabeth's reign Milton writes that "shee was made beleeeve that by putting downe *Bishops* her *Prerogative* would be infring'd."⁸ In this brief review Milton points accurately to some of the historical accidents that prevented the purifying of Anglican church discipline. But the crucial background struggle between the rising commercial classes, of which his own father was a part, and the landed aristocracy escaped Milton as it had escaped his predecessors, Holinshed, Hayward, and Camden.

Coming to his own time, which he counts from the accession of James I, Milton names as the main hinderers of reformation the votaries of antiquity. Though Milton's whole intellectual method in theology, as shown in *Christian Doctrine*, was to establish truths from Scriptural foundation only, he reckons in *Of Reformation* with the power of tradition and especially of the church fathers over the minds of the literate English audience. Though later, especially in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, he was to appeal to the fathers himself in an attempt to refute Ussher and Hall, in *Of Reformation* he strives to prove that the church fathers are unreliable as doctrinal guides because they are inconsistent with each other. Even in earliest times, writes Milton, according to Ignatius many heresies had reared their heads. On disagreement about Easter Day, continues Milton, the bishop of Rome after excommunicating all the churches of Asia for their heresy in this matter was rebuked by Irenaeus. Here, says Milton in effect, even in primitive times (which he accounts those centuries between Christ and Constantine) the church fathers contended for the truth with each other. Who now is to believe them, who could not then agree among themselves? "Can any sound Theologer think that these great Fathers understood what was Gospel, or what was Excommunication?"⁹ On the score of the contradictory doctrine of the primitive church, which Milton bolsters by citing the

⁸ Below, p. 540.

⁹ Below, p. 550.

inevitability of many tamperings with original documents, he acquits himself with compelling logic. Had he applied the same principle in showing that the practice in the election of bishops was likewise inconsistent and contradictory, he would have strengthened his argument that an antiquity with such a split personality could not be trusted as a guide to English reformation. Milton, however, in *Of Reformation*, as in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, marshals arguments for the election of bishops in primitive times as opposed to ordination by their superior officers. In this argument Milton rightfully claims the support of Cyprian and Sulpicius Severus; but Ignatius was no such friend of democratic church organization as Milton at first pictures him. Whereas Milton begins, therefore, with the very sound assumption that the doctrine in primitive times was full of contradictions, he swings gradually to the argument that antiquity justifies a church free of Episcopal hierarchy. The necessity for the contradiction in Milton's method is clear. Much as he hated the use of the church fathers as the basis of theological guidance, he was forced by the exigencies of controversy to draw arguments from tradition as well as from Scripture.

In his discussion of primitive doctrine, Milton reveals the guiding principle by which he was to frame henceforth his own peculiar platform: the duty of the individual Christian to seek out his own truth from the Scriptures. On this point Milton cites the admonitions of Ignatius, Cyprian, Athanasius, and Basil to return always to the Scriptures as the fountain of truth. Scriptural truth, asserts Milton, is not hard to find, and God made man equal to the task of comprehending it: "The very essence of Truth is plainnesse, and brightnes; the darknes and crookednesse is our own. The *Wisdom* of God created *understanding*, fit and proportionable to Truth the object, and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible."¹⁰ No special learning, insists Milton, is required to comprehend the Scriptures; each child and man should seek for himself: "Not only the *wise*, and *learned*, but the *simple*, the *poor*, the *babes*, foretelling an extraordinary effusion of *Gods* Spirit upon every age, and sexe, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit discerning that which is good."¹¹ This primary principle in Milton, which he was to restate hundreds of times in later works, in reality encompassed the explosive, revolutionary quality of Protestant dynamics, the right of each man to follow the social or personal truth he found in the Scriptures and work for it in his daily life. Such an intellectual method, however, as Milton did not realize, led to many contradictions. As Gauden

¹⁰ Below, p. 566.

¹¹ Below, p. 566.

and Hall found in the Scriptures justification for the divine right of kings, and Roger Williams for toleration even of the hated papists, so Rainsborough was to justify by the Scriptures the democratic suffrage. "I doe nott finde any thinge in the law of God," he said in the debates of 1647, "that a Lord shall chuse 20 Burgesses, and a Gentleman butt two, or a poore man shall chuse none."¹² The right to individual Scriptural interpretation was to justify an even more extreme position in the communism of Gerrard Winstanley, who called for "*Community of the Earth*, for the quiet livelihood in food and raiment without using force, or restraining one another." Could it possibly be, asked Winstanley, that the Creator is a "respector of persons, delighting in the comfortable Livelihood of some, and rejoycing in the miserable povertie and straits of others?"¹³ Such were to be the fruits of Milton's intellectual method. Contrary to Milton's assertion, the Scriptures were scarcely more plain and easy to follow than the church fathers. The Scriptures contained, indeed, so many things that men could find in them justifications for many positions in theology or politics. It was this disintegrating principle that was to split English Protestantism into dozens of sects, to justify in Milton's mind Cromwell's military dictatorship of 1649, and to bring Milton in the end to no church but his own conscience.

A central and recurring theme in *Of Reformation* is Milton's definition of a true bishop as a humble priest chosen by his flock: "Inabl'd with *gifts* from *God*, and the lawfull and Primitive choyce of the *Church* assembl'd in convenient number,"¹⁴ such a bishop who with his fellow presbyters has the power to ordain others. For his portrait of a primitive bishop Milton depends in part upon Sulpicius Severus' portrait of St. Martin, who dressed in camel's hair garments, had his food in common with fellow monks, gave half his cloak to a poor traveler, allowed his hair to grow long, and was always alert to succor humble people. Such a primitive bishop, according to Milton, democratically chosen, had no power over other congregations, fasted and prayed often, preached continually, and labored long. To such a bishop the Lord's supper is a communion of fellowship among equals and not a spiritual favor granted through priestly mediation. "He that will mould a modern Bishop into a primitive, must yeeld him to be elected by the popular voyce, undiocest, unrevenu'd, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchles temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer, and preaching,

¹² *Clarke Papers*, ed Charles Firth (4 vols., CS, 1891-1901), I, 304.

¹³ *A New-Years Gift for the Parliament and Armie* (January 1, 1650), E587(6), pp. 37-38.

¹⁴ Below, p. 537.

continual watchings, and labours in his Ministry." ¹⁵ To Milton a true bishop would respect his fellow Christians as equals in Christian service, not doubting the capacity of the common man to search the Scriptures and find there the truth that would bring salvation.

In contrast to his portrait of a true primitive bishop, Milton pictures contemporary English bishops as rejecting in every sense the humility of their Lord, not only living in pomp, pride, and luxury, but tyrannizing over the consciences of their flocks, driving many of them to lands beyond the seas. The origin of such modern bishops Milton traces to the union of church and state in the realm of Constantine: "But when through *Constantines* lavish Superstition they forsook their *first love*, and set themselves up two Gods instead, *Mammon* and their Belly, then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on mens consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things into their command, upon which their carnal desires, the Spirit dayly quenching and dying in them, they knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering, and supporting their inward rottenes by a carnal, and outward strength." ¹⁶ In his castigation of English bishops Milton makes no exception. Such an admirable man in private life as Ussher or Hall Milton does not recognize. To him the bishops are all monsters of evil. The variety of his epithets is an illuminating token of Milton's bitter hatred: "Tyrannicall crew," "Corporation of Impostors," "halting and time-serving *Prelates*," "common stales," "skinny congealment of ease and sloth," "Egyptian task-masters of Ceremonies," "heape of hard, and loathsome uncleannes," "whippe of Scorpions," "illiterate and blind guides," "a wastfull band of robbers," "a perpetuall havock, and rapine," "a continuall *Hydra* of mischief, and molestation," "forge of discord and Rebellion," "unctuous, and epicurean paunches," "importunate *Wolves*," "wilde *Boares*," "*Locusts* and *Scorpions*," "*downtrodden Vassals of Perdition*." ¹⁷ To such extreme epithets, unparalleled in Episcopal tracts except in the verse satires of John Taylor, rarely equaled in violence, too, among Puritan pamphleteers, was Milton led by his private as well as theoretical grievances against the prelates. Near the beginning of his tract Milton explains in part the violence of his language by saying, "I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evill, nor any vaine-glory; but of meere necessity, to vindicate the spotlesse *Truth* from an ignominious bondage." ¹⁸

¹⁵ Below, pp. 548-49.

¹⁶ Below, pp. 576-77.

¹⁷ Below, pp. 537, 545, 603, 614, 617.

¹⁸ Below, p. 535.

Despite this explanation and Milton's later justification of his scurrilous abuse, it is plain that he did not attack the prelates with that humility or meekness which he recommended to them in his portrait of a primitive bishop. Unlike his Smectymnuan friends, who argued always with restraint and decorum, appealing as did William Walwyn to reason rather than passion, Milton was no pacifist but a belligerent, fighting Christian from the beginning of his pamphleteering career.

Notwithstanding his polemic excesses, Milton in *Of Reformation* traced the main patterns of Puritan resentment against the bishops. In an age seething with theological discussion, when citizens were required by law to sit in church each Sabbath, Milton spoke the complaints of thousands of his fellow Englishmen. The imposed high church ceremonies, the wearing of the surplice and the tippet, the railing in of the altar, the prevalence of nonpreaching bishops, the persecutions in ecclesiastical courts, the voting of bishops in the House of Lords, the purchase of tithes (which Milton calls "ignoble Hucsterage"), the influence of Episcopacy on the crown, the banishment of staunch Englishmen beyond the seas: all these patterns, traced hundreds of times in contemporary pamphlets, Milton filters afresh in *Of Reformation* through the fiery sieve of his capacious mind. Through the machinations of the prelates, asserts Milton, the kingdom is in danger of dissolving into a democracy with violent hands laid upon the property of the citizens. "These devout *Prelates*," accuses Milton, "spight of our great Charter, and the soules of our Progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the *Norman* gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowess, for these many years have not ceas't in their Pulpits wrinching, and spraining the *text*, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred, and life blood Lawes, Statutes, and Acts of *Parliament* that are the holy Cov'nant of Union, and Marriage betweene the King and his Realme, by proscribing, and confiscating from us all the right we have to our owne bodies, goods and liberties. What is this, but to blow a trumpet, and proclaime a fire-crosse to a hereditary, and perpetuall civill warre."¹⁹ To Milton it is an ill omen of dread when the citizens are forced to seek strange shores to escape persecution at home. In *Of Reformation* he encompasses in his own individual focus these pervasive complaints, representing them more imaginatively and with less documentation than Prynne, using significant facts about English history more effectively than Burton or Bastwick, and interweaving now and then a quotation of memorable insight, such as "Custome without Truth is but agednesse of Error."²⁰

From *Of Reformation* emerges an intellectual portrait of Milton at

¹⁹ Below, pp. 592-93.

²⁰ Below, p. 561.

thirty-two that points to the reasons for his revolutionary ideas in years to come. Like that of Vane, Cromwell, and Burton, his extreme antagonism to the prelates has prepared him not only for root and branch extermination of the hierarchy, but also for more revolutionary departures from the Church of England. One of the most original ideas in *Of Reformation* is Milton's question why it would not be appropriate for members in each church to elect their own minister, as they do their own members in the House of Commons. Though this was in keeping, of course, with the stand of his Presbyterian friends, the Smectymnuans, it was also consistent with the stream of thought in Burton's *The Protestation Protested*. It is plain from *Of Reformation* that Milton is a deeply religious man, who will suffer no mediator whatever between his own mind and the open Bible. On this score alone, it is easy to see why he would inevitably be forced to reject Presbyterian as well as Anglican domination over conscience. If Milton finds it easy to hate the prelates, he is filled also with patriotic idealism for England's future, both civil and religious. As yet he has no thought of changing the structure of England's government. Her monarchy, as he pictures it, limited by laws and charters, is "more divinely and harmoniously tun'd" than any other in the world.²¹

2. MILTON'S ATTACK ON USSHER: OF PRELITICAL EPISCOPACY

His resources now summoned to an angry campaign against the prelates, Milton almost immediately¹ sent forth *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* against a pamphlet that had appeared in late May, *The Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes Touching the Originall of Episcopacy*, by James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, one of the great Anglican scholars of the age. Born in 1581, Ussher had entered Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of thirteen, soon showing remarkable precocity in languages and theology, thereafter engaging in a systematic reading program of eighteen years in the church fathers. Appointed to the see of Meath, Ussher in 1622 supported James in a speech on the Oath of Supremacy, upholding the death penalty for heresy, a speech later published with a special letter of thanks from the king.² Granted an indefinite leave of absence by James for his study of the ancient British church, Ussher spent over two years in London in scholarly pursuits from late 1623 to early 1626, preaching before James in June of 1624, and becoming a member of

²¹ Below, p. 599

¹ For the dating of *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, see below, p. 619; French, *Life Records* II (1950), 37-38

² "The Life of . . . James Ussher," in Ussher, *Works* (1848), I, 61-62.

Gray's Inn in the same year. On March 22, 1625, James appointed Ussher archbishop of Armagh, to succeed Hampton. Now at the pinnacle of his ecclesiastical career, Ussher turned his energies in Ireland to propaganda against Catholicism, attempting to relieve the grievances of the non-conforming Puritans and participating in the shaping of policy at Trinity College. Unsympathetic with Laud's harsh actions, though maintaining a cordial correspondence with him, Ussher made no attempt to persecute the Scottish nonconformists in his archbishopric. In 1634 Strafford ruled in favor of Ussher's see, Armagh, as opposed to that of Dublin for ecclesiastical supremacy in Ireland. In March, 1641, Ussher was appointed to a committee nominated by the Lords to consider needed church reforms.³ Around May 10 or 11, Ussher, according to his own account, advised Charles against consenting to Strafford's execution but was nevertheless charged with carrying Charles's final message to the condemned man.⁴ In the church reform debates of that critical month, appealed to by both the high church party and the moderate Episcopalians, Ussher drew up plans, as we have already seen, for a modified Episcopacy incorporating the concepts of a democratizing Presbyterianism.⁵ Ussher composed *The Judgement* at the request of Bishop Hall, who besought him to bestow "one sheet of paper upon these distracted times, in the subject of Episcopacie, shewing the Apostolical original of it"⁶ Such a brief treatise, asserted Hall, would mean more than "volumes from us," "us" meaning, I take it, bishops more high-church or less scholarly than Ussher. This celebrated primate was now in Milton's eyes the leading public enemy of root and branch reformation, a man deeply learned in the church fathers, enlightened and moderate champion of the *via media*.

Famous though Milton's opponent was, he took pains to enhance his argument for the ancient origin of bishops by citing a passage from the works of Dr. John Rainolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who had died in 1607. Born in 1549, Rainolds had won fame as a young man for his commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, had been elected president of Corpus Christi December 11, 1598. Moderate and conciliatory in argumentative method, Rainolds at the request of Sir Francis Knowles refuted Bancroft's argument in 1588 that the Elizabethan Puritans committed heresy in maintaining the equality of presbyters and bishops.⁷ This intellectual position, asserted Rainolds, for which Aeri-

³ Fuller, *Church History* (1837), III, 415.

⁴ Ussher, *Works* (1848), I, 214-15.

⁵ See pp 103-04.

⁶ Ussher, *Works* (1848), I, 225.

⁷ Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached* (1588), pp. 17-19; John Rainolds, *Judgement of Doctor Reignolds Concerning Episcopacy, Whether It Be GODS Ordinance Expressed in a Letter to Sir Francis Knowls . . . 1588* (1641), pp. 4-5.

was originally condemned, had never been stamped as heretical by the whole body of the church. In 1592, in a controversy with the Latin dramatist, William Gager, Rainolds opposed the participation of students in dramatic productions, "not for making young men come forth in whores attire . . . but for teaching them to counterfeit her actions, her wanton kisse, her impudent face, her wicked speeches and entisements."⁸ In 1610 Rainolds defended the right of divorce (on grounds of adultery) and remarriage as permissive by the Christian faith.⁹ Low church in doctrine rather than in discipline, conciliatory, moderate, and scholarly, Rainolds commanded the respect of all parties. Bishop Hall said of him, "He alone was a well furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning: the memory, the reading of that man were near a miracle."¹⁰

In his analysis of Episcopacy in the *Judgement*, a passage reprinted by Ussher as the authoritative pronouncement of a great scholar, Rainolds asserts that the elders, in order to look after their flocks, "did use to assemble themselves and meete together. In the which meetings, for the more orderly handling and concluding of things pertaining to their charge; they chose one amongst them to be the President of their company and Moderator of their actions."¹¹ In the church at Ephesus, for example, continued Rainolds, the one pastor called by Jesus in Revelation 2:1 the "Angell of the Church" was in reality this president or moderator of the congregational meeting. It was this man, an elected officer, whom the church fathers called the bishop. It was true, asserted Rainolds, that the word "bishop" was applied to all elders and pastors, but the church fathers usually meant by the word "bishop" the moderator or president of the elders. This was not an extreme position, and Rainolds in this statement makes no claim for the divine right of bishops from primitive tradition. According to this view, the institution of a bishop was merely a human convenience originally instituted by the elders themselves. Rainolds' identification, however, of the "angel of the church" as Jesus' recognition of the bishop as an institution was a strong authority for Episcopal claims. Continuing Rainolds' argument, Ussher brought forth in succession the authoritative statements by early church councils and fathers, citing the testimony of Leontius, bishop of Magnesia, the testimony of Ignatius, Irenaeus, Polycarp, Polycrates, Tertullian, Hegesippus, Bede, Photius, Eusebius, and Clement of Alexandria. Citing the continued succession of twenty-seven bishops or-

⁸ *The Overthrow of Stage-Playes* (1629), p. 17.

⁹ *A Defence of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches* (1610), p. 15.

¹⁰ *DNB*.

¹¹ Pp 1-2.

dained at Ephesus, Ussher asserted that the angel of the church mentioned in Revelation was necessarily one of this succession, "whether it were *Timothie* himselfe, as some conceive; or one of his next Successors, as others rather do imagine."¹² Ussher attempts to show that Timothy was the first bishop of the church at Ephesus by citations from Justin Martyr, Timothy II, Eusebius, Photius, and Polycrates. Ignatius, continued Ussher's argument, who had been ordained bishop of Antioch by St. Peter, was a contemporary of St. John when he wrote the words "Angell of the Church"¹³ in Revelation 2:1. Shortly before his martyrdom, Ignatius wrote a letter to the Ephesians in which he made mention of the Ephesian bishop, Onesimus. To the testimony of Ignatius as a contemporary of the "angel of the church" mentioned in Revelation Ussher gives great weight. In building up the authority of Ignatius, Ussher cites his closeness to Polycarp, who, having been ordained by the apostles bishop of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom even before St. John wrote Revelation. One of the next important authorities to Ussher is Tertullian, whom he cites to prove that Peter had ordained Clement as bishop of the Church of Rome, and that John ordained Polycarp as bishop of the Church of Smyrna. Ussher's aim in this procedure was to carry back to the earliest times possible the record of bishops not elected by their congregations but appointed by apostles as men of superior jurisdiction over their respective churches. Significantly enough, Ussher does not analyze Rainolds' comment on the choice of a bishop or moderator by each church. According to Rainolds, the choice of the elder was made by the people. He was addressed by Jesus as the "Angell of the Church," but Rainolds avoided saying that Jesus or one of the apostles named him to this office. It is evident that Ussher was more concerned with the authority of ancient texts for the institution and superior ecclesiastical authority of bishops than for the means of their selection, which he had so lately analyzed in *Reduction of Episcopacy* as elective rather than appointive.

In attacking such a great scholar as Ussher, Milton was forced to meet him on the grounds Ussher had chosen as proof of the antiquity of Episcopacy, the church fathers. Though for most of the fathers Milton had only contempt, he was not only required to meet his adversary on this ground but also to answer his opponent point by point, a method of argument common enough among his contemporaries, though most unlikely to produce a work of literary merit, even from a man of Milton's

¹² P. 5.

¹³ Cf. a parallel analysis to "angel" in Almoni's *A Compendious Discourse* (1641), sigs. A4v-B. Milton replies at length to this argument in *Animadversions*, maintaining that the word "angel" was used collectively. See below, pp. 711-13

talents. Milton's main aim, then, was to show from the use of Ussher's own sources that no vital distinction actually existed between the spiritual authority of the bishop and that of any other presbyter. But this was not enough for Milton. He was not satisfied to prove the equality of bishops and presbyters in the ancient church. Why, he asks in effect, should we seek among the church fathers for a pattern of church organization when the Scriptures lie plain and open before us? "It came into my thoughts . . ." he wrote, "that I could do Religion, and my Country no better service for the time, then . . . to recall the people of God from this vaine forraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firme stations under the standard of the Gospell."¹⁴ Time after time Milton returns to this, his primary principle, of persuading his readers to judge all by the authority of Scripture, disregarding tradition, building afresh from the source of truth, throwing overboard the Anglican as well as the Roman traditions. As in *Of Reformation*, Milton gives no hint but that a study of the Scriptures will yield a pattern of church discipline from which no one would dissent. As we might expect, handicapped as he was by his self-imposed debating procedure, Milton now and then bursts the bounds of his polemic method to strike deep into the heart of his growing convictions, civil as well as theological. When he says, for example, at the very beginning of his tract that if Episcopacy is of human rather than of divine origin, man has the right to change it, being born free, he gives the first hint in his prose of the underlying principle of *The Tenure*, by which he was to argue for the right of the English people to annihilate monarchy and establish a republic.

To Milton there was no virtue in the antiquity of authority; but since the exigencies of theological polemic assumed a virtue in ancient texts, he grappled with the problem by attempting to break down the authority of the fathers cited by Ussher, meanwhile emphasizing those authorities, such as Eusebius, whose statements often cast doubt on the ecclesiastical superiority of bishops. In dealing with Ignatius, next to Polycarp the most ancient of the apostolic fathers, Milton made no attempt as he had in *Of Reformation* to present him as a believer in the election of bishops. Rather his whole effort was now to deride the ecclesiastical authority of Ignatius by showing the absurdities and inconsistencies in his writings. Milton probably used the Vedelius edition of Ignatius (Geneva, 1623),¹⁵ which identified to the satisfaction of most later scholars five spurious epistles of Ignatius, those to the Tarsians, the Antiochians, to Hero, a deacon of Antioch, to the Philippians, and to Mary at Neapolis.

¹⁴ Below, p. 627.

¹⁵ The Vedelius edition, *S. Ignatii Episcopi Antiocheni . . . Epistolas* (Geneva, 1623; NYPL), is mentioned by Almoni in *A Compendious Discourse*, sig. A4, as "lately cited by the adversaries of Episcopacy under his name."

Though Milton mentions five spurious epistles, he does not hesitate to quote from these spurious epistles in three instances in order to discredit the ideas of Ignatius.¹⁶ In the remaining five references to Ignatius, however, Milton cites the genuine epistles as named by Vedelius, attempting to show that the opinions presented are contrary to Christian doctrine.¹⁷ Milton accuses Ignatius, for example, of violating the meaning of Solomon's injunction, "Honour *God* & the King," when he adds, "But I say, honour *God* and the Bishop as High-priest, bearing the image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Christ*, according to his Priesting, and after him honour the King."¹⁸ Grasping at any means to discredit Ignatius, Milton accuses him of exalting the power of a bishop above the power of a king. In both *Of Reformation* and *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* Milton had attempted to show how destructive bishops had been to the power of monarchs, a theme dealt with at length by Prynne in *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*. But this is one of the weakest arguments in Milton's attack on the prelates. In his long tirade against Constantine Milton had pointed out that bishops and kings had lent each other mutual support. In later tracts Milton was to claim at length for every Christian what Ignatius had in effect claimed for the bishop, namely, the superiority of Christian conscience over the commands of secular power. If these ideas represented the true Ignatius, continues Milton, then he was corrupt and absurd. If, on the other hand, Ignatius had been adulterated and falsified by later scholars, what faith should anyone place in his writings? Unfortunately for his argument, Milton was not able to prove his assumptions of the inconsistencies in the style of Ignatius or to separate the spurious Ignatius from the true. How absurd, he exclaims, to search among fathers such as Ignatius, "the verminous, and polluted rags dropt overworn from the toying shoulders of Time,"¹⁹ when the Gospel itself lies open to instruct both in doctrine and discipline.

In his treatment of Irenaeus, Milton attempts to destroy the validity of Irenaeus' testimony by citing his doctrinal instability, as well as the circumstances under which he saw Polycarp. How could a mere boy have learned from Polycarp that he "*was made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles*," as Ussher claims? "Whether a Boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a Church constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of Commission *Polycarpus* receiv'd his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credu-

¹⁶ Below, pp. 636-37.

¹⁷ Vedelius names as genuine (*Epistles*, 1623, p. 1) *To the Trallians, To the Philadelphians, To Polycarp, To the Romans, To the Smyrmans, To the Ephesians*.

¹⁸ Below, p. 618.

¹⁹ Below, p. 639.

lous.”²⁰ It is one thing to know a man, continued Milton, quite another to judge the state of the institution which he served. Suppose a lad had seen Pericles: Would he have thought him an elective ruler rather than a monarch? No more could the boy Irenaeus have judged the function and office of Polycarp. Milton then proceeds with an analysis of the psychology of tradition surrounding the apostles, pointing out how, to the credulous, ideas gave way to belief in miracles such as the resistance of Polycarpus’ body to the fire set by his executioners, the fire flowing away like a sail, “exhaling such a sweet odour, as if all the incense of *Arabia* had bin burning.”²¹ In his treatment of Irenaeus and the authority of the church fathers Milton writes in the tradition of the Anglican who had rejected the miracle of transubstantiation while still holding fast to the miracles performed by Jesus and a belief in the miracle of resurrection. Here Milton appeals to the reader on rational grounds; yet he would not apply the same test to the miraculous in Scripture.

In terms of the authority of antiquity, however, Milton was unable to break down the testimony of Irenaeus. Before he finished *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, there had appeared in the stalls a tract devoted entirely to the testimony of Irenaeus, *A Compendious Discourse, Proving Episcopacy To Be of Apostolicall, and Consequently Of Divine Institution*, with a preface dated May 31 and a reference to Milton as “the late unworthy Authour of a booke intituled, *Of Reformation, &c.*”²² As we might expect, the author cites the antiquity of Irenaeus; he lived about 185 A.D. during the bishopric of Eleutherius, preceded only by Ignatius and Justin Martyr. As for his personality, the author (who styles himself Peloni Almoni) describes Irenaeus as “an holy man, a learned man, a peaceable man . . . a constant defendour of the truth, and finally a patient sufferer for the same.” Almoni refers to Milton as having “found some quarrell” against Irenaeus in *Of Reformation*. Milton, however, in *Of Reformation* has only a complimentary reference to Irenaeus as the father who justly reproved Bishop Victor for excommunicating the Asiatic churches for celebrating Easter on a day contrary to Victor’s own calculations. Like Ussher, Almoni cited Polycarp’s statement about his having served as bishop of the church at Smyrna. “He knew

²⁰ Below, p. 640.

²¹ Below, p. 643.

²² As for himself, wrote the author in his preface, “*I hope that I may make use of this publique liberty, without offence (which I seeke not) or danger (which I regard not) to speake a word for my Reverend Mother, the Church of England, and my Venerable Fathers, the Bishops thereof*” The pamphlet at several points suggests the work of Joseph Hall, though the writer says that he is now sixty-two years old, whereas Bishop Hall, when *A Compendious Discourse* was published, was sixty-six.

Polycarp very well, and knew undoubtedly that his *Episcopall* office was derived from the Apostles." After citations on this point from Irenaeus, St Augustine, and Epiphanius, Almoni confirms his interpretation by the commentaries of Bullinger and Rainolds. In a curious passage incidental to the Irenaeus argument, Almoni defends the temporal power of the bishops on the premises by which Milton in *Of Reformation* had condemned it. "The Christian Church and temporall State were then divided; and the first was persecuted by the second, till glorious *Constantine* obtained the Imperiall diadem, upon the yeere 316 Afterwards by favour of the Emperour, and other Princes, civill dignity, and temporall power were annexed to Episcopall places, the Church and State being now united together." In Almoni's view the temporal power of bishops was in no way inconsistent with their spiritual functions. Indeed they might strengthen state as well as church. Almoni then asks of his polemic enemies the inevitable question: Where will you stop in taking away bishops' prerogatives? Will you stop at our secular privileges, or will you take away also ecclesiastical authority over presbyters, such authority "as Christian Bishops did obtaine, and exercise therein, from and in the Apostolicall times, and in the succeeding ages of the primitive Church?" Almoni then answers his own question: "No . . . you would cast them wholly out of the Church, or leave them an empty title without a reall office."²³ Thus does Almoni, an antagonist in many ways as perceptive as Ussher, argue against the premises of Milton and his fellow pamphleteers.

Whether, in brief, a democracy or a hierarchy existed in the organization of the primitive church was a question so baffling as to be unanswerable either by Milton or his learned Anglican contemporaries. If the earliest Christians were communists, did they have a hierarchy of officers? As the church grew, was authority centralized? If presbyters and bishops were anciently the same, in what century did bishops take precedence? Was church organization in Rome more democratic than in Constantinople? When the church became the state church of the Roman Empire, did it copy the civil organization of the Roman provinces? When did the bishop appoint a presbyter to serve a congregation, and when did the church elect one? These were only a few of the questions which held the key to the crucial problem. In the heat of controversy only such a man as Henry Parker could grant that the task of tracing a clear picture was a hopeless one. "I am of opinion that some order and imparitie was necessary in the Primitive Church," he wrote,

²³ Almoni, *A Compendious Discourse*, sigs. A4, B2-B3.

"... but for ought I see, that power which was then necessary was not so large as our Prelates, nor so narrow as our Presbyterians plead for, but whatsoever it was, or wheresoever it rested, questionless, it is now unknown, and not manifest in Scripture."²⁴ Those who, like Milton and Prynne, could not reconcile English lord bishops with the meekness of Jesus or the example of Cyprian found many precedents in the church fathers. Ussher and Rainolds, moderates both, found some hierarchical organization in the most ancient sources. One of Milton's main purposes in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* was to discredit these ancient sources and shift the source of authority to the Scriptures themselves. Undecipherable as it was, the precise nature of primitive church organization was soon to loom as an ironical irrelevance amid the avalanche of secular agitation justified by the Scriptures. The primitive church was far away; the English bishops and their canons were a weekly irritation to all Englishmen of Puritan persuasion.

3 ANIMADVERSIONS: MILTON AS ANGRY SATIRIST

From a scholarly grappling with Ussher, Milton now turned to a biting satirical attack in *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence against Smectymnuus* (July, 1641). Hall's *Defence*, which had been published April 12, contained, it will be remembered, many pages of constructive argument that the Smectymnuans had attempted to demolish in their *Vindication of an Answer*, published in June. It is evident from the method he used in *Animadversions* that Milton considered the Smectymnuan polemic too polite for the necessities of pamphlet warfare, especially with such an opponent as Bishop Hall. If *A Postscript to An Answer* showed Milton's repressed fury against the bishops and *Of Reformation* gave it sober release, *Animadversions* provided him with a vehicle of unrestrained bitterness unequalled as yet among the serious Puritan sallies against the prelates. In *Animadversions*, except in scattered passages, Milton throws off all attempt at scholarly persuasion in favor of ridicule and abuse interspersed with eloquent passages of permanent worth in the history of ideas. Milton's method of selecting passages from Hall and attacking them as a marksman shoots clay pigeons possessed several polemic advantages, if little argumentative validity. The plan enabled Milton to select the weakest points of Hall's argument and heap them with ridicule, while omitting the most effective passages of Hall's *Defence*. A more vital advantage to Milton, however, was the release it provided for his deepest meditations on the central problems of reformation. Many of these thoughts, it is true, he had set forth in

²⁴ *The True Grounds of Ecclesiasticall Regiment* (1641), p. 7

Of Reformation, but now he was prepared to unburden a new, more creative flow of intellectual energy. The diverse incongruous results of Milton's choice of a polemic method are apparent in almost every page of *Animadversions*, running the full range from scurrilous abuse to meaningless laughter, from intellectual satire to rushes of idealism and prayers to God for turning the full wheel of English reformation.

So aware was Milton that his language would shock his friends, "*the softer spirited*" ones, that he devoted the whole of his preface to a justification of his polemic excesses, claiming indeed that in coping with Hall, "*it will be nothing disagreeing from Christian meeknesse to handle such a one in a rougher accent, and to send home his haughtinesse well bespurred with his owne holy-water.*"¹ Milton was free to grant that the example of Christ taught otherwise; yet it is plain that in the exigencies of polemic warfare he could not follow the example he pictures. Contrary to Milton's assertion, there are dozens of passages in *Animadversions* incompatible with the humility and polemic patience achieved by Ussher, Milton's Smectymnuan friends, Walwyn, Saltmarsh, and Winstanley. As later events were to prove, Milton already believed in harsh, unlovely means to a noble end. In a realistic sense, it is true, Milton's ridicule of the prelates, his use of "*grim laughter*," did carry a polemic shock and awakening necessary to the annihilation of prelatical power. It did provide, as Milton claimed, "*a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting.*"² Like Cromwell and Ireton in later emergencies, Milton was willing in 1641 to use a profound knowledge of the average man's response whether or not such an exploitation agreed with the ideals of their praying hours. Anger and laughter Milton called the "*two most rationall faculties of humane intellect.*" In appealing to these faculties Milton, as he points out, hoped to come quickly to the essential points of the controversy, leaving aside for the moment the weight of scholarship he had struggled with in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*.

Milton's numerous stabs of abuse and diatribe brought in their train curious sallies unexpected from his sober upbringing and dedication to a literary career. When Hall wrote "That scum may be worth taking off which follows," Milton answered with the language some Puritans expected from the wharfmen and dung-hill women: "Spare your Ladle sir, it will be as bad as the Bishops foot in the broth; the scum will be found upon your own *Remonstrance*." To Hall's injunction, "Take heed of the ravens of the valley," Milton replied, "The ravens wee are to take

¹ Below, p. 662. For a judicious and illuminating analysis of aspects of Milton's satire, see J. Milton French, "Milton as Satirist," *PMLA*, LI (1936), 414-29.

² Below, p. 664.

heede on are your selves, that would peck out the eyes of all knowing Christians" An absurd thrust by Hall, "Wanton wits must have leave to play with their own stern," Milton heightens with smutty banter: "A Meditation of yours doubtlesse observ'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepscopall Kittens*" When Hall claims that the Church of England has produced more "eminent scholars, learned preachers, grave, holy, and accomplished divines" than any church in the world, Milton's reply is merely sardonic laughter: "Ha, ha, ha." Angered at Hall's constant reference to the Church of England as the mother deserving respect of all obedient Englishmen, Milton's satirical imagination pictures the Pope as their hated father, with Hall desiring the children to be "the Bastards, or the Centaurs of their spirituall fornications." Referring scornfully to the Petition of Oxford's prayer for deaneries to encourage young scholars, Milton pictures these offices as "the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come, and gorge upon the Church." Often, it is true, Milton's satire achieves a stinging intellectual quality, as in his reply to Hall's question, "And if the Lords Praier be an ordinary, and stinted form, why not others?" To this Milton replies, "Because there bee no other Lords that can stint with like authority."³ The number of such intellectual disembowelings in *Animadversions*, however, is small in comparison to abuse at any cost.

Despite its violences and excesses, *Animadversions* traced for the first time the breadth and height of Milton's intellectual stature. Many passages on the authority of private judgment anticipated Milton's saying in *Areopagitica*, "Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making." When Hall complains about libeling pamphleteers, Milton reminds him of the Roman custom by which even the slaves might speak their minds without hindrance once a year. Now after all the censorship of the prelates, whereby a narrow-minded chaplain might prevent the escape of truth long darkened, it would be sad indeed, especially in a time of Parliament, if freeborn Englishmen could not freely speak their minds. Already to Milton "nothing is more sweet to man" than freedom of speech and press, freedom by which men like himself, far from the public eye, may hold up to prince and Parliament particular truths long hidden from free and open scrutiny.

Another aspect of the authority of private judgment, anticipated in Milton's analysis of Cyprian in *Of Reformation*, is his praise of spontaneous prayer as opposed to the traditional liturgy and the insight of the plain-spoken layman on matters of religion as superior to profes-

³ Below, pp 696, 726, 718, 683.

sional synthesis: "Reason is the gift of God," wrote Milton, "in one man, as well as in a thousand."⁴ Agreeing with Hall and his Smectymnuan friends that the first liturgy was established to prevent the spreading of Arian and Pelagian beliefs, Milton scornfully attacks such censorship as a means of preventing heresy, meanwhile denying "the Ministers of God the use of their noblest talent, Praier in the Congregation."⁵ To forbid spontaneous prayer was moreover no barrier to heresy as long as men could speak in lectures or sermons or even in private conversations with their parishioners. The real way to prevent heresy, insisted Milton, was to encourage each minister to use his reason in reading the Bible, not to suppress his prayer or preaching by prescription, which Milton denounces as "a supercilious tyranny [the ecclesiastical authorities] appropriating the Spirit of God to themselves."⁶ Before God, asserts Milton, all ministers have an equal right to see the truth and speak it in prayer: "A Minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and fescu'd to a formal injunction of his rote-lesson, should as little be trusted to Preach, besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediately againe."⁷ A minister should be poor, humble, like his master long ago, expecting no more than the necessities of life; but most important, he should search the Scriptures for the truth and voice his inmost thoughts in spontaneous prayer, trusting to the Psalms only for liturgical reading.

Once having evolved the principle of the authority of private judgment, Milton could not separate religious from secular search or the reasoning power of the minister from that of the layman. In effect Milton considered himself a minister outside the traditional field, preaching to Parliament and his fellow countrymen, unburdening his private thoughts for the benefit of his country. All England was his parish. As was later to be evident, Milton judged the reach of man by his own soaring aspirations. He assumed that there were thousands of laymen reading the Bible and searching history as diligently as himself. "God . . . hath promis'd," he wrote, "to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their soules: hence is it that a man shall commonly find more savoury knowledge in one Layman, then in a dozen of Cathedrall *Prelates*."⁸ Was not Jesus a layman himself, trusted by the common people, hated and distrusted by the professional clergy as an ally of Beelzebub? In few places is Milton more

⁴ Below, pp 684-85.

⁵ Below, p. 685.

⁶ Below, p. 682.

⁷ Below, p. 682.

⁸ Below, p. 690.

fierce and bitter than in his scorn of the undedicated professional minister: "In matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable, then a learned foole, or a learned Hypocrite, the one is ever coopt up at his empty speculations, a sot, an ideot for any use that mankind can make of him, or else sowing the World with nice, and idle questions."⁹ Infinitely preferable to Milton was "a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has." Again and again in *Animadversions* Milton strikes this democratic note of the plain man's use of his reason and the power of his humble example in persuading others to his way of life. Was not God equally near to all men?

The authority of private judgment was indeed the central principle of the Protestant Reformation. As is shown in Milton and in thousands of his contemporaries, this principle brought in its train secular as well as religious heresies, now pregnant with conflict and soon to explode in civil war.

In *Animadversions* Milton revealed again, as in *Of Reformation*, a rather exact historical sense of the religious crisis of which he was a part. Though the issues of that crisis are still in a sense controversial after three centuries, it cannot be denied that Milton, to a greater extent than any of his literary contemporaries except Hobbes, understood the alternatives at stake and in July, 1641, correctly felt the issues still in doubt. Mentioning in brief the failure of English reformers thus far, after Wycliffe's early torch, with the prelates even now crying up "Antiquity, Custome, Canons, Councels, and Lawes," and crying down "the truth for noveltie, schisme, profanenesse and Sacriledge,"¹⁰ Milton finds England still in danger of another failure at reformation. Before his countrymen he thrusts the alternatives of timely action or ignominious failure: "O if we freeze at noone after their earely thaw, let us feare lest the Sunne for ever hide himselfe, and turne his orient steps from our ingratefull Horizon justly condemn'd to be eternally benighted."¹¹ In the prayer that follows it is evident that Milton hopes to arouse his countrymen to a resurrection of the primitive faith, a new scanning of Biblical doctrine, and a new impetus to English reformation, Milton himself as one of the leaders: "Come therefore O thou that hast the seven starres in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen *Preists* according to their Orders, and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duely to dresse and powre out the consecrated oyle into thy holy and ever-burning lamps; thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the Land to this effect, and stirr'd up their vows as the

⁹ Below, p. 720.

¹⁰ Below, p. 705.

¹¹ Below, p. 705.

sound of many waters about thy Throne." ¹² In this prayer, as in many other places in *Animadversions*, Milton achieves a free flow of lyrical prose rare indeed in his first two pamphlets. It is evident, therefore, that the crisis of the day Milton visualized as more urgent even than in preceding months. Throwing aside scholarly considerations, he would expand the circle of his public influence and strike for the first time with the deepest principles his long years of meditation had evolved.

CHAPTER XI

MARCH OF REFORM AND PORTENT OF DIVISIONS

July–September, 1641

BEFORE Milton's third pamphlet had circulated long on the streets of London, Parliament had embodied in concrete measures several of the reforms dear to him and his fellow pamphleteers. With each concession on the part of Charles, however, each new limitation of royal sovereignty and restriction on the bishops, thoughtful subjects were awakening to the implications of democratic agitation. Though men like Suckling and Waller could agree on curbing both the king's power and the bishops', they saw more clearly than Cromwell that ecclesiastical innovations would give birth to secular heresies they would be obligated to resist.

1. NATIONAL DECISIONS

The overwhelming sentiment for reform in both Lords and Commons was now forcing Charles to yield ground on vital issues. True, the Bishops Exclusion Bill had died in the House of Lords before reaching him, not to be passed in a second form until February 13 of the following year. On May 11, however, Charles had guaranteed the life of the Long Parliament when he signed a bill prohibiting its dissolution without its own consent.¹ On June 22 he had signed the Tonnage and Poundage Bill, relinquishing claim to revenues levied by royal decree only, a claim, as Charles said, upheld by his predecessors, but destined not to be asserted again by the English monarchs of the future.² In such secular reforms, or in the Poll Tax Bill (signed by Charles on July 3), which

¹² Below, p. 706.

¹ Rushworth, IV, 264; *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, ed. Samuel R. Gardiner (Oxford, 1889), p. 87.

² Rushworth, IV, 297; Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 88.

provided for a graduated scale of taxation in proportion to personal wealth, Milton was not yet primarily interested; he was no constitutionalist in the tradition of Pym and Fiennes. But on July 5 Charles consented to two bills dear to Milton's heart, abolishing the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, engines at once of royal will and the enforcement of Laud's hated canons.³ No one was more conscious than Charles of the constitutional power he was relinquishing: In his speech to the two houses on July 5, he reviewed the concessions he had made on the point of tonnage and poundage, triennial parliaments, the punishment of delinquents. "Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me; and therefore, methinks, you should not wonder if in some Things I begin to refuse."⁴ On August 7, as an appendix to the Tonnage and Poundage Bill, ship money was declared illegal.⁵ Impatient at constitutional delay in curbing the Episcopal hierarchy, the Commons on August 4 sent up to the Lords their impeachment of thirteen prelates who had vigorously supported Laud's canons.⁶ On September 1, after Charles's departure for Scotland, the Commons issued resolutions for the reform of ceremonies which in effect the many parish ministers adhered to, even though it was not a law approved by Lords and king. These resolutions dealt with innovations the Puritans, Milton among them, had attacked with fanatical fervor: the communion table to be removed from the east end of the church; rails around the communion table to be taken away; crucifixes and images of the Virgin Mary to be removed; candlesticks and tapers not to be used on the communion table, bowing at the name of Jesus to cease; the Lord's Day to be strictly observed, with dancing and other sports prohibited; preaching to be encouraged in the afternoon as well as in the morning. All ecclesiastical officials were to certify by October 13 that these reforms had been duly put into practice in the parishes under their jurisdiction.⁷

³ Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, pp 106, 112. For a satirical treatment of the fees exacted in Star Chamber procedure, see *The Star-Chamber Epitomized* (1641).

⁴ Rushworth, IV, 308.

⁵ Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p 115.

⁶ Gardiner, IX, 414, *The Impeachment against the Bishops Sent up by Serjeant Wilde* (August 4, 1641), E165(12). The bishops impeached were Coke, Curle, Goodman, Hall, Owen of St Asaph, Owen of Llandaff, Pierce, Roberts, Skinner, Towers, Warner, Wren, and Wright. *Commons Journals*, II, 235. Wren, bishop of Ely, was particularly hated by the Puritans. The *Articles of Impeachment against Matthew Wren* (July 5, 1641), E165(3), is an illuminating case history of Puritan complaints against bishops, as are the satires *The Wrens Nest Defild* (July, 1641), E165(14), and *Wrens Anatomy* (August, 1641). See also *Sr Tho. Widdringtons Speech* on Wren's impeachment (July 20, 1641).

⁷ Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p 122.

But Parliament was suspicious of the king's departure for Scotland. Was he seeking an alliance with the Scots?⁸ Without the king at hand the Commons could not complete the constitutional circles of other laws whose arcs stretched taut and firm in the minds of eager reformers.

2. PORTENT OF FUTURE DIVISIONS. EDMUND WALLER

The ecclesiastical debates in Parliament were already foreshadowing, however, some of the secular conflicts soon to crystallize in the cauldron of civil war. Each crisis forced the wavering members to clarify intellectual positions full of portent for their future actions. When in early July articles of impeachment impended against Bishop Wren and twelve of his associates, Edmund Waller rose to defend Episcopacy. Two years older than John Milton, a student at Eton and Kings College, Cambridge, Waller was admitted to the bar from Lincoln's Inn July 3, 1622, and sat in the Commons the same year, when he was only sixteen.¹ In 1640, when the Long Parliament met, he was already a veteran of five parliaments, a poet of distinction, famed for his eloquence. Cousin to John Hampden, related by marriage to Oliver Cromwell, Waller had in the early months of the Long Parliament, though a courtier at heart, supported the party of Pym and Vane. Though with the prosecution of Strafford he had drawn away from his colleagues, he had stood firm against ship money. As late as July 6, when as choice of the Commons he presented to the Lords impeachment articles against a ship money judge, Francis Crawley, Waller spoke with much popular appeal, his printed speech selling twenty thousand copies in one day. "This man," said Waller, "adding despaire to our misery, tells us from the Bench, that Ship-money was a Right so inhaerent in the Crowne, that it would not be in the power of an Act of Parliament to take it away. Herein (my Lords) he did not onely give as deepe a wound to the Common-wealth as any of the rest, but dipt his dart in such a poyson, that so farre as in him lay it might never receive a cure."² Meanwhile, however, in his speech of July 3 Waller showed why on the subject of Episcopacy he could not support further reforms. Now that the Commons had trimmed the claws of Episcopacy, it had done its work: Parliament should reform Episcopacy, not exterminate it. In the face of many tumultuous issues and the daily crowds of petitioners at the doors of Parliament, the question in Waller's mind, as in many others, was, "When will these people be satisfied?" Parliament had had a hard task to secure property from

⁸ Gardiner, IX, 18.

¹ *DNB*.

² *Mr Wallers Speech in Parliament . . . 6. July 1641*, E198(37), p. 3.

one extreme, the royal levy. If it denied nothing to petitioners, asserted Waller, it should have "as hard a taske to defend our propriety [against the people's demands], as we have lately had to recover it from the prerogative." Democracy and equality within the church could lead only to democracy in secular matters as well: "If by multiplying hands, and petitions, they prevail for an equality in things Ecclesiasticall, this next demand perhaps may be *Leagraria*, the like equality in things Temporall." In ancient Rome, continued Waller, "when the people began to flock about the Senate, and were more curious to direct . . . then to obey, that Common-wealth soon came to ruine." At this point Waller carried his prophecy to the logical extreme, holding before his hearers the image of communistic desolation. If the Scripture favors a democratic church government, the Scripture can be interpreted to favor also "an equall division of Lands and Goods." Poor men have been persecuted by the bishops, but in the future, if Episcopacy is abolished, the Commons "may be presented with a thousand Instances of poor men, that have received hard measure from their Land-Lords."⁸ Let Parliament settle men's minds, pleaded Waller, and go no further; let it reform Episcopacy, not abolish it. Waller's position, then, was fundamentally the defense of the subjects' property. When that was threatened, he had stood with Pym and Hampden. But as a man of wealth he was correctly fearful of ecclesiastical innovations. In the history of Milton's time nothing is more evident than this: agitation for religious reformation inevitably drew after it agitation against secular abuses. Radicalism in church government, as in the Independents and in the Baptists, was a precursor of radicalism in politics, with the communist Gerrard Winstanley an extreme extension of Protestant individualism.

CHAPTER XII

PAMPHLET SATIRE: MIRROR OF CONFLICT

May–September, 1641

MEANWHILE a series of satirical tracts had illuminated as no other literature of the day the bitterness of the Puritan faction and the roots of their prejudices against the prelates. To this stream of satire Milton in July contributed his *Animadversions*. Month by month satirical sallies against both sects and prelates increased in violence and scurrility. In quality of prose (a great many satires came forth

⁸ *A Speech Made by Master Waller* (June, 1641), E198(30), pp. 5, 6.

in poor verse) the satire ranged from the crude bombast of *Taylor's Physicke Has Purged the Diuel* to the barbed wit and restrained rhythms of *Canterburies Dreame*. Now and then John Taylor shines forth with a memorable epigram, or an anonymous pamphleteer suggests the brilliance of Richard Overton's remarkable tracts of 1645-1646.

1. FOCUS OF PURITAN ATTACK: WILLIAM LAUD

On William Laud, now helplessly lodged in the Tower, the Puritan satirists vented their most extreme abuse and hatred, tracing a hundred shades and particulars of sectarian complaint. "He [Laud] should have been a wise man," wrote the author of *Romes A B C*, "for he loved few words, which was the reason sure, that he put so many good Ministers to silence." *Romes A B C* closes with a curious petition to Laud from "a company [of] not long since silenced persons, the string of whose tongues which were tied, are lately cut and loosed by a skilfull Physitian, by name called Parliament."¹ In *Rome for Canterbury* the satirist reviews Laud's harrying to execution of Thomas Benstead, his threatening of judges, his praise of John Pocklington's sermon, *Sunday No Sabbath* (1636), his surly treatment of Parliamentarians "who have but pleaded for poore men in just causes."² A verse satire, *Mercuries Message*, pictured Laud as a man who feared ignorant people would be taught too much, protested that the Sabbath day was kept too strictly, restricted sermons to one hour, kept in awe better men than himself, required bowings and adorations in church ceremonies, all his great minions now fallen who only a year ago tyrannized over the people.³ Still another verse bombast, *The Discontented Conference betwixt the*

¹ (May, 1641), E156(15), pp. 2, 4. This note of jubilation the Puritan satirists struck again and again, even in such a pamphlet as *The Arminian Nunnery* (September, 1641), E171(10).

² E137(29). This pamphlet appeared after the execution of Strafford (May 11), which is mentioned on p. 5. Pocklington's work and Francis White's *A Treatise of the Sabbath Day* (1635) are invaluable for an understanding of the limitations of the Puritan outlook on the Sabbath. Pocklington upholds the necessity of Sunday household labor, shows the recent Calvinistic origin of the strict Sabbath, protests against the Puritan demand for preaching on Sunday afternoons. Asserting that seventh-day Sabbath was abrogated by the Gospels, White upholds "moderate and honest" recreation on Sunday. An important aspect of White's thought is his anti-Puritan emphasis on redemption (p. 83) "to all men living which profess *Christ*." White's treatise (317 pp.) is much more inclusive than Pocklington's sermon.

³ This pamphlet (McAlpin, II, 57) could not have appeared later than late May, since its successor, *Mercuries Message Defended* (1641), E160(13), appeared in June.

Two Great Associates, pictures Laud and Strafford in colloquy, Laud anticipating Strafford's execution, Laud saying at the end, "There's room enough in heav'n for two Have more transgrest then I or you."⁴ A satire of rather distinguished prose, *Canterburies Dreame*, pictures Wolsey rising from the dead, disturbed by the fall of Episcopacy and wanting to learn "what new ambition could prompt againe the Miter to aspire unto a paity with the Crowne." Wolsey says to Laud that "The ruine of us both was indeed in both our times the joy and the voice of the people."⁵ In June, about a month after his first outburst, the author of *Mercuries Message* sent forth another blast, this time in answer to Thomas Herbert's reply, exulting that the same man who "a yeer agone sate domineering on the top, now lies miserably groaning under the pressure of a thousand calamities." Was Laud really charitable, as Herbert asserts? "That he was indeed, to cut off mens ears, and damne them to perpetuall imprisonment for speaking two or three angry words against his lawne sleeves and rochet, but how strangely was the body of his charity divided, when he hung it up in quarters upon four severall gates, and stucke the head [of Benstead] on *London-bridge*?"⁶ Though not aimed directly at Laud, *The Spirituall Courts Epitomized* and *The Star-Chamber Epitomized* reviewed the abuses practiced by lesser court officials, particularly in the imposition of fees and fines.⁷ On June 26 appeared the broadside, *The Late Will and Testament of the Doctors Commons*, affirming that he lies near death "much shaken both in Body and mind with a *Westminster* ague." The canons of Doctors Commons he bequeathed to chandlers, bakers, cooks, and grocers, with the Scotchmen as executors of the will.⁸ In the *Mercurie* pamphlets the mind probably at work was that of Richard Overton, as in another verse satire called *Lambeth Faire*, in which all the symbols hated by the Puritans are hawked for public auction: caps, beads, crucifixes, lawn sleeves, crozier staffs, miters, rochets, mass books, altars, organs, the Etcetera Oath, licenses to preach, consecrated lights, consecrated golden slippers, surplices, pictures for Bibles, the book of pastimes, and finally the

⁴ (May, 1641), E157(3), no pagination.

⁵ (May 14, 1641), E158(3). Cf. *A Decade of Grievances* (September, 1641), E172(5), a reprint of a short section of Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament* (1628) Leighton's treatise, cited as *Sions Plea*, was widely read and quoted by Anglican apologists even in 1641.

⁶ *Mercuries Message Defended* (1641), p. 19.

⁷ *The Spirituall Courts Epitomized* (1641), E157(15), appeared in June. *The Star-Chamber Epitomized* (McAlpin, II, 82) appeared before July 5, when the king signed the Star Chamber Bill.

⁸ 669f4(20). Cf. *A Shrove-Tuesday Banquet Sent to the Bishops in the Tower* (1641), McAlpin, II, 79.

bishops themselves, twenty-six in all.⁹ In July came forth another striking satire of Laud, *The Recantation of the Prelate of Canterbury*, a fellow pamphlet to *Canterburies Dreame*. In his abject recantation, Laud, speaking to his fellow prelates, asserts, "We have miserably prostituted our souls to the Imagination of a Miter, whose Glory cannot save us in the day of shame, And all our endeavours have been to erect an Hierarchy, upon the Ruines of Religion, and Common-wealths." Laud advises his fellow bishops to cooperate with the Reformation, to leave behind the innovations, having no other recourse against "a devouring sword drawne against the children of Pride."¹⁰ In late July or early August appeared *Canterburies Amazement*, purporting to reproduce the conversation between the ghost of Thomas Benstead and William Laud. "I was poore," says Benstead to Laud, "and one fit to suffer. I had no gratuities to bestow on your Grace, I had no Buts of Sack for your Cellar, nor Beaver hat, perfumed Gloves, or plush Cloak for your Gentlemen."¹¹ In such a statement appears the resentment of the Puritan faction, accustomed to rigorous labor, short hair, plain clothes, against the comforts of England's leisure class. The satirical sallies against Laud reflect the whole gamut of Puritan resentments. In such a portrait, for example, as *A Lordly Prelate*, the author cites twenty-three traits in which the prelate contradicts his Christian office. Though the satire is often thin and absurd, it brings into sharp focus the Puritan outlook:

He [the lordly prelate] by his consecration, makes holy that which God hath made common, as Bels, Bel ropes, Candles, Corporals and Altars. . . . He . . . punisheth the breach of a Ceremony with suspension, excommunication, deprivation whilst fornication and adultery are committed many times for four shillings. . . . He is halfe a Precisian in the outward man. He loveth little bands, short haire, grave lookes. but had rather be slaine at Tyburne, than preach in a cloake¹²

In such satire the Puritans revealed their own contradictions¹³ as well as those of the prelates. It is true that many Puritans were relatively

⁹ (June, 1641), E158(20). Cf. a similar list of the hated symbols in *The Popes Proclamation* (July 1, 1641), E164(9).

¹⁰ (July, 1641), E164(17), pp. 2, 37. This writer's hand is also evident in *Wrens Anatomy* (August, 1641), E166(7). Cf. also *The Prelates Pride* (1641) (McAlpin, II, 92; ascribed to Henry Walker): "Will you rather let your Soule, and the Soules of all your Flockes want their food, then you be taken from your Palaces?"

¹¹ This pamphlet appeared probably in August, certainly after the barbarous execution of the 76-year-old Jesuit, William Ward, on July 26. On Ward's execution and the alleged plot to rescue him, see *The Confession of a Papist Priest* (July 26, 1641), 669f4(24), and *A New Plot Discovered* (July 26, 1641), E167(7).

¹² (1641), pp. 2, 3, 4.

¹³ One of the most extreme statements of Puritan dogma, especially in its

poor men struggling for political as well as theological recognition. In this sense they represented the rise of the democratic movement in England. Meanwhile, however, their zeal for work unfitted them for the arts of leisure (in this Milton among many was a striking exception), and their agitation against the sins of the flesh often blinded them to the Christian art of compassion and forgiveness.

2 SATIRE OF SECTS AND HERESIES

By the summer of 1641 the growth of sects in the city of London was alarming enough to call forth not only bitter satire from John Taylor, the water poet, but Parliamentary concern from such sober citizens as Sir William Perkins. On July 5, despite the actions against the Star Chamber and High Commission that day, Perkins had exclaimed, "Why are we then so backward in not Reforming the Church? why do we stike in this point, and not rather proceede in it with all expedition?" Perkins' concern, however, was the unity of a reformed church, not the loosing of many tongues "Thinke with your selfe, I pray," he urged the Commons, "in what faction the Church is now, in what Schisme, in what confusion of distracted Sectaries it is promiscuously shaken."¹ Like Weighall in the satire, *A Dialogue betwixt Three Travellers*, Perkins feared the Brownists as much as the hated papists.² Perhaps among other Parliamentarians he had seen John Taylor's verse satire, *A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismatiques*, picturing the sectarian as an ignorant man who boasted that the apostles were simple fishermen inspired to preach God's messages. To the true Christian, no learning was necessary. The demented sectarians preached in taverns and barns, from tubs, tables, and stumps.

Born of humble parentage August 24, 1578(?), Taylor was conscripted into the navy as a mere boy, participated in sixteen voyages under Elizabeth, became a Thames waterman, and finally turned to rhyming for a living, taking many tours and voyages to gather material for his rhymes and pamphlets, subscribed to in advance by as many as two thousand people. In 1616 he visited the continent, in 1618 Scotland, in 1642 Oxford, staying at Oriel College. His verses attracted such wide attention that even Ben Jonson, Nicholas Breton, and Thomas Dekker analysis of the Sabbath, is Henry Walker, *Corda Angliae . . . Moving XXV. Particulars to the Honourable Assembly* (1641).

¹ Sir William Perkins *Speech to the House of Commons* (July 5, 1641), E198(33), p. 4. Cf. *A Discovery of 29 Sects Here in London* (September, 1641), E168(7), and *A True Relation of a Company of Brownists* (October, 1641), E172(31).

² (June, 1641), E160(7).

"took kindly notice of him."³ In 1630 appeared *All the Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet*, sixty-three in number, one of them strangely enough a tract "against Cursing and Swearing."⁴ In 1641, however, Taylor rallied his remarkable energy and irrepressible spirits to rhymed buffetings of Puritan ideology. His constant theme was the social as well as the intellectual inadequacy of humble sectarians (*A Swarme of Sectaries*):

A Preachers work is not to gelde a Sowe,
Unseemly 'tis a Iudge should milke a Cowe:
A Cobler to a Pulpit should not mount,
Nor can an Asse cast up a true account

Against the sectarians Taylor brings the charge of fornication and adultery accomplished with religious enthusiasm. Intellectually the schismatics were the product of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Yarmouth, and New England. They despised learning, yet boasted of being "the Lords Elect," praying always extempore, intoxicated with their own zeal:

These kind of Vermin swarm like Caterpillars
And hold Conventicles in Barnes and Sellars,
Some preach (or prate) in woods, in fields, in stables,
In hollow trees, in tubs, on tops of tables,
To the expence of many a tallow Tapor,
They tosse the holy Scripture into Vapor.

In Taylor's bristling pamphlet the conclusion was

'Tis madnesse, that a crew of brainlesse blocks
Dares teach the learned what is Orthodoxe.⁵

In the satire, *The Brownists Conventicle* (July), appeared a similar picture of ignorant sectarians. When Henry Walker replied rather lamely to Taylor in *An Answer to a Foolish Pamphlet*, accusing him of being a drunkard and a whoremaster, with a "fare of threescore whores in a day,"⁶ Taylor returned to the clash of angry wits with *A Reply as True as Steele, to a Rusty, Rayling, Ridiculous, Lying Libell*. In *A Reply* Taylor identified Henry Walker as his enemy, an "*Amsterdam'd cur*" whose pamphlets, covered with lies, fly over the whole land; Walker

³ DNB. Taylor died in 1653, having published in all 157 works.

⁴ A volume of 637 pages in three parts, 148 pp., 343 pp., 146 pp. One of Taylor's most rollicking prose pieces is "The Pennyles Pilgrimage," an account of his tour "From London to Edinborough in Scotland, not carrying any Money to and fro, neither Begging, Borrowing, or asking Meate, Drinke or Lodging."

⁵ John Taylor, *A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismatiques* (June, 1641), E158(1), pp. 2, 7, Postscript.

⁶ (June, 1641), E160(15), p. 3.

was an angry "viperous hownd of hell."⁷ In his attack, though Taylor excelled Walker in scurrilous epithets, he relinquished some of the intellectual sting of *A Swarme of Sectaries*. Walker replied in a less violent vein, though castigating Taylor as a "furious water-Rat" and condemning "his wicked, unsanctified, disorderly, ungodly life and conversation."⁸ In *John Taylors Last Voyage* the water poet returned briefly to his attack on untutored sectarians, among them a brewer's clerk, a sow gelder, an old blind woman: "They all differ one from another, yet all joyne against that which they have beene baptized and brought up in."⁹

To the traditional English mind steeped in theological discussion, however superficial, nothing was more shocking than a woman preaching the Gospel. In *A Discoverie of Six Women Preachers*, on the title page of which is quoted the Corinthian passage, "Let your women keepe silence in the Churches," a fellow satirist to Taylor pictures Anne Hempstall of Middlesex as telling a ridiculous dream in a sermon and urging as a Biblical precept that men wear their hair short. A Susan May, of Ashford, Kent "preached in a Barne there, that the Devill was the father of the Pope, The Pope the father of those which did weare Surplices, wherefore consequently the Devill was the Father of all those which did not love Puritans."¹⁰

To some sober citizens the daily hawking of new pamphlets was synonymous with disturbing sectarian innovations. In *The Downefall of Temporizing Poets* the satirist pictures the hawkers and booksellers as former criminals or madmen newly released from Bedlam or Newgate, all crying out "with a voyce made of cannon prooffe, *Come buy a new Booke, a new Booke, newly come forth.*"¹¹ Too many talkers have transformed themselves into printers. At every street corner they accosted the citizen, who felt overwhelmed by the violence and variety of the opinions surrounding him.

⁷ (June, 1641), E160(23). In *The Hellish Parliament* (September, 1641), E168(6), Taylor identifies one of the gathering places of the radicals as the Nags-head Tavern, near Coleman Street, afterward a rendezvous of the Levellers.

⁸ In *Taylors Physicke Has Purged the Divel* (1641; Thomason, I, 56), E163(9), pp [6], [9].

⁹ (July 20, 1641), E1100(3), no pagination. In *A Pedlar and a Romish Priest* (September, 1641), E168(10), Taylor turned from satire of the Puritans to an attack on the use of Latin in the Catholic mass. A curious anticipation of Milton appears on p. 21: "One tongue is enough for any woman."

¹⁰ (August, 1641), E166(1), p. 4. Cf. another racy account in *The Brownist Heresies Confuted* (1641).

¹¹ (July, 1641), E165(5), p. 2. Cf. Martin Parker's protest against "paper-persecuters" who lewdly spend their time "in sowing tears of schisme and debate." *The Poet's Blind Mans Bough* (September, 1641), E172(6), no pagination.

CHAPTER XIII

INDEPENDENCY: MOTHER OF HERESIES

August–December, 1641

THOUGH Milton, Vane, and Cromwell were not yet among them in the last months of 1641, new voices now spoke for the dangerous tenets of Independency. What decades before had stirred the imagination of a few exiles to Holland and America now pressed for a hearing in Parliament itself. Indeed within a few years it would precipitate daily debates and prayer meetings among the leaders of the New Model Army. Had the Independents demanded nothing more than the right of a few citizens to organize a congregation divorced from supervision by the state church and other separated congregations, their heresy would have loomed dangerous enough to such men as Robert Baillie and Thomas Edwards. But within Independency rang the insistent demand that each believer within or without the congregation had the right to search the Scriptures and bring forth new light. It was the search for new light, not the creation of a new discipline, that made Independency the mother of heresies to come.

1 EDWARDS AND CHIDLEY ON INDEPENDENT DOCTRINE

Against the rising sectarians Thomas Edwards as a Presbyterian minister was to prove a more formidable antagonist to Independency than John Taylor or Martin Parker. Aroused by Burton's *The Protestation Protested*, Edwards brought forth in August *Reasons against the Independant Government of Particular Congregations*. In Edwards' mind the tyranny of the Episcopal hierarchy had now produced its opposite extreme: "The Tyrannie of Episcopall government in some Bishops hath brought forth the Democracie and Independencie, the violent pressing of some pretended orders hath set many against all order." In the toleration of Independent congregations Edwards correctly saw the means by which many strange ideas could be admitted to respectability. By the principle of toleration would not the state be required to sanction men of no religion at all? "Let me tell you," asserted Edwards, addressing himself to the Parliament, "that the greatest sort of erroneous spirits . . . will be much for Independant Government

and Tolerations.”¹ All strange sects, whether Anabaptists, Socinians, or Separatists, could agree on the necessity of toleration. If Independent congregations were once recognized, they in turn would breed other strange and heretical notions. At first, in Edwards’ judgment, errors of every kind appeared harmless enough, but the history of heresy showed that it becomes more dangerous the longer it is tolerated. Whatever reasons Commons may hear for the toleration of Independency, then, “*there may by these Reasons appeare a Snake under the greene grasse.*”² In *Reasons against the Independant Government* Edwards unfolded the main patterns of his philosophical outlook, to be applied with dogmatic intensity to the heretics of the next few years. By the law of nature, he insisted, every society must incorporate ranks and gradations. This principle is nullified by the democratic organization of Independent churches. As in kingdoms and towns and colleges there are superior officers, so there must be leaders and rulers in churches as well. Edwards made clear that he felt, to a lesser extent than Taylor, it is true, not only an intellectual but a social superiority to men of humble station: “The prime principles of this Church way, as namely independencie, liberty, power, of government and rule to be in the people, are mighty pleasing to flesh and blood; people generally, chiefly meane persons.”³ Moreover, asserted Edwards, if toleration of sects were permitted, families would be divided. A husband would go to one church, a wife and children to a second, the servants to still another. Under toleration divisions would grow apace; distractions and disputes would multiply. In opposition to his society no man has a right to the expression of his religious conscience. If you grant Independents toleration, reasoned Edwards, why should you not grant the same toleration to Familists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and any other men who have the same right as the Independents to worship according to conscience? In fact, continued Edwards, the intellectual method of Independency, by encouraging “libertinisme, prophanesne, errors . . . will by some removes bring many men to be of no religion at all.”⁴ Here Edwards, despite his horrified accents, pointed to the inevitable trend in Protestant thinking to a progressive rejection of the miraculous, ending in many men’s minds in a rationalistic bias. Nevertheless in toleration of

¹ (August, 1641), E176(16), Epistle Dedicatory. For a detailed account of the tolerationist movement before 1641, see Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 1603-1640* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936).

² *Ibid.*, Introduction.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Epistle Dedicatory.

the sects lay also the seed of separation of church and state, by which in theory each man's conscience would stand inviolate of the community's harsh eye and harsher jail, a conscience inviolate even if, as in More's *Utopia*, a man wished to worship the moon. The principle of the inviolate conscience, then, while it brought in its train ultimately toleration of the sects and papists and separation of church and state, in 1641 brought an explosive disruption of English church unity, a thousand divisions among English Protestants unbridged in the years to come.

Within a few weeks (October, 1641) Katherine Chidley, the first formidable woman pamphleteer of the Puritan Revolution, brought forth a reply to Edwards, *The Justification of the Independant Churches of Christ*.⁵ Though her point-by-point replies to Edwards permitted little originality of polemic method, Chidley extended the principles Henry Burton had set forth in *The Protestation Protested*, unwittingly providing justification for the heresies that were to derive from Independency. Unlike Burton, Chidley made no claim for the rule of the saints. She gladly accepted the stigma of the mean and the lowly possessing the reins of church government. Contrary to Calvin's dictum, Chidley made the people the organs of ordination as well as the judges of discipline. "All the Lords people," she wrote, "that are made Kings and Priests to God, have a free voyce in the Ordinance of Election, therefore they must freely consent before there can be any Ordination."⁶ Whether or not any neighboring churches participate, each congregation had the right to ordain its own pastor, superior to him, indeed, in spiritual jurisdiction: "The Church is above the Ministers, and . . . the Ministers have their power by the Church to exercise in the Church, and not the Church by the Ministers."⁷ The test of a Christian member electing his pastor, continued Chidley, was his integrity, not his social station or occupation: "Whether they be Taylors, Felt-makers, Button-makers, Tent-makers, Shepherds, or Ploughmen, or what honest Trade soever," well-meaning Christians granted by God the gift to interpret the Scriptures "are not men of meane parts, as you would make them." In her analysis of the rights of conscience over those of family and magistrate, Chidley stated for the first time the disturbing tolerationist principle that was to encompass so many heresies of the future:

Now I pray you Master *Edwards*, would you have Magistrates, and Kings, and Princes to have more power over their subjects then over

⁵ E174(7).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

their bodies, estates, and lives? would you have them be Lords over their consciences? I pray you where must Christ reigne then? Must he sit at the Magistrats footstoole? and take what power the Magistrate will give him? (I meane spirituall power of gathering and making Churches) and such Lawes as the Magistrate will give him leave to have, to rule over them by? Here you thrust Christ into a narrow corner; for you would faine force him to give his glory to some other, and his praise to some graven Image, of your owne devising, which he hath said he will not doe.⁸

As magistrates had no right to control conscience, neither had husbands. It is true that the woman was bound to obey her husband, to submit her body and will to him in civil matters, as servants and children to masters and fathers or subjects to their kings. But over the consciences of men no earthly power availed; in this domain the only ruler was Christ himself. Contrary to Edwards' assertion, swarms of such free-conscienced men were no menace to the commonwealth, subject as they were to the king and his laws in every civil aspect of community life. To later generations of reflective men, especially in the unpeopled forests beyond the Atlantic, such a principle was to ring sound and clear enough; but in an age when intellectual life at all levels centered on theology, when heresy and treason were synonymous terms, Chidley's principle of extreme toleration was to men like Edwards dangerously explosive. By this principle, indeed, each man, whether learned or not, had an equal right with every other to interpret Biblical truth. As John Spencer had said in *A Short Treatise Concerning the Lawfullnesse of Every Mans Exercising His Gift*, "the true understanding of scripture, comes not by humane learning, by arts and tongues, but by the spirit of God."⁹ In Spencer's view, as in Chidley's, the Lord had power to give his own illumination to men utterly deficient in languages and worldly knowledge. Each man had a gift peculiar to his personality that he should carry to all men. Who was to say that this gift in a Christian sense was lesser or greater than any other? If reformation was to complete its circle, "it is necessary that all errors should be brought to light, and that all truths should be discovered."¹⁰ In a few years Milton was to write,

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁹ (September, 1641), E172(4), p. 5. In 1641 John Robinson's *The Peoples Plea for the Exercise of Prophesie* (E1093; Thomason, I, 56), was reprinted in London, urging much the same thesis as Spencer's tract. No one is infallible in interpreting God's word, asserted Robinson, not even the prophets or the apostles, much less the clergymen of the present day. Members "*even of the very common people*," Robinson insisted (p. 71), should be admitted to the "*fellowship . . . of Prophets*."

¹⁰ Spencer, *A Short Treatise* (1641), p. 7.

"Not only our sev'nty Elders, but all the Lords people are become Prophets." ¹¹ Therefore all men should teach and preach, each man stirring up the gift that was in him for the sake of his fellows. Thus did the heresy of Burton, Chidley, and Spencer magnify the worth of each seeker, however humble. On such a heresy rested the foundation idea of Milton's *Areopagitica*, "Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making," and the ancient saying of Cyprian, "*Many things . . . are better reveal'd to single persons.*" ¹²

2. A PLEA FOR PACIFIC MEANS

In the midst of such a theological crisis, many sought a middle ground with more compelling logic than Thomas Edwards. Among these an anonymous writer sent forth in July *Regulated Zeal*, pleading for the enthusiasm of reformation but concerned more rationally than Edwards with the rapid growth of sectarian opinion. Those who would hasten the Reformation the author labels as too vehement. To be sure, "Zeale, where its well ordered, is a precious Diamond," but those who wish to accomplish their ends too quickly "pull downe more by their impatience, than they build by their zeale." ¹ More than all else the author desires the union of citizens in a quiet achievement of their common cause, to march forward with a peaceful unity of purpose, rejecting harsh and unlovely means to their common end. In a quiet way the author deals with the reader according to his own precepts: "Oh that such minded Christians would sit downe a while and commune with their owne hearts; Am I now in Gods way? where is my warrant? what ground have I? where is my Commission?" ² As a citizen every man has a right to present his thoughts for public consideration, but in so doing he should consider modesty and decency of speech and the rights of his readers. He should follow the apostle's injunction "*to study to be quiet, and meddle with their owne businesse, and to see that all things be done in love.*" ³ No fanatic like Edwards, the author nevertheless denies the right of each individual to set up his own church. Like Edwards, he insists that every government must have order and gradation. Has not God been merciful toward all England? Should not the English, therefore, give thanks and try to unite their hearts in a common cause of a steady, sure reformation, passing by things of indifference, concentrating on the

¹¹ *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 32.

¹² Epistle 71, Milton's translation in *Of Reformation*, below, p. 562.

¹ *Regulated Zeal* (1641), pp. 2-3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

large issues with a resolute desire for peaceful exchange of ideas? The author is fearful lest each fanatic in his zeal will attempt a reformation from his vantage point without waiting for Parliament to act. For one of the few times in 1641⁴ the emphasis of an enlightened pamphleteer in *Regulated Zeal* turned toward a means of harmonious resolution of the national problems rather than the ends of the dispute at hand. *Regulated Zeal* therefore anticipates the social outlook of John Saltmarsh in *The Smoke in the Temple* (1646), Walwyn in his *Parable of . . . Physitians* (1646), and John Milton in *Areopagitica*.

3. A NEW PETITION OF THE PAPISTS: LANDMARK IN TOLERATIONIST THOUGHT

Meanwhile had appeared an unexpected extension of Independent principles in the remarkable tract, *A New Petition of the Papists*.¹ Whatever the genesis of this pamphlet, one traces in it the workings of a mind that had completed the tolerationist cycle, a man willing, unlike Chidley, Burton, and Milton, to claim for the hated papists and Brownists the same freedom of conscience asserted for the Independent. Yielding himself to a wide charity, the author attained apparently in one easy leap a level of intellectual perception Baconian in its detachment, Walwynian in its subtlety. Addressing himself to Parliament, the petitioner grounded his first argument in the psychology of the secular mind, asserting that no man holds fast to a religion except to one he is convinced

⁴ A less original but more learned pamphlet, by John Hales, had appeared in May, *The Way towards the Finding of a Decision of the Chiefe Controversie Now Debated Concerning Church Government*, E208(18). Hales introduces the method of the logician, the recognition of alternatives, the main questions to be asked and answered, and the searching of sources. In contrast to Hall on the right and Milton on the left, Hales recognized the frequency of intellectual failure in the heat of argument. Not until the end, however, does he give the same stress to pacific means as is found in *Regulated Zeal*. "In the mean time," wrote Hales (p. 42), "such as are spirituall, ought to exhort all sides not to censure one another, with rigour, nor to doe things with passion and rashly, or to judge of persons according to the outward appearance, but to judge righteous judgement which may bee done if they will study to separate in these particular courses and different opinions of most men, the precious from the vile, and apply themselves rather to heale than to exasperate sores, rather to build up then to pull downe"

¹ (September, 1641), E169(7). Except for the title page, this tract is identical with *The Humble Petition of the Brownists* (November, 1641), E178(10). Pease conjectured that *The Humble Petition of the Brownists* was written by William Walwyn (*The Leveller Movement* [Washington and London, 1916], p. 257). Haller rightly does not dismiss the possibility that the authorship of both pamphlets was Roman Catholic (*Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution* [3 vols, New York: Columbia University Press, 1934], I, 126). It is probable that a Protestant sent out both pamphlets, using ironical titles.

will bring him salvation, a faith rooted also in Biblical authority. To such a man it was utterly unreasonable that he "be forced to follow other mens Judgements and not his owne in a matter of so great importance as that of his salvation." ² To allow to each man "so great a benefit as the freedome of conscience, which to all men is the most gratefull thing in the world," ³ would bring not only peace of mind but far greater love and loyalty to the state. Only gradually, as his plea unfolds, does the reader comprehend the embracing radicalism of the author's principle. If the Brownists wished to separate themselves, "give them free leave to exercise their Religion where they please without disturbance" ⁴ Let the Puritans alone, too. If they did not wish to use the service book or to bow at the name of Jesus, give them liberty of conscience to read the Bible and gradually find their errors. To the Socinians, the Arminians, the Adamites, and the Family of Love the author was equally generous. As professors of the Gospel they all were entitled to the same private right of interpretation and worship according to conscience. At this point one expects the petitioner to make a pause to except, as Milton was to do after him, the English Catholics and their masses. But like Overton and Williams to come, the author unhesitatingly extended to them also the manna of toleration: "Let them alone with their pretended prescription, and let every Religion take what Spirituall head they please, for so they will, whether wee will or no, but the matter imports not, so they obey the King as temporall head, and humbly submit to the State and civill Lawes, and live quietly together." ⁵ If this unlimited toleration were granted, continued the author, the daily showering of scandalous pamphlets would diminish. If men were permitted to speak their minds, they would become peaceable and mild; if persecuted, they would rise up in wrath and anger, factious and discontented. Among the Puritan writers the author could not find one who upheld the embracing charity of extreme toleration. For his justification of such a radical principle he cited rather three Anglican scholars, Richard Hooker, Robert Some, and James Ussher. Interpreting Ussher's doctrine, he wrote, "All according to Doctor *Ushers* doctrine shall bee saved: why then should any bee persecuted?" ⁶ Had not Richard Hooker included the Church of Rome as a part of Christ's family? How, then, if papists were thus embraced, could any others be excluded? All sought to possess the truth. But Parliament could not lay hold on truth by proclaiming

² *A New Petition of the Papists* (1641) and *The Humble Petition* (1641), p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

one faith for all. Only by liberty of thought and speech, continued the author, anticipating the tenets of *Areopagitica*, could men lay falsehood open: then "the professors of it will bee ashamed, it will perish and wither as a flower, vanish as smoake, and passe as a shadow."⁷ Among the ideological principles of the Puritan Revolution, *A New Petition of the Papists*, like Williams' *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution* and Walwyn's *Parable of . . . Physitians*, rises up from a sea of ideas like a splendid tower, unmarred by the narrowness of Puritan fanaticism or the authoritarian tradition of Archbishop Laud. Essentially it called for a new era in religion of free conscience and free speech according to conscience, differences to be resolved by peaceful democratic means. In *Areopagitica* John Milton was to apply to the whole field of secular thought what *A New Petition* and *The Humble Petition* had claimed for religious life only.

4 LORD BROOKE AND THE SANCTION OF CONSCIENCE

The implication of *A New Petition* and *The Humble Petition* that no heretic, however strange, should be denied the right of utterance, soon found unexpected justification in Lord Brooke's *A Discourse Opening the Nature of That Episcopacie, Which Is Exercised in England* (November, 1641), one of the most perceptive pamphlets of the Puritan Revolution. Though Brooke argued with telling strokes against the bishops, he was eager, like Burton and Chidley, for a freedom of conscience revolutionary in its ultimate effects. As a professed enemy of fanatic sectarians, Brooke presented their views with an apparent freedom from bias disarming to his readers: "I am speaking *Their words*, not *my owne*; All that I desire is, that they may have a faire Hearing."¹ One of Brooke's great services to controversies of his time was his analysis of the historical inevitability of heresies among Christian peoples, as the seeds, in fact, from which Protestant Reformation had risen, and which he, like Milton, believed by no means yet full grown. It was but a single leap from the free utterance of all religious heresies to that of secular heresies as well. And that Brooke was one of Milton's teachers in the years that followed we know from *Areopagitica*: "I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number . . . the Lord *Brook*. He writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge . . . next to his last testament, who be-

⁷ *A New Petition of the Papists* (1641), p. 7.

¹ (1641), p. 114, McAlpin, II, 41. The second edition, 1642, appears in William Haller, *Tracts on Liberty*, II, 37-162.

queath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscall'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of Gods Ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to our selves." ² Brooke claimed for the sectarians freedom of speech for religious opinions only; but in the England of 1642-1649 it was impossible to separate for long freedom of conscience in religion from freedom of conscience in civil affairs. *A Discourse* therefore helped to prepare the way not only for the *Areopagitica* but also for the revolutionary currents around Cromwell's campfires and the dynamic agitation of the Levellers.

Toward the bishops and their works, however, Brooke exhibited in the early sections of *A Discourse* none of the compassion he asked for the Separatist rebels, but rather a fiery tone of hostility incompatible with the free and peaceful buffeting of ideas. True, he speaks with respect for the learned Ussher, without mentioning him by name; but in a brilliant polemic passage he attacks Ussher's sources on the origin of bishops more compellingly than had Milton in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*.³ The real issue, insisted Brooke, was not the antiquity of bishops but the antiquity of their authoritarian hierarchy. By ancient practice a bishop was only a minister elected by the people. Like Milton and the Smectymnuans, Brooke condemned the bishops on the one hand for usurping royal prerogative ("Shall Royall Crownes . . . stoope to a Miter?"), and on the other for encouraging absolutism, "Crying up an unjust and illimited power in Princes."⁴ On the topic of indifferency Brooke wrote with more arresting and original logic than any pamphleteer of his day, Anglican or Puritan. In an absolute sense nothing is indifferent, no gesture, ceremony, or chalice: "but to our *Understanding* some things seeme so, for want of Good light."⁵ Since no mind sees the absolute, who is to decide what is indifferent? Certainly not the bishops, asserts Brooke; they cannot legislate as well as judge; each church member should have a voice in determining indifferency. If the bishops had chosen to impose a moderate position on things indifferent, no one could violently object; but to force either extreme of conformity upon the people is a tyranny to be resisted. Under the "Maske of *Indiffer-*

² (1644), p. 35. To what extent did *A Discourse* crystallize Milton's incipient Independency?

³ Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), pp. 66 ff. The tract Brooke analyzes is *Judgement of Dr. Rainoldes Touching the Originall of Episcopacy* (1641).

⁴ Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), pp. 42, 61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

ence"⁶ the bishops have forced ten thousand people to flee beyond the seas; they have "brought in most abominable Superstitions, and most intolerable slavery on the Persons, Liberties, Bodies, and *Soules of Men*. . . . They have pressed Consciences, even unto Gasping."⁷ In such passages Brooke sounds like any one of a hundred Puritan pamphleteers; but in the later pages of *A Discourse* he achieves an insight unsurpassed in Puritan literature into the psychology of free utterance and the social expectancy of truth from untrained intellects.

Brooke was the first man of worldly elevation to speak for the Independents; in the social scale he was superior to Vane, Cromwell, and Milton, who had not yet declared themselves against the Presbyterian discipline as the alternative to the Anglican. In *The Reason of Church-Government*, still several months away, Milton was to commit himself flatly to Presbyterianism, though in his first tracts, as Gardiner has written, "In him the Independent was already visible beneath the Presbyterian."⁸ Brooke's defense of the Independent heresy, the most original and persuasive defence of his day, made a deep mark on contemporary minds: it was an analysis that drove home the Protestant concept of the demolishing of intermediaries, however benevolent, between man and God. The head of each church, insisted Brooke, was not another church, or a bishop, but Christ himself. If some English merchants, asked Brooke, cast up on an island off the far coast of China, were to set up a congregation, would they not have a true church, though independent of all others? If another ship-wrecked company were to land on the same island a year or two later and establish their own church, would these churches need to unite or even depend on each other? Would not each be a true church, though independent? In the body, arms and legs do not take directions from each other, but from the head; they are coordinate to each other, not subordinate; thus it is with Independent churches, who seek direction only from Christ, advice from fellow churches. Brooke was the first writer to use such analysis or to place the idea of Independency in world perspective. "Why should the *Independence* of One Assembly," he wrote, "to a *Province*, or *Nation*, be more *Schismaticall*, than that of a *Province*, or *Nation*, to the whole *World*?"⁹ In the Anglican church itself there were *Peculiars*, that is, congregations exempt from the bishop's authority. All the Separatists asked, asserted Brooke, was that this principle be extended to all congregations, so that each church would be an *Independent Peculiar*.

⁶ Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), p. 62.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Gardiner, IX, 394.

⁹ Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), p. 104.

Like the author of *Regulated Zcal*, like Saltmarsh and Walwyn after him, Brooke in later sections of *A Discourse* delineated the means rather than the ends of religious controversy, holding the attainment of an open mind to all teachers the indispensable attitude of the wayfaring Christian. From the cobbler preacher, the weaver, the felt maker, he expected little light, but he would listen gladly, recalling St. Paul the maker of tents. While he classified and analyzed the views of the Independents and Anabaptists, Brooke revolved in his mind, like Milton after him, a reformation in its dawn: "For, now I hope the Clouds begin to breake away; Light springeth up, while Dark Iniquity is forced not only to shut her mouth, but hide her selfe and disappeare."¹⁰ To Brooke, as to Milton in *Areopagitica*, the victory of light over darkness was an inevitable if erratic progression: "*Fire* and *Water* may bee restrained, but *Light* cannot, It will in at every cranny: and the more it is opposed, it shines the brighter."¹¹ To an aroused English nation, ran the Brownist belief, each man had a duty to bring his gift of light, however meager. In tracing the ideas of the sectarian preachers ("I could heartily wish some pittie might bee shewed to these poore mens soules"¹²), Brooke sustains unevenly his attitude of detachment. As he speaks their ideas and principles, his language flows with the fervor of a prophet:

They thinke the wayes of Gods Spirit are free, and not tied to a University man. . . . They have read of *Moses*, wishing all the Lords People were Prophets . . .

Yea they have heard that God promised to poure out his Spirit upon all Flesh, all Beleevers (as well Lay as Clergie) so that Young men should see Visions, and Old men dreame Dreames . . . till Knowledge Cover the Earth, as Waters fill the Sea, even till there be no more neede that any man should teach his neighbour, for all men shall know the Lord, and They poore men Expect a new Heaven, and a new Earth, wherein there shall neede no more Temples of stone, but all Good men shall be Prophets, Priests, and Kings.¹³

In such passages Brooke betrays his deep sympathies not only for the persons of the persecuted Separatists but for their ideas as well. It is plain that he distrusts the formal believer who follows the rules faithfully while closing his mind to new light; the Christian who reaps his reward in Heaven, forfeiting meanwhile the stature of a prophet he might have attained on earth. To the tub preachers, the Anabaptists, the Separatist congregations, the humble seekers, Brooke looked with more expectancy of light than to England's professional ministry.

¹⁰ Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), p. 98.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

5 BURROUGHS' UTOPIA OF SAINTS

The democratic implications of emerging Independency Jeremiah Burroughs set forth with surprising fullness in a sermon published in December as *A Glimpse of Sions Glory*.¹ Burroughs (1599–1646), an Emmanuel College man, after graduating M.A. in 1624 and assisting Edmund Calamy at Bury St. Edmunds, was suspended for not obeying Wren's injunctions of 1636 and resisting particularly the reading of *The Book of Sports*. Later deprived of his living at Tivetshall, he succeeded Hugh Peters in Rotterdam as a teacher of an English Independent congregation. Having returned to England in 1641, Burroughs was now preaching at Stepney at seven in the morning and in the afternoon or evening at Cripplegate. Later Burroughs was to become one of the five "dissenting brethren" of the Westminster Assembly who were to send forth *An Apologeticall Narration* for Independency in 1644. Burroughs was a man of striking sweetness and moderation of spirit. If all Independents had been like him, said Baxter, all Episcopalians like Ussher, and all Presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, "the breaches in the church would soon have been healed."²

In striking contrast to the satirical thrusts against cobblers and preachers in corners, Burroughs described in *A Glimpse* a golden era near at hand: a time in which the common people would be the spokesmen of a glorious reformation. The voice of Jesus Christ, he wrote, came from the multitude, the common people, who visualized the needs of the future before any others. As with the coming of Jesus, he continued, when few wise or noble or rich people received him, the poor followed him eagerly, so now in reformation the poor and despised people would be the first to hear his voice. Though the multitude was condemned by the prelates, Burroughs was not alarmed. His sentences rang with the expectation of a utopia hovering on the verge of realization, a utopia in which the saints would take their rightful places as leaders and prophets, "the best Commonwealths men."³ As this era approached, the world

¹ The "Epistle to the Reader" is signed "W. K.," evidently William Kiffin, afterward a leader of the Baptist congregations of London. The publisher was William Larnier, who later sent forth many Leveller tracts. For identification of the author, see Nathaniel Homes, *Resurrection Revealed* (1654), p. 53.

² *DNB*

³ Without emphasizing as did Burroughs the secular role of the humble, John Archer, in *The Personall Reigne of Christ upon Earth* (January, 1642), E180(13), pictured the reign of Christ upon earth (to begin about 1700) as superseding all earthly monarchies, with the dead saints raised up, the wicked forgiven, no one rejected, Hell abolished, mankind renewed to pristine glory, as before the Fall (p. 35). "All Mankind have died, or have bin changed, or translated, *the Earth*

was full of many confused voices, among which, if we would but listen, Christ spoke through the mouths of humble people. Though the common man was prophetic, he could not, in Burroughs' opinion, encompass Christian reform in practical measures. That was left to trained leaders, especially those of Parliament: "The voice of our PARLIAMENT [is] a voice of Thunder, a terrible voice to the *Antichristian* party, that they may say, *The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.*"⁴ Burroughs pictured anew the humble Christ come in the form of a servant scornfully derided by the great ones of the earth. His followers "were but a company of poore distressed forlorne people, wandring up and downe, persecuted, and destitute of all comforts."⁵ As Burroughs stood for the right of each individual church to guide its own destiny, so he proclaimed also the individual's right to search for truth. "If the Booke be shut up," he asked, "how shall the Truth come to bee knowne? . . . But when there comes to be *liberty of Churches*, and that men may freely search into this truth, knowledge will be increased."⁶ Several persistent strains of Independency afterward to loom so large in the characters of men such as Vane, Cromwell, and Peters are woven through many passages of Burroughs' sermon. The Independent felt a special holiness in his personal mission on earth, as indeed did Lilburne himself in his early days. For this trait the Levellers were to refer to the Independents scornfully as "the saints." Another strain of Independency reflected in Burroughs' sermon was his concern for the individual's search for truth. What the Independents wanted, Milton among them, was intellectual liberty rather than political or economic. Finally there was the ring of confident faith in the capacities of the common people, a faith pronounced especially in the early days of Independency, to recur again in the impassioned periods of *Areopagitica*.

In the emergence of Independency and its brood of heresies, no two reformers in August–December, 1641, traced their utopian blueprints in the same pattern. Though all could agree on toleration of the sects, the author of *A New Petition* and *The Humble Petition* embraced the

and all Creatures shall be delivered from the Curse, vanitie, & bondage inflicted on . . . Mankind . . . then shall all the Creation be in its primitive glory, as it was in the first Creation." This monarchy of Christ is to be the fifth monarchy, the four preceding being the Assyrians, the Medes and Persians, the Grecks, and the Romans. Archer's tract is indispensable to an understanding of the Fifth Monarchy movement.

⁴ *A Glimpse of Sions Glory* (1641), p. [7].

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. [9].

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. [16].

Roman Catholics as well, thus taking the longest stride into the future, joined in his own time by a few rare spirits. To the author of *Regulated Zeal* a peaceful resolution of differences was a more precious end than any doctrinal conviction, however righteous. Whereas Chidley wrote as if she were one of the mass of humble believers seeking the light, Brooke wrote as a remote benevolent observer, blend of learned aristocrat and Puritan, the only defender of Episcopacy to see the genesis of the new heresy in the flexible discipline of the pre-Laudian Church of England. Among the reformers only Burroughs and Archer struck the vein of the new sainthood of England's elect. So far none of the pamphleteers had come forth with the secular counterpart of Independency: the right of each man to participate in political affairs and bring forth there too his modicum of light. Of the five authors, Brooke's brilliant analysis most clearly anticipates Milton; Burroughs suggests the sainthood convictions of Vane and Cromwell. Chidley's emphasis on the capacities of the common man and *A New Petition's* range of toleration anticipate the early pamphlets of Walwyn and Overton.

CHAPTER XIV

INTERNATIONAL REFORMERS: DURY, HARTLIB, AND COMENIUS

November, 1641

IN THE fall of 1641 London became the focus of zealous plans for international reform. The leading agitators for these reforms were Samuel Hartlib of Prussia, John Dury of Scotland, and John Amos Comenius of Bohemia. The three men held certain traits in common: Each was an idealist, naively sanguine about the power of words to banish the weight of custom, "which lends a color of truth," wrote Comenius, "to all the frauds of the world."¹ Each was eager in his intellectual outlook, seeking out learned men in every country he visited. Each was indefatigable, determined, ready to devote a whole lifetime to the task at hand. Of the three men Hartlib was most interested in inventions and discoveries that would facilitate trade and commerce. He was also more concerned than either Comenius or Dury about relieving the burdens of the poor on a national scale. From the variety of his interests

¹ John Amos Comenius, *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, tr. Matthew Spinka (Chicago: National Union of Czechoslovak Protestants in America, 1942), p. 4.

it is evident that Hartlib's curiosity about the world around him was even more insatiable than that of Dury and Comenius. Dury's mind, unlike that of Hartlib, was filled with a single purpose, to bring peace among the Protestant sects of Europe. To Dury no other goal of education or economic reform was so vital as this "Each of us," wrote Dury, "hath his peculiar taske: Mr Hartlib is the sollicitor of humane learning for the reformation of schooles, and my lot is fallen chiefly in divine matters to promote the counsellors of peace ecclesiasticall. He doth work upon the faculty of reason and I upon the consciences of men . . ." ² Dury looked upon Comenius as Hartlib's colleague in the task of reforming England's schools. Comenius, like Hartlib, believed that the foundation of reform must be material and secular: Things must precede ideas and the secular must precede the theological in the order of approach and mastery. In his desire for intellectual reform Comenius was more ambitious than his teacher, Francis Bacon. As Bacon wished a revolution in the inspection and manipulation of nature, so Comenius wanted a revolution in the inspection and manipulation of human personality. Sympathetic as Dury was to Hartlib and Comenius, he did not place the same heavy emphasis upon the secular that Comenius placed upon the theological. The three men, co-workers in reform, made a deep impression upon the intellectuals of London, among them John Milton, who knew Hartlib in person, Dury and Comenius by reputation.

1 JOHN DURY, APOSTLE OF PROTESTANT UNITY

Not only was Samuel Hartlib a reformer: he was a friend and abettor of other spirits eager for the dawn of a brighter day in western Europe. With Dury and Comenius Hartlib formed in 1641 a triumvirate of enlightenment pledged to mutual advice before publication of their thoughts on science, education, commerce, religion.¹ Dury's published appeals in England began in May, 1641, when he addressed to the Commons a petition asking them to "*call together a generall Synod of Protestants*" of both continental and English churches.² In the same month Dury issued *A Memoriall Concerning Peace Ecclesiasticall amongst Protestants*, addressed to the General Assembly at Scotland to be held at St. Andrews in July and with a special note addressed to Alexander Henderson. Like all reformers, Dury had too sanguine an expectation of

² Robert F. Young, *Comenius in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 78, n. 1.

¹ *A Motion Tending to the Publick Good of This Age, and of Posteritie* (1642), p. 40.

² *John Dury His Petition to the . . . Commons* (May, 1641), E156(12).

the persuasion of the written word. Of his plan for ecclesiastical peace he said, "I hope you will doe it so much the rather and the readier, because it is not backed with Authoritie, that it may appear you are perswaded and moved by the grace and Spirit of God."³ In *A Memoriall*, Dury urged upon Henderson and the assembly his plan for teaching both laymen and ministers a more accurate method of interpreting the Bible for the edification of the people. By all such means, but especially by an invincibly peaceful attitude and appeal to reason, Dury was certain that the Protestant churches could trace large segments of a common faith. This pamphlet Dury followed in August with *A Summary Discourse Concerning the Work of Peace Ecclesiasticall*, which he had presented Sir Thomas Roe in 1639. Samuel Hartlib now came to his friend's aid by publishing an account of Dury's efforts, *A Briefe Relation of That Which Hath Been Lately Attempted to Procure Ecclesiasticall Peace amongst Protestants*. These published appeals in 1641 showed Dury's determination to strike for an application of his great design while the Long Parliament was immersed in its many plans for England's reformation.

Born in Edinburgh in 1596, Dury was now forty-four years old. His education, like his outlook, was international. After schooling in Amsterdam and Edinburgh and some time at Oxford,⁴ he had been educated for the ministry at Sedan and Leyden, later, as he made clear in *The Unchanged, Constant and Single-Hearted Peace-Maker* (1650), ordained at the hands of presbyters. Dury in 1628 accepted a charge in Elbing, West Prussia, with a company of English merchants. Even then, two years before the English factory at Elbing failed and the congregation dissolved, Dury's plan for unity of all Protestant churches was already crystallized. In 1628 he petitioned Gustavus Adolphus, then ruler of West Prussia, to assist him in uniting the Protestant churches of Europe. It was impossible, thought Dury, that this plan be carried out except by the temporal rulers themselves. In Dury's mind the ecclesiastical controversies were like a raging fire consuming the various national churches. In such an emergency one man's strength could not avail. "For my part," he said to Adolphus, "I am crying, fire, fire, and I repair to your Majesty for help and succour, for Ladders and Vessels."⁵ To Dury the first requisite in the task of reconciliation was a moderate and

³ E156(11), p. 3.

⁴ Dury was in Oxford, according to Anthony à Wood, in July, 1624, *Fast Oxonienses*, I, col. 230, in *Athenae Oxonienses* (2 vols., London, 1721). Wood remarks on Dury's wonderful facility with the German language. On Dury's intellectual background see J. Minton Batten, *John Dury Advocate of Christian Reunion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 10-22.

⁵ *A Briefe Relation*, p. 41.

peaceful manner both in speech and writing, a philosophy which he successfully applied even when replying to Prynne's bitter attack of two decades later. For fifty years Dury unflinchingly bent to his task, convinced that only misunderstandings and errors of logic prevented a union of Protestant churches, comparable in strength and resiliency to the Roman Catholic. What men considered fundamental errors in others, rightly looked at, asserted Dury, would more often than not fade into insignificance. Could not one reserve judgment upon the depth and meaning of his brother's error? In 1637 Dury urged as one basis for unity a confession of faith to which all Protestants could subscribe.⁶ Protestants in Dury's opinion should begin their outline of unity by concentrating on the areas of faith they held in common. Under such a broad definition of Christian unity, Dury later was apparently unwilling to exclude even the hated papists.⁷

After his appeal to Gustavus Adolphus, Dury visited many courts and assemblies in Germany and Holland both before and after his trip to England in 1630, where he made the acquaintance of Laud, Ussher, Hall, and others before his return to Germany in July, 1631.⁸ As his letters to Roe⁹ reveal, Dury was constantly in debt, but unwearied in zeal, meeting with church officials in Wetterau, Leipzig, Hesse, Heilbronn, Holland, Hamburg, Frankfurt, following Gustavus from one camp to another. With the death of Gustavus at Lutzen (November, 1632), however, Dury was forced to give up his dream of a general assembly of the Protestant churches of northern Europe. Axel Oxenstierna, the Lord Chancellor, had little interest in Dury's grand design. More and more eagerly Dury turned to his native land for the fulfillment of his hopes for ecclesiastical peace.

In 1630, at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Roe, Dury carried his pattern of Protestant unification to England, where he was received in a guarded fashion by Laud, who considered him a Calvinist, but very hospitably by Joseph Hall, who later ordained him with the imposition

⁶ *A Copy of Mr. John Duries Letter Presented in Sweden to . . . Forbes* (1643). The original letter was dated at Stockholm January 24, 1637. In the same year Dury interested the great Grotius in his scheme. Masson, II, 368.

⁷ See *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1650), "An Epistolical Discourse," pp. 76-79.

⁸ G. H. Turnbull, *Harthb, Dury and Comenius* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947), pp. 132-43, cites important details from manuscript letters about Dury in England, 1630-1631.

⁹ Dury's letters to Roe have been published in Gunnar Westin's valuable book, *Negotiations about Church Unity, 1628-1634* (Upsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1932), where Dury's continental negotiations are traced with great care. Dury's own account of 1631-1633 is in *A Summarie Relation* (Westin, pp. 264 ff.). A manuscript copy of *A Summarie Relation* (1634) is in the McAlpin Collection.

of hands by several presbyters on February 24, 1634.¹⁰ In acceding to Dury's wishes for the imposition of presbyters' hands as well as his own, Hall was willing to risk the wrath of Laud to make Dury eligible for a charge in England. Everywhere Dury went, he impressed men, whether Puritan or Anglican, as embodying his oft-repeated creed of "being earnestly in love with truth and peace."¹¹ Not only did Dury secure the cooperation of bishops Ussher, Morton, and Davenant; he made friends with such radicals as John Cotton and Philip Nye, and men as widely separated as Lord Brooke and Richard Sibbes. Though he had known Hartlib as early as 1627, he now renewed this acquaintance, which was to become one of the most fruitful in seventeenth-century thought.¹² Hartlib was eager to promote Dury's great plan of ecclesiastical peace. Dury was eager to aid Hartlib and Comenius in their dreams of universal education for poor and rich alike. In early 1642 Hartlib published for Dury *A Motion Tending to the Publick Good of This Age, and of Posteritie*. In this tract Dury set forth for the first time a few of his ideas for "reforming and facilitating all the meanes of humane learning for the schooles aswell of old as of young Schollers."¹³ Unlike Comenius and Hartlib, Dury was not concerned as yet with the glory of secular learning for its own sake, but he wished to reform the manner of teach-

¹⁰ *The Unchanged, Constant . . . Peace-Maker* (1650), p. 8. In *Ladensium* (1640) Baillie complained of Laud's encouragement of Dury's projects as leaning toward Luther. Dury's plans Baillie characterized (p. 32) as "so generall, so ambiguous, so slidderie, that were very suspitious to many, otherwise very peaceable mindes." In the third edition of *Ladensium*, however, Baillie sharply reversed his estimate of Dury, saying (pp. 32-33): "Master Duries labours in this kind were ever by me esteemed worthy of great prayse, honour, and reward." Dury calls attention to Baillie's change of heart in *The Unchanged, Constant . . . Peace-Maker* (1650), p. 12.

¹¹ *A Memorall*, p. 2. Cf. *Israels Call to March out of Babylon unto Jerusalem* (1646), a sermon preached to the Commons November 26, 1645 (p. 15). "As then one member by the law of nature is ordained to serve another, to care for it, to provide the good thereof, and to preserve it from hurt. So are Christians appointed by God, in respect of their union to Christ . . . to . . . preserve each other."

¹² Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p. 136. The exact time of Milton's first meeting with Dury can only be conjectural. But Hartlib probably knew Milton's tutor, Thomas Young, before 1640 (Turnbull, p. 40, n. 1). Masson says Milton and Hartlib may have met in 1643 (III, 232). Hartlib's first mention of Milton was in the fall of 1643 (Turnbull, p. 40): "Mr. Milton in Aldersgate Street hase written many good books a great traveller and full of projects and inventions." It is probable, then, that Dury also met Milton between 1641 and 1644. Dury's extant letters, however, make no mention of Milton until 1654, though he translated Milton's *Eikonoklastes* into French in 1652. Masson, V, 315, 348.

¹³ P. 21. Dury's preface is dated December 30, 1641. Cf. the recommendation at the end of Dury's sermon to the Commons, *Israels Call*.

ing in such a way that both young and old would be open to an analysis of their intellectual errors. He was particularly concerned that the young should be taught an infallible method of interpreting the Scriptures, for which purpose he wished to establish a professorship of practical divinity. He proposed an abridgment of the Bible and the revision of school texts. Children, he thought, could be taught at the age of five or six to read and write through playing games. It was true, he said, that nothing could take the place of the skillful teacher, who knew how to unlock the faculties and eagerness of the young.¹⁴ "Bookes though never so well penned," he wrote, "are but dead instruments by themselves."¹⁵ Furthermore, when a man has been shaped by years of advanced learning, he is not likely to change his manner of teaching through the influence of a good book, however persuasive. "We know," he wrote afterward, "and that experimentally, that Knowledge doth puffed up the spirit, but it is Charitie that doth edifie."¹⁶ It is evident from *A Motion* that Dury had some hope for a foundation set up by Parliament which would carry out his educational scheme for the training of men who would understand the necessity and the glory of Protestant unification.

Already, however, the inherent weakness of Dury's great design was more manifest with each new splintering of Protestant ranks in England alone. If English Protestantism was itself racked by dissensions and divisions, how could it unite with the Lutherans and Calvinists of the continent? In the realm of church organization, unity could be achieved only through authoritarian direction, running the dangers of tyranny, as Dury himself foresaw: Men must be on guard that "the obligation to Unitie become not a yoke to Tyranny."¹⁷ Yet he would have used Laud, if possible, as he sought to use Cromwell later, for benevolent ends. Indeed he knew no other church organization than those sponsored by the state. Unlike Milton and Williams of later years, he was totally unprepared for the separation of church and state: His experience had led him to envisage a union of churches imposed on the nation by agreement among monarchs and archbishops. But the dynamics of the Protestant intellectual method could bring in its train only a fierce individualism. How unprepared Dury was for this phenomenon is nowhere more fully revealed than in *An Epistolary Discourse* (1644). Could the state permit Independent congregations to flourish outside the state

¹⁴ *A Motion Tending to the Publick Good of This Age, and of Posteritie*, pp. 21-24. Hartlib's ideas on education were much more specific and comprehensive than Dury's. See Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, pp. 36 ff.

¹⁵ *A Motion*, p. 42.

¹⁶ *An Epistolary Discourse* (1644), p. 41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

church? Dury was uncomfortable. He wished all resolved in peace and brotherhood, but his answer, with many qualifications, was no. Did not such permissions mean more divisions and endless controversies, rather than fewer? If the Independents were tolerated, would not all sects have the same right? Though he would seek peace with all men (and in their duty as brothers all men were equal), he could not sanction any liberty that might carry in its wake a "Licentious and Self-seeking Singularity." How to guide Protestants then toward the happy union of faith and love? Dury's answer shows his failure to comprehend the ferment at work among English Independents. He proposed that Presbyterians and Independents sit down together to trace the one true church government! "The way must be then," he said to the Independents, "either to give satisfaction to their Brethren, or to receive it from them."¹⁸ Much faith as this showed in the capacity of sincere men for seeing their errors by the light of other minds, Dury's analysis rested on an assumption that the one true church government is so plainly written into the Bible that prolonged study would make it apparent to all Protestants. True, many other men felt as certain as Dury that Biblical search would reveal the perfect pattern. In *The Reason of Church-Government* John Milton was to trace an outline of church government from Biblical sources only, as did many of his contemporaries. But Milton, as *Areopagitica* would show, was aware that the process of search was spiritually and intellectually more productive than an uneasy uniformity of ideas. What few Protestants were willing to grant as yet was that the Bible was so vast and many-sided a book that scarcely any two interpreters (even of the same educational and economic level) could agree on its revelation of the infallible church discipline. The Protestant's very regard for his right to interpret Scripture was destined to prevent the unity of churches for which Dury labored in vain for half a century.

2. PROPHET AND PHILANTHROPIST: SAMUEL HARTLIB

In late October, meanwhile, Samuel Hartlib brought forth advice to Parliament in a suggestive utopia, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria*. As to Milton later, the English world to Hartlib trembled on the threshold of economic and political as well as theological reformation: Before its dissolution the Long Parliament would indeed "lay the Corner Stone of the worlds happinesse."¹ An internationalist in his outlook, Hartlib later wrote to Robert Boyle that in publishing

¹⁸ *An Epistolary Discourse* (1644), pp. 23, 32.

¹ Preface, "To the High and Honourable Court of Parliament," *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (October 25, 1641), E173(28).

Macaria he had endeavored "the reformation of the whole world."² Born in Prussia, the son of a Polish merchant and English mother, Hartlib had become acquainted with John Dury in his home town of Elbing, where Dury served as a minister to a company of English merchants. In 1628 Hartlib had migrated to England, in part at least as a missionary of Dury's great dream of ecclesiastical peace among Protestants.³ But Hartlib was a man of inexhaustible benevolence in many directions; Evelyn later called him a "master of innumerable curiosities."⁴ In England he sought out intellectuals of many types, scientists, writers, statesmen. In a letter to Worthington in 1660 he wrote, "I could fill whole sheets in what love and reputation I have lived these thirty years in England," among the aristocrats, bishops, professors, "and all sorts of learned or in any kind usefull men."⁵ Among these friends was John Milton, who afterward praised him as "a person sent hither by some good providence from a farre country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this Iland."⁶

In the utopia of *Macaria*, where the Parliament sat once a year, Hartlib pictured the people as living in plenty and the king in riches and honor. The main concern of the government was the direction of economic operations in which the divisions are husbandry, fishing, trade by land, trade by sea, and new plantations. By order of the Council of Husbandry, five per cent of each man's goods at his death were employed for the improvement of land, highways, and bridges. No man was permitted to own more land than he could profitably till and improve. Like Comenius, Hartlib grounded his philosophy in a comprehension of the solid, material world, especially in the study of man's physical structure. In his utopia the state clergy were also the state physicians, trained in both professions, competent to understand diversities of bodies and dispositions as well as of souls. Neither clergymen nor people were permitted to vent new opinions except once a year at a time especially reserved for discussion and debate on innovations. A significant facet of Hartlib's thought in *Macaria* was his rejection of depravity as a fixed pattern of human nature. Nor would he yield that poverty and unhappiness were the inevitable human lot. It is possible, he insisted, anticipating Godwin and Owen, for the clergymen to persuade people to ethical conduct as easily as vicious. In Hartlib's mind, as in all utopian thought,

² Henry Dircks, *A Biographical Memoir of Samuel Hartlib* (London, 1865), p. 17.

³ Masson, III, 194 ff.

⁴ Dircks, p. 113.

⁵ Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p. 111.

⁶ *Of Education* (1644), p. 1.

human nature unfailingly yielded to the pressures of a benevolent environment. One vehicle of the nation's happy state was the knowledge brought to the people through the magic of the printing press: "The Art of Printing will so spread knowledge, that the common people, knowing their own rights and liberties, will not be governed by way of oppression."⁷ Like all idealists, Hartlib applied too simply the principle of cause and effect in social action, underestimating what Milton called "agedness of error," the weight and drag of custom centuries deep. Apparently he was also unaware of the iron hand of property on the legal machinery of reform. Though Parliament ignored his recommendations, it could not be asserted conclusively that his theories were visionary rather than practical. In England no department of national life was less subject to scientific experimentation than government itself. "Government," Bacon had written in *Novum Organum*, "is supported by authority, unanimity, fame, and public opinion, and not by demonstration."⁸ It was the misfortune of Hartlib, like that of Comenius and his utopian successors, that his ideas died a-borning in his own time, rejected not by laboratory appraisal but by a collective national mind steeped in theological explanation of the origin of society and the nature of man.

3 COMENIUS AND THE MASS MIND

On January 12, 1642, *A Reformation of Schooles* appeared in London, the work of John Amos Comenius, the great Moravian educator and theologian, who had arrived in London September 21.¹ For about ten years Hartlib had corresponded with Comenius; he was now eager that Comenius should make his ideas a part of the flood tide of Parliamentary reform. For years past Hartlib had made persistent attempts to interest English legislators and intellectuals in Comenius' concepts of education. From Hartlib's interviews with Milton about Comenius, Milton was afterward impelled to write *Of Education*.²

Comenius was now fifty years old, with most of his far-reaching dreams already crystallized. Born in Nivnitz, Moravia, in 1592, Comenius had early been left an orphan, his parents having died before he was twelve.³ The schools that he attended as a boy he thought of as "the

⁷ *Macaria*, p. 13.

⁸ *Works*, ed. Spedding (1857-74), I, 302.

¹ Not in Thomason. See McAlpin, II, 112. Turnbull, p. 354; Masson, III, 220-23; Matthew Spinka, *John Amos Comenius That Incomparable Moravian* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 75.

² Masson, III, 232-33.

³ I am here and later following Masson, III, 199 ff., and M. W. Keatinge's account of Comenius' life in his edition of *The Great Didactic* (2 vols., London,

slaughter-houses of the young"; they provoked indeed his first agonized concern over the waste and harshness of the educational system. "I . . . am one of many thousands," he wrote, "who have miserably lost the sweetest spring-time of their whole life, and have wasted the fresh years of youth on scholastic trifles."⁴ From the Latin school at Prerau he turned at eighteen to the University of Prague to seek ordination as a Brethren minister. At the university Comenius came under the influence of John Alsted, whose remarkable talents as an encyclopedist were already famous. From Alsted's *Encyclopedia cursus Philosophii* (1608) and *Encyclopaedia Scientiarum Omnium* (Herborn, 1630) it is probable that Comenius drew some of the ideas later incorporated in *The Great Didactic*. He also profited from reading Wolfgang Ratke's essay on the reform of schools in Germany.⁵ After residence at Heidelberg, Comenius was ordained (April, 1616) and became pastor in 1618 to a Moravian community at Fulneck, meanwhile having served for two years at Prerau as a supervisor of the schools there. In 1621, when the Spaniards burned Fulneck (and executed the Bohemian Protestant leaders), Comenius lost all his possessions, including a library of valuable books and manuscripts.⁶ In the following year a still deeper tragedy engulfed Comenius: His wife and two children succumbed to the pestilence that was then sweeping through Moravia. Driven into exile, he secluded himself in a Bohemian hut near the eastern border and wrote an arresting contrast between the world he knew and the world of his dream: *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*.⁷ If the dream was visionary, the picture of Comenius' world in *The Labyrinth* was a lamentable reality no observant contemporary could deny.

Comenius was now thirty-five and remarried, full of prophetic energy and hope, despite his impending exile from Moravia and Bohemia. In 1627, while preparing with other pastors to flee to Poland to escape the persecution, Comenius chanced upon the *Didactic* of Elias Bodinus. Visualizing the triumph of a new society in his native land, Comenius set to work on a didactic for his own people, a great scheme whereby all boys and girls, poor and rich, should grow up in ideal free schools

1907-10), I, 1 ff (hereafter cited as *Didactic*). This is the most useful book in English on Comenius, though Masson traces Comenius' career with great care. Turnbull has supplied many important new facts from Hartlib's papers. A few biographical facts appear in *A Reformation of Schooles* (1642), pp. 46-47.

⁴ *Didactic*, II, 79-80.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 136, n. 1.

⁶ The story of Bohemian persecution was afterward vividly related by Comenius in *The History of the Bohemian Persecution* (1650).

⁷ *The Labyrinth* was first printed in Leszno, Poland, in 1631. The second edition was published in Amsterdam in 1663. *The Labyrinth* (1942), tr. Spinka, p. v.

sponsored by the state. In Poland, where he lived for the next twelve years under the protection of Count Raphael of Lissa, Comenius became a supervisor of schools again, with many opportunities to experiment with his new methods. For new ideas on education he sought eagerly the works of Bacon, Ratke, Rhenius, Campanella (whose *City of the Sun* had been published in Frankfurt in 1624), John Andreae ("a man of nimble and clear brain"), William Bath, Eilhard Lubin, Ezechiel Vogel, and Janus C. Frey. Year by year (from 1627 to 1632) Comenius worked steadily upon his *Great Didactic*, which unfortunately was not to appear in print until 1657.

In the *Didactic* Comenius rejected flatly the concept of human nature fixed by heredity to gradations of either dunce or genius. Human nature was infinitely plastic and malleable. "The slower and the weaker the disposition of any man," he wrote, "the more he needs assistance, that he may throw off his brutish dulness and stupidity as much as possible. Nor can any man be found whose intellect is so weak that it cannot be improved by culture."⁸ None, then, should be excluded, "unless God has denied him sense and intelligence." The trouble, indeed, was not that the common man could not learn but that the teaching was faulty, schools thus far being no more than "shambles for their intellects." Even if a man serves as a humble laborer, he is a better Christian and a happier citizen for an education. To Comenius no intellectual height was inaccessible to the average mind if the steps in the ascent were sufficiently short and well chosen to accommodate that mind's natural pace. Both boys and girls (were not women also made in the image of God?) should attend school no more than four hours a day; none should be forced or scolded for failure to learn: corporal punishment should be forbidden. Thus did Comenius encompass the democratic and anthropological heresies to be revolved again and again in centuries to come. Nor was the cost of universal learning to Comenius an obstacle. Like Luther before him, he naively urged the rulers of the earth to spend a hundred ducats on their most precious possessions, the children, for every one invested in forts, arms, cities, and monuments.⁹

Meanwhile in 1631 he published in Leszno *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, a Latin grammar containing useful facts about nature, art, trade, diseases, etc., in a series of a thousand sentences that would be fascinating to the child. The success of the book was phenomenal; it was at once translated into a dozen European languages and three or four eastern

⁸ *Didactic*, II, 67

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 301. For Comenius' own account of the writing of the *Didactic*, see Young, *Comenius in England*, pp. 20 ff. Young shows several close parallels between Comenius' theories and passages in *Novum Organum*.

languages. Reprinted generation after generation, the book became familiar to millions of children. Within a year two editions of the *Janua* appeared in London.¹⁰ Milton was to make a contemptuous comment on it in *Of Education*: "To search what many modern *Janua's* and *Didactics* . . . have projected, my inclination leads me not."

His ideas for free education now crystallized, Comenius turned to an elaboration of his Pansophic dream. Pansophia Comenius described as the "living fruits of all the Arts, and Sciences."¹¹ This dream was in reality the building of a great basic textbook for universal use, an encyclopedia that could be comprehended by the simplest minds, ranging in order from the most vital materials to the less, "like unto a tree arising from its living roots."¹² "Every man," wrote Comenius, "is able to get up to the top of an high Tower . . . if there be steps for him."¹³ In *The Great Didactic* he had proposed the order of things to ideas: from science (with a strong Baconian emphasis on sensory induction) to art to morality to religion. At no point would the reader of this book be left in intellectual isolation; each fact of nature or art would be related to knowledge already visualized. Nor would morality be neglected; indeed to Comenius morality and religion were the most teachable of the arts and inevitably strengthened by secular knowledge. One great task of Pansophia was to show relationships among the arts and sciences so persistently that the narrowness and bigotry of the educated specialist would no longer burden professional life. The breaking of the sciences into various departments was to Comenius not only a great intellectual tragedy but one of the great obstacles to the average man's comprehension of the world of nature. Through Pansophia Comenius expected the general level of citizen intelligence to be enormously heightened. In effect, every citizen, whatever his later specialization, would acquire a liberal education. To Comenius it *was* possible for the average man to observe and delve into the essence of things, as Bacon had done in *Novum Organum*. "All of us," asserted Comenius, ". . . sit as spectators in this common Amphitheater of Gods wisdom: and wee Christians have moreover, the light of divine revelation equally granted unto us all."¹⁴ Both the rate of learning and the quantity of knowledge attained by the average youth were but a tiny fraction of the mind's potentialities. "All things are beneath man and subject to his understanding." No longer would knowledge be imprisoned in the Latin tongue.

¹⁰ *Didactic*, I, 18-23.

¹¹ *A Reformation of Schooles* (1642), p. 24.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The great textbook would be translated into all languages, to the delight and profit of the world's various peoples. "Every mothers child that comes into this world," wrote Comenius, "is to be directed to the same end of Gods glory."¹⁵ This glory in his democratic fervor Comenius conceived to be the full expansion of man's intelligence and spiritual capacities, an aim to be encompassed through the Pansophic dream.

To assemble such a Pansophic encyclopedia would be a task of great magnitude, requiring the services of the world's best scholars and the great books of ages past. Though in *The Great Didactic* Comenius had urged the exclusion of pagan authors from his ideal schools, he now admitted his error. The great need was light for this life as well as the next, and light would be sought in every great book and in every language. Immersed in his great plan, Comenius had no doubts that European scholars were equal to the task. Though Bacon had called for co-operative scientific endeavor only, Comenius asserted that "wee drive and aime at the whole universality of things."¹⁶ Like his great predecessor, Comenius asserted, in effect: "Our minds are equal to any great task if we but work together." What could one scholar writing in isolation do to accomplish such a task? "Nothing was ever yet invented, and brought to full perfection by any one man."¹⁷ The building of the Pansophic text Comenius compared to the building of the great temples of the past; Pansophia, indeed, would be a greater temple to God's glory than all the others, since it would open the mysteries of God's creation to man's understanding. For the construction of his ideal text Comenius hoped that a great college of noted scholars would be established. Already in *The Great Didactic* he had called for such an institution. On February 7, 1641, he wrote a letter to Hartlib, urging upon him Bacon's scheme for such a college and asking him to read again Bacon's pleas to King James in *De Augmentis Scientiarum*.¹⁸ The site should be London, where six or seven learned men could gather and write to scholars in all lands. But Comenius was not content to wait for the establishment of such a universal college. In 1640 he began the composition of an encyclopedia arranged like his *Janua Linguarum*. This book, which he called *Janua Rerum*, was destined, however, to remain only a fragment even when it was finally published in 1681, eleven years after Comenius' death.¹⁹

Such was the Pansophic dream of Comenius, which he set forth in

¹⁵ *A Reformation of Schooles* (1642), p. 59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁸ Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p. 354.

¹⁹ Young, *Comenius in England*, p. 32.

outline in *Conatuum Comenianorum Praeludia*, published by Hartlib at Oxford in 1637 and included in his *Pansophiae Prodomus*, published in London in 1639.²⁰ Meanwhile, Comenius had published in Leszno in 1638 *Conatuum Pansophicorum Dilucidatio*, answering certain objections of his learned contemporaries. The *Praeludia* and the *Dilucidatio* then appeared in English in 1642 as *A Reformation of Schooles*.²¹ Comenius stated later that the *Prodomus* appeared also in Paris and Holland. The learned of Europe received Comenius with acclamation. "The enthusiasm for *pansophia*," wrote Adolf Tassius of Hamburg, "and for a better didactic glows in every corner of Europe."²²

Urged by Hartlib and with funds supplied through his efforts, Comenius arrived in London September 21, 1641. Upon his arrival Comenius was met by Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, Theodore Haak, John Pell, and Comenius' associate, Joachim Hübner. In recent years other English intellectuals had heard about Comenius and were eager to help with the idea of Pansophia and a universal college.²³ Among these were Lord Brooke, Lord Warwick, Lord Mandeville, William Waller, Lord Herbert, Oliver St. John, Bishop Williams, Bishop Davenant, and Bishop Bedell, to whom Hartlib had distributed copies of one of Comenius' works, probably the *Praeludia*.²⁴ As early as November 26, 1636, John Pym had written to Hartlib that he would gladly aid in the encouragement of Comenius' designs. In September, 1638, Pym had written to Hartlib that the work of Dury and Comenius was so valuable that if it were possible, he alone would support them. In his own account of his visit to England, Comenius says that he "had been summoned by command of Parliament."²⁵ In this Comenius was mistaken, as he later learned to his sorrow. Like Dury and Hartlib, he had little concept of the weight of custom to be lifted before free education could be established or a great college founded of learned scholars. It is true that on November 29, 1640, John Gauden, in preaching to the House of Commons, had commended Dury and Comenius with high praise: "Both famous for their learning, piety and integrity, and not unknowne, I am sure by the

²⁰ In the *Prodomus* volume (288 pp.) Hartlib incorporated the *Prodomus* (published in 1637 as *Praeludia*), the *Dilucidatio* (Leszno, 1638), *De Sermonis Latini Studio* (Breslau, 1638), and chapter titles of *The Great Didactic* from Comenius' manuscript notes.

²¹ *Praeludia*, pp. 1-60; *Dilucidatio*, pp. 61-89; "Seven Parts of the Temple of Christian Pansophie," pp. 90-93; chapter titles of *The Great Didactic*, pp. 92-94.

²² Young, p. 37, n. 4.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁴ Turnbull, p. 343.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 342, 346; Young, p. 39.

fame of their Works, to many of this . . . Assembly.”²⁶ Bishop Williams upon Comenius’ arrival invited him to dinner and bestowed on him a pension of 120 pounds a year that his family might be brought to London. “Certain noble lords” also urged Comenius to stay and agreed to help support him.²⁷ Comenius was impatient that Parliament was not in session. According to his own account, after Parliament had convened on October 20, they announced their plan of assigning a college with its revenues to a number of scholars for the purpose Comenius had outlined.²⁸ But nothing concrete emerged from this Parliamentary intention. The outbreaks of the Irish war on November 11, 1641, in Comenius’ words, “confounded all plans for the whole winter.”²⁹ It is unlikely, however, even if the Irish war had not then intervened, that Parliament would have acted decisively in favor of either a universal college or a reformation of English schools. Meanwhile Comenius busied himself in writing *Via Lucis* to explain Pansophia to inquiring friends.³⁰ When, on October 19, Comenius received another invitation to go to Sweden, he was advised by Williams, Brooke, and Pym to accept the invitation “only on this condition that when affairs in England were more tranquil, I should return.”³¹ Nevertheless the three reformers continued to agitate for recognition of Comenius’ great design. On January 12, 1642, Hartlib published *A Reformation of Schooles*. It is evident, however, that Comenius’ friends felt that the concept of Pansophia and the building of a universal college would be more appealing to Parliament than the democratic school system described in *The Great Didactic*. From a comment on the title page of *A Reformation of Schooles*, however, we know that Hartlib intended to publish *The Great Didactic*, all the chapter headings but one of which he affixed at the end of the pamphlet. Convinced at last that England would not adopt his Pansophic plan, Comenius decided to accept Sweden’s invitation. He left England June 20, 1642.³²

In retrospect, indefatigable and skillful as was the agitation of Dury, Hartlib, and Comenius among learned men, their schemes were doomed

²⁶ John Gauden, *The Love of Truth and Peace* (1641), p. 42. See McAlpin, II, 39.

²⁷ Young, p. 42.

²⁸ Turnbull, p. 361.

²⁹ Young, p. 44.

³⁰ A remarkable tract (not published until 1668) in which Comenius compares the properties of light with the influence of education. See *The Way of Light*, tr. E. T. Campagnac (Liverpool: The University Press, 1938).

³¹ Young, p. 44.

³² Young, p. 45.

to failure in the England of 1641. The roots of the inevitable defeat of Dury's scheme for Protestant unity lay in the very intellectual method by which Protestantism flourished. Comenius' college of learned men, which afterward came to partial fruition in the Royal Society, was in part nullified by the bitter political conflict then being waged in Parliament. The Puritan faction, except for such men as Pym and Brooke, were not interested in the Baconian dream of a state-subsidized universal college. Support for such an idea came mainly from the liberal lords, among them three bishops cordially hated by the Puritan leaders. In a narrow political sense, the appointment of Bishop Williams as archbishop of York on December 4 was an ill omen for Comenius, who did not realize how strongly the current of London agitation was running against the bishops.

Nor was the Puritan faction prepared to receive Comenius' ambitious dream of every child in school. The democratic and divisive agitation inherent in Independency did not crystallize in a single English mind a blueprint of educational reform such as Comenius had traced in *The Great Didactic*. Despite the equalitarian impetus of Puritanism in England, there was to evolve no widespread demand for common schools, even among the Levellers. Across the Atlantic, it is true, Massachusetts within a few years was to establish a free elementary school, upon which pattern American education was to be founded. "What are the rich without wisdom," asked Comenius, "but pigs stuffed with bran? What are the poor who have no understanding of affairs but asses laden with burdens?"⁸⁸ Beneath these questions by Comenius lay an assumption unacceptable to Englishmen of all classes. To Comenius it was education that made the man, not an accident of birth; but to the average literate Englishman, whether Puritan or Anglican, the aristocratic conception of hereditary gifts and limitations was a principle fixed by generations of intellectual custom.

Nor was Hartlib's projection of a povertyless society any more realistic than Comenius' plan for Pansophic perfection. Even in the tumultuous years to follow, only Gerrard Winstanley was to appeal for a communist England based on the precepts of Christ, even as Comenius' principle was based upon the recovery through education of God's image in man. Nevertheless the three reformers persisted. Like John Milton and John Foxe before him, they had an exaggerated notion of the power of the printed word to banish superstitions and promote the social experimentation by which alone their theories could be demolished or sustained.

⁸⁸ *Didactic*, II, 56.

CHAPTER XV

GATHERING OF THE FORCES: PRELUDE TO CIVIL WAR

October, 1641–February, 1642

IN THE four months following the reconvening of Parliament on October 20, 1641, the forces gathered and crystallized that were to blaze into civil war by July, 1642. In that time the Episcopalian party, as Gardiner has pointed out, gradually became the Royalist party, many of them forced to side with Charles in the hope of maintaining their cherished ritual and ceremonies. The Irish Rebellion inflamed English minds still further against the Roman Catholic tradition. The House of Lords, which hitherto had resisted exclusion of the bishops from their number, gave support to the Commons on this critical issue, as also on Parliamentary control of the militia, traditionally vested with the king. Gradually the moderates of both parties were forced to adopt more extreme positions. On January 4, 1642, when Charles attempted to arrest Pym and four other members of the House of Commons, he turned many wavering minds against him. Many sound Anglicans in both houses so feared kingly domination as to support Pym and Cromwell in constitutional emergencies. Men like Falkland and Hampden, divided on *The Grand Remonstrance*, could unite against kingly prerogative. To most moderate men the issue was the limitation of the monarch's power; to many extremists it was the emasculation or survival of the Church of England. "I am constant to the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England," said Charles, ". . . and . . . I resolve—by the grace of God—to die in maintenance of it."¹ If Charles were to pay for this fealty with his throne, Cromwell was equally adamant for the toppling of the bishops. When *The Grand Remonstrance* was passed by a bare majority after a bitter struggle, on November 22, he said to Falkland, "If the Remonstrance had been rejected, I would have sold all that I had the next morning, and never have seen England any more."² Whereas Cromwell could no longer remain in England without becoming a revolutionary, in America he would have found many kindred spirits. But neither Charles nor Cromwell represented the England that was to follow the

¹ Gardiner, X, 39.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78; Abbott, *Cromwell*, I, 145.

Restoration. If Cromwell and Milton spoke for the America to come and for extreme intolerance of the Anglican way, Charles spoke for an absolutism in both church and state to which a changing England would not submit again.

1. THE IRISH REVOLT

On November 1, when the Commons had agreed to begin discussion of *The Grand Remonstrance*, the first news of the Irish Rebellion reached England. The roots of Irish resentment running deep into preceding centuries were not difficult to trace.³ Fervently Roman Catholic in belief, the Irish were taxed to support a Protestant state clergy and the English occupation officials. Even to the most enlightened Englishman, whether Anglican, Catholic, or Puritan, Ireland was legitimate spoil for a conquering army followed by Protestant settlers who dispossessed the natives of their land and then made laws preventing Irish repurchase. Queen Elizabeth in 1586 had casually granted Raleigh forty thousand acres of Irish land. In 1641 the Irish owned only a fraction of the land of Ulster, though for every two English settlers there were ten or eleven natives. This dispossession, together with English resolution to root out Roman Catholicism, made explosive resistance inevitable. In 1580, when Ireland had been seething with revolt, Arthur, Lord Grey, a zealous Puritan, had passed like a scourge over the land, mutilating, hanging, burning crops, boasting that he had had "1485 chief men and gentlemen slain, not accounting those of the meaner sort, nor yet executions by law . . . which were innumerable."⁴ In *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, this slaughter was soberly justified by Edmund Spenser, who accompanied Grey on his expeditions and later glorified him as Sir Artegall in *The Faerie Queene*. At an execution at Limerick, wrote Spenser (as Irenaeus), "I sawe an old woman which was his foster mother, take up his heade whilst he was quartered and sucked up all the blodd runninge theareout Sayinge that the earthe was not worthie to drinke it."⁵ To Spenser the significance of this event was not so much the execution of O-Brein as the barbarism of the foster mother. As events were

³ See Lecky's judicious analysis of the causes, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (8 vols, London, 1878-90), II, 123 ff.; and Ferdinando Warner, *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland* (2 vols, London, 1768), I, 1-23.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers . . . Ireland*, ed Hans C. Hamilton (11 vols., London, 1860-1912), II, 486 (entry 62 for 1583).

⁵ Spenser, *Complete Works*, ed. Charles G. Osgood and others (10 vols., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932-49), X, 112; Spenser, *History of Ireland* (1633), p 44.

to prove, John Milton had no more respect for the Irish than Edmund Spenser: Both men regarded the Irish as barbarous, savage, uncouth, but, worst of all, papistical in religious belief.⁶

Despite Sir Phelim O'Neill's proclamation that no harm was intended against the persons of the English, massacres broke out in Ulster once the fortified posts were captured by the rebels. As is evident even from the depositions, there was no planned or organized massacre, but spasmodic cruelties generated by the impulse of the moment. Though an accurate estimate is impossible, four or five thousand may have perished at the hands of mobs or individual citizens seeking vengeance against the English; twice as many more may have succumbed to exposure and barbarous treatment.⁷ Two thousand fugitives from Belturbet were set upon by the enraged Irish on the way to Dublin and stripped of their winter clothing. The patterns of torture and mutilation traced by the English invaders of preceding decades (to be repeated in Cromwell's invasion) were now followed by the native Irish with fierce abandon. Men, women, and children were forced off bridges with pikes and swords, or driven over ice until it broke and the waters engulfed them; in Kilkenny a mob wounded one Ellen Millington, then threw her into a dry hole and covered her with stones; another mob cut off William Loverden's head, then displayed it to his wife and children; at Kilmore a group of rebels forced twenty-two English into a thatched house and set it afire;⁸ in Tipperary "the wife of George Miller being then left sick, as soon as the rebels entered, they dragged her out of bed by the

⁶ Masson, II, 358

⁷ Estimate of Warner. The numbers slain were greatly exaggerated by contemporary English accounts. John Temple *Irish Rebellion* (1646; NYPL), p. 6, estimated 300,000. In *Eikonoklastes* (1649) Milton accused the Irish of estimating 154,000 slain in Ulster alone (Chapter XII). In the second edition of *Eikonoklastes* (1650, p. 112) Milton added that "the total summ of that slaughter in all likelihood, [was] four times as great." This would have made a total of over 600,000 massacred, an obvious absurdity. The British in Ireland in 1641 probably numbered no more than 210,000 out of a total population of 1,400,000. The most detached analysis of the scope of the massacres is found in Warner, *History of the Rebellion*, and Mary Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., London, 1884). Warner, whom Lecky called "the best historian of the rebellion," estimated the number murdered at about four thousand; he believed that eight thousand more may have died of ill usage (II, 9). Hickson estimated 25,000 (I, 163). Gardiner (X, 69) followed Warner's conclusion. In recent decades an indispensable account is found in Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum* (3 vols., London, 1909-16), I, 312-58. A heated but valuable book for source materials is Matthew Carey, *Vindiciae Hibernicae* (Philadelphia, 1819).

⁸ Rushworth, IV, 406, 415, 416.

legs down stairs, till they knocked out her brains";⁹ in Armagh the Irish put a rope around William Blundell's neck, "threw him into the Blackwater near Charlemont, and did draw him up and down in the water to make him confess his money."¹⁰ In the midst of robberies and murders, now and then a curious irony: In County Leitrim, Elizabeth Vawse was asked by those who robbed her, "Who sent you over here?" When she answered that God and the king did it, "they the said rebels said, 'Let your king fetch you out of this again.'"¹¹ Pregnant women disembowelled; a boy killed by a former schoolmaster; a son quartered alive and his quarters flung into his father's face; a man stripped half naked and dragged on the ground by a horse; men, women, and children buried alive: these were only a few of the horrors reported by eye witnesses, which, with due allowance for exaggeration, show the desperation of the Irish in the grip of maniacal revenge, a rage to be repeated in Cromwell's army at the sack of Drogheda, when he was to order men, women, and children put to the sword. Sir William Petty estimated that between October 23, 1641, and October 23, 1652, 504,000 Irish were slain by the English,¹² for the most part without benefit of survivors' depositions. In 1641 the English held one-half of all Irish land; in 1652 three-fourths.¹³ Cruelties and retaliations on each side were heightened by the feeling that each represented the cause of God's true faith. The rebellion was an explosion of combustible wrongs centuries deep; but the bitterness of the conflict was only beginning. As Milton was to write, "What can war but endless war still breed?" Hate still fed upon hate, and revenge upon revenge. Parliament acted at once to send ten thousand foot and two thousand horse from England, meanwhile asking the Scotch to send five thousand. On measures against the Irish all parties hastened to agree, concerned only that the Scotch soldiers might not ultimately be turned against Parliament's own. In the following February, at the suggestion of London citizens, Parliament passed a law confiscating one-third of all Irish lands, ten million acres, assigning one-fourth of all this land to subscribers for the conquest of Ireland.¹⁴ Neither Parliament nor the London citizens who made the proposal, which Gardiner has called "monstrous," considered the inevitability of Irish retaliations to come.

⁹ Hickson, II, 41, deposition of Gilbert Johnston.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85, depositions of Edward Saltinghall and George Littlefield.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 322, deposition of Elizabeth Vawse.

¹² "The Political Anatomy of Ireland," in *Tracts Chiefly Relating to Ireland* (Dublin, 1769), p. 313. Petty estimated (p. 313) that the Irish had slain about 37,000 English in the rebellion.

¹³ Hickson, I, 164.

¹⁴ Gardiner, X, 173. The text of the original proposal is in *Commons Journals*, II, 435, and *Propositions . . . Cutie of London*, E135(10), February 11, 1642.

2. THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE

After voting measures for the conquest of Ireland, the Commons turned to a declaration of principles and appeal to the people, *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdome*, known to future generations as *The Grand Remonstrance*. The *Remonstrance* owed its inception to the mounting tensions of Pym and his colleagues over the stoppage of reform measures. Though possessing a majority of the Commons, they had been thwarted by the Lords in decisive steps toward a full reformation. The Root and Branch Bill had awakened the Commons minority anew to the drastic objectives of the Puritan radicals and their growing strength in the Commons.¹ On August 11 Cromwell and his colleagues had let the Root and Branch Bill drop without even a third reading in the Commons. The first Bishops' Exclusion Bill, considered by the Pym faction a necessary minimum step toward reforming the Church of England, had died in the Lords as far back as June 8, 1641.² If the Lords maintained their intransigence, there was no chance for the second Bishops' Exclusion Bill, which passed its third reading in the Commons on October 23. On any such bill the bishops would cast their twenty-six votes in the House of Lords for the continuation of their own prerogatives in that body. Men saw ahead, too, the struggle for the militia, which traditionally was the arm of the sovereign. Would the Lords frustrate Parliamentary control of the militia? In the crisis the question was whether a substantial measure of power in England would shift from the king to Parliament, from the Lords to the Commons, from hereditary officials to elected ones. In such a projected shift of power the Puritan radicals saw no hope for more concessions from Lords or king. As the Levellers were to do so successfully after them, the Commons majority now resolved, therefore, to appeal in the *Remonstrance* to the people as the source of power and agitation. If the significance of this move has been lost upon some historians, it was clear to contemporaries like Edward Dering. In a speech on November 22 against the *Remonstrance*, he said, "*Wherefore is this Descension from a Parliament to a People? They look not up for this so extraordinary Courtesie . . . And why are we told that the People are expectant for a Declaration?*"³ Dering denied that the people expected such a document; as

¹ Gardiner, X, 11.

² *Ibid.*, IX, 383.

³ Rushworth, IV, 425. The text of *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdome* (1641) may be found also in *An Exact Collection of All Remonstrances, Declarations . . . and Other Remarkable Passages* (1642), pp. 3-21. A separate pamphlet edition of the *Remonstrance* (1641) is in the McAlpin Collection. Neither of these texts is divided into sections.

for himself, he saw no constructive end to be achieved by a popular appeal: "*I neither look for cure of our complaints from the common People, nor do desire to be cured by them.*"⁴ When the *Remonstrance* was finally passed that night (by a vote of 159-148), a bitter struggle loomed at once over the printing of the document. But for the majority's momentary waiving of the issue and Hampden's presence of mind, the members would have "caught each other's locks and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels."⁵ What the minority dreaded was the further rousing of democratic passions against king and bishops: this they knew only the printed *Remonstrance* could accomplish.

When we turn to the *Remonstrance* itself, moreover, the 206 articles are really a repetition of the complaints and grievances of the past year. It is easy to see that the minority may have objected less to the document itself than to its propaganda value in building public support for the Puritan radicals. The language is often general and inflammatory, rather than specific and detached in tone. Despite the efforts of the Commons, the document began, they "do yet find an abounding Malignity and Opposition in those Parties and Factions who have been the cause of those Evils, and do still labour to cast Aspersions upon that which hath been done."⁶ These factions the *Remonstrance* identified as the papists, the bishops, and those of the king's counsellors who have had at heart the interests of other countries. Reaching far back into the beginning of Charles's reign (in order to present to the reader the whole picture of the disorders), the *Remonstrance* reviewed the old grievances of ship money, illegal billeting of soldiers, dissolutions of Parliaments, imprisonments, monopolies, denials of justice in the courts, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the forced flight of many to Holland and America, the illegal canons, the Scottish wars, the attempted forced loans from London citizens. From the listing of grievances covering a period of sixteen years, the *Remonstrance* then reviewed with some pride the accomplishments of the Long Parliament: ship money abolished, monopolies suppressed (especially of soap, wine, salt, and leather), justice done to Strafford, Laud imprisoned, the Triennial Bill passed, the Star Chamber and High Commission abolished, other bishops and judges impeached, the bishops' powers reduced, the king's income established. More good laws, indeed, Parliament had written and the king signed, than "have been in many ages," and yet no law that would "weaken the Crown either in just Profit or useful Power."⁷ So far, no

⁴ Rushworth, IV, 428.

⁵ Gardiner, X, 77.

⁶ Rushworth, IV, 438.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

doubt, the Commons could have been almost unanimous on most articles of the *Remonstrance*.

But the *Remonstrance* did not rest there. Indeed it was not in the nature of Puritan reformers to rest comfortably at any peak of achievement without many of their number pushing forward to hitherto forbidden ground. The papists, continued the *Remonstrance*, still remained, as did the evil counsellors and the bishops, all hinderers of true reformation. True, the Commons abhorred Independency: they had no intention, asserted the *Remonstrance*, of leaving "every Man to his own Fancy" in the way of religion, as their enemies had charged; nor yet of loosing "the golden Reins of Discipline and Government in the Church." Nevertheless the *Remonstrance* demanded a general synod of both English and foreign ministers "to consider of all things necessary for the peace and good Government of the Church." Then the *Remonstrance* struck at one of the chief obstacles to the Pym program: "But what can we the Commons, without the Conjunction of the House of Lords, and what Conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and Recusant Lords are so numerous, and prevalent, that they are able to cross, and interrupt our best endeavours for Reformation?"⁸ Another impediment to the program of the Commons was certain counsellors of the king, suspected of being Roman Catholics or in the employ of foreign powers. Not only should such men be sought out and removed from power, asserted the *Remonstrance*, but the king should appoint only those men "as the Parliament may have cause to confide in."⁹ It is plain that the Commons majority intended by withholding appropriations to put teeth into this request; if such counsellors were not appointed, the Commons could not "give his Majesty such Supplies for support of his own Estate." From this statement (and from Article 195) it is plain that Pym and his colleagues were driving toward what was in time to become a cabinet; it was inconceivable to them that the king should continue indefinitely to gather around him a Privy Council hostile to the wishes of the Commons. In the *Remonstrance* were implicit, then, two fundamental constitutional changes: the reduction of the power of the Lords and the formation of a cabinet consonant with the Commons majority. Behind such measures worked not only a long British tradition of limited sovereignty but a Puritan resistance to the concept of divine right, a resistance (inconceivable to men like Strafford and Hall) born of the feeling that God was a partner of holy men and no respecter of worldly persons. As Macaulay was to write, the Puritan "prostrated himself in the dust before his Maker: but he set his foot on the neck of his king."

⁸ Rushworth, IV, 450.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

Charles's reply to the petition that accompanied the *Remonstrance* (in which the important grievances were outlined in broad terms) threw into still bolder light the constitutional issues on which he was prepared to resist the Commons majority. True, he did not mention the issue of the militia, which on December 1 had not yet crystallized, though men like Strode and Cromwell, foreseeing the test of arms, were already eager to strike for its control. As for a "Wicked and Malignant Party" influencing his course of action, Charles knew of no such thing. The right of bishops to vote in Parliament "*is grounded upon the Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and Constitution of Parliament.*"¹⁰ Here Charles was on firm ground. Had the Lords already voted with the Commons to exclude the bishops, Charles's rejection of the proposal would have been constitutionally untenable. But this had not yet happened. As for the selection of his advisers, Charles asserted that "*it is the undoubted Right of the Crown of England, to call such Persons to Our secret Councils, to publick Employment . . . as We shall think fit.*"¹¹ Here again Charles spoke for a constitutional tradition that the Puritan majority in the Commons could not challenge successfully without the concurrence of the Lords. If Parliament wished a national synod of ministers, Charles would consider it. But he wished the Commons to know that "*no Church can be found upon the Earth that professeth the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine than the Church of England doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from Superstition.*"¹² Though not so clearly a constitutional issue, this was precisely the one on which both Charles and the Puritans were least prepared to yield. The Church of England could be defined in many ways: As Hooker had defined it, Cartwright, Rainolds, King James, Laud, Ussher, Brooke. It could be defined as a high church or low church, a church with emphasis on ceremonies or on sermon, with kneeling at communion or sitting at communion, with an altar railed in at the east end or a mere unconsecrated table for the Lord's supper moved about. To Charles, as to his father, the Laudian definition of discipline represented purity and truth. There had been a time, before Robert Browne, when the Church of England could have folded all Puritans in a broad unity by a judicious toleration of varied beliefs and ceremonies: but not now. In no department of life did passions run so deep as in theological dispute; it was the area of life least subject to calm reasoning or dispassionate proof. There could be no appeal, indeed, by either side, to the neutral tests of science, but only to an-

¹⁰ Rushworth, IV, 452.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 452-53.

tiquity, custom, hatred of Rome, subjective interpretation of the fathers and the Scripture.

3. DECEMBER: THE SCALES OF CONFLICT

One by one events in December tipped the scales of the conflict in favor of the Commons majority. When December opened, it could claim for more drastic reforms only the righteousness of its cause. In a sermon to Parliament on December 22, the Smectymnuan Calamy said, "The Childe of reformation is come to the birth; but there wants strength to bring it forth."¹ When December closed, the Commons had won substantial victories, not through its persuasion of the Lords but through fortuitous circumstance and the impulsive errors of the king and his supporters. One step which infuriated the Commons was the appointment of new bishops. In November and early December Charles made Bishop Williams of Lincoln archbishop of York, Prideaux bishop of Worcester, Skinner (of Bristol) bishop of Oxford, Hall (of Exeter) bishop of Norwich, Duppa (of Chichester) bishop of Salisbury.² Of these men Skinner and Hall had been impeached in August. Even more serious to the cause of Charles were reports from Ireland. On November 25 Sir Phelim O'Neill had claimed a commission from King Charles to "restore the Roman religion in Ireland," calling upon Irish Catholics to seize forts in the king's name.³ In the hysteria about Catholics that pervaded England, any such report needed no verification to rouse passions anew and buttress the Puritan cause. Time after time the Puritan leaders used accusations of popery as devastatingly as men three centuries later were to use accusations of communism. The effect of the exaggeration was far more vital than the search for the facts. Though the document now in question was a forged one, it confirmed suspicions in the minds of many that Charles, partly through the influence of his Catholic wife, was plotting to use the Irish insurrectionists against a

¹ Edmund Calamy, *Englands Looking-Glasse* (December 22, 1641), p. 18. Another Smectymnuan, Stephen Marshall, on the same fast day preached a sermon to the Commons titled *Reformation and Desolation* (December 22, 1641). The two men urged that a national synod be called to settle the affairs of the church, that the Commons persevere in their great task of reformation, that the Irish Protestants be relieved. To both ministers the English by and large were very wicked, "multitudes sinning with a whores forehead." But said Marshall (p. 44), "We have many ten thousand Saints in England, who not onely abstaine from the abomination of the times, but mourne for them, and give God no rest night nor day, untill hee bow the heavens and come downe."

² Masson, II, 325.

³ Gardiner, X, 92.

recalcitrant Parliament.⁴ Pym accordingly warned the Lords that the Commons might join with certain members of the Lords to act without the consent of the whole body. On December 5 the Commons was further inflamed by the appointment of Lennox as Lord Steward, instead of the Commons' preference, Pembroke. On December 6 the Lords held up a bill for conscription of soldiers for Ireland, the offending clause being one that would prevent Charles (except in emergencies) from sending soldiers abroad. To this obstruction the Puritan radicals replied with a new bill to remove the militia from Charles's control, vesting it in a Lord General with the power of levying money, recruiting soldiers, and applying martial law. Even in the Commons, however, this bill met with such indignant resistance that it was not pressed even in the first reading.⁵

On December 11, a petition supporting Pym and his colleagues was brought to the house by some four hundred officials and business men of London riding in fifty coaches. The petition claimed the signatures of twenty thousand subjects. Asserting that their own safety was dependent upon the safety of the Commons, the petitioners asked for the banishment of "Popish Lords and Bishops" from the upper house; for the speedy prosecution of the war against the Irish; for the punishment of delinquents; for putting the city and the kingdom in a "posture of defence."⁶ Fear of a sudden surprise, as in Ireland, by the "bloody hands" of the Papists, had upset business, which was "much more of late decayed then it hath beene for many years past," with "no man following his trade chearfully." If the war in Ireland should not be successful, the petitioners feared that the fifty thousand pounds they had cheerfully lent the state "will be wholly lost."⁷ Like its predecessor of December 11, 1640, *The Citizens of London's Humble Petition* is instructive of the futility of explaining the origins of the Puritan Revolution in political and theological terms alone. The economic gains of the Puritan classes, whether of subsidy men, merchants, or apprentices, were now forcing a corresponding shift of power from Lords and king to the House of Commons. True, some lords and aristocrats supported the Puritan cause, as many a Puritan was later to support the king against the revolutionary tactics of the Independents. But while the typical prosperous aristocrat cultivated the arts of leisure and statesmanship, the typical prosperous

⁴ Milton afterward in *Eikonoklastes* (Chapter XII [1649, p. 119]) accused Charles obliquely of being the "Author or instigator of that Rebellion."

⁵ Gardiner, X, 95.

⁶ This is *The Citizens of London's Humble Petition* (December 11, 1641), E180(16), pp. [1], [3].

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. [2], [3].

Puritan labored zealously at his business. Such a man was now in effect petitioning the Commons to make the kingdom safe against the king's arbitrary power. With him joined the Puritans of all classes, united in a common cause and agitating each other in the closeness of city streets. The time had not yet come for divisions in the building of the New Jerusalem.

Charles had neither the imagination nor the historical perspective to deal with a London populace hostile to his program. His long years with Buckingham, his ready acceptance of regal absolutism, his very remoteness from the ways of trade and commerce had unfitted him for such a task. When great crowds surrounded the houses, crying "No popish lords!" he could think of such demonstrations only as insolent tumults. In *Eikon Basilike* he (or Gauden for him) interpreted it as God's will that the madness of the people should be restrained. The demonstrations he denounced as the "clamours of the vulgar."⁸ It is likely that the radical Puritans were in sympathy with the demonstrations, which could have occurred with such violence only in London. Aware of his weakening position, Charles on December 12 sent out a proclamation for the return by January 12 of absentee members of the House of Commons.⁹ How sharply sentiment in the Commons had veered away from the king was evident on December 15, when the Commons ordered the printing of the *Remonstrance* by a vote of 135 to 83.¹⁰ On December 14 the king damaged his cause still further when, in addressing the House, he expressed an opinion on the conscription bill, saying, "*In case it come so to me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will pass it.*"¹¹ In event the bill restricted his power in sending soldiers abroad, as the Commons wished, was the hint, he would reject it. On the sixteenth, two days later, the two houses rebuked Charles for his advice, asserting that the privileges of Parliament had been broken by his taking "Notice of a Bill for impressing Soldiers, being in Agitation in the said Houses, and not agreed upon; and did offer a . . . provisional Clause, to be added to . . . said Bill."¹² What Charles did not realize fully as yet was that in a conflict involving prerogative of the whole Parliament as against that of the king, the Lords were likely to resolve the issue in favor of the Commons. A phenomenon sometimes overlooked is that in more than one crisis the Puritan Revolution was to draw its

⁸ *Eikon Basilike* (1649), Chapter IV (Oxford, 1869, p. 17) Milton, on the other hand, in *Eikonoklastes* (Chapter IV) praises the people as "this iron flail."

⁹ Gardiner, X, 99.

¹⁰ *Commons Journals*, II, 344

¹¹ *Old Parliamentary History*, X, 99.

¹² *Commons Journals*, II, 345 *By the King* (December 28, 1641), 669f3(26).

leadership in part from the House of Lords: Essex, Warwick, Holland, Fairfax, Brooke, Saye and Sele.

Following close upon these events came others to draw Commons and Lords together in opposition to the king. A London County Council sympathetic to the Puritan radicals was elected December 21.¹³ This was a heavy blow to Charles's hopes. Fearing the rabble and evidently anticipating, as had Cromwell, the test of arms, Charles decided to appoint Colonel Lunsford, a royalist swashbuckler, in place of Sir William Balfour as lieutenant of the Tower of London. Rumor gave way to fact on December 22, when Balfour testified to the Commons that he was to be removed; he surrendered his keys on December 23 and Lunsford was appointed on the twenty-fourth.¹⁴ On the twenty-third, after receiving a petition against Lunsford and declaring him a "Man of a decayed and desperate Fortune" (who in nine months in the army had not attended church, a man guilty, moreover, of putting out the eye of a Captain Buller), the Commons declared to the Lords that such a man was not to be trusted in command of the Tower, adding significantly that since the bullion of the realm was kept and coined there, such an appointment would bring trade to a standstill.¹⁵ Though the Lords refused to concur with the Commons to petition Lunsford's removal, the king discharged him on the twenty-sixth, after the Lord Mayor had warned him that an apprentice uprising was imminent. On the twenty-seventh, before it was generally known that the king had removed Lunsford, the apprentices who had petitioned against him filled the streets of Westminster, crying, "No Bishops! No Bishops! No Popish Lords!"

Through the melee toward the House of Lords walked Bishop Williams (now archbishop of York) and the Earl of Dover. Cutting off Williams from the earl, about a hundred of the mob surrounded the archbishop, crying "No Bishops!" After some hesitation the apprentices allowed Williams to go his way. A reformado named David Hide drew his sword against the mob, crying that "he would cut the Throats of those *Round-headed Dogs that bawled against Bishops*." Hemmed in by the apprentices, Hide was carried to the Commons, who thereafter deprived him of his commission to fight in Ireland. Then armed with swords, staves, and rocks, the mob invaded Westminster Hall, where they met Colonel Lunsford and thirty or forty others, who drew their swords and chased the apprentices into the streets. A lively fight followed, with Colonel Lunsford momentarily victorious but helpless to

¹³ John Bond, *The Downfall of Old Common-Counsel-Men* (December 21, 1641), E132(33).

¹⁴ Rushworth, IV, 459.

¹⁵ *Commons Journals*, II, 355; Rushworth, IV, 459.

scatter the mob from the streets around the houses. In vain did the Lords order the apprentices to disperse, the apprentices asserting that Lunsford and his men lay in wait for them.¹⁶ In vain, too, did Charles the next day (December 28) issue a proclamation against the tumults, ordering the inhabitants to "dissolve their Assemblies and Companies, and repair to their dwellings."¹⁷ On the twenty-ninth two thousand apprentices gathered in Cheapside with clubs, swords, and halberds, prepared to "adventure of the losse of their lives" in protest to the authorities. After assurances, however, by the London burgess Captain John Venn (afterward Cromwellian colonel and regicide) that their imprisoned comrades would be released, the apprentices reluctantly dispersed. Remnants of the mob, still unsatisfied, forced entrance into the Counter jail on Wood Street to search for their fellow apprentices.¹⁸

The result of the violence against Williams was catastrophic for King Charles. On the twenty-ninth, with eleven others, the archbishop protested to the king the violence against his person and the tumults that had prevented him and others from sitting in their places in the Lords, asking the king and the Lords to nullify all votes that had taken place since their enforced absence on the twenty-seventh. This provocative action (approved by the king) was a turning point in the prelude to civil war. The Lords, who meanwhile had attempted to restrain the fervent energy of the Commons, now found themselves in a fever of anger against the twelve bishops, sending the next day for a conference with the Commons "touching Matters of dangerous Consequence."¹⁹ On the thirtieth also the Commons resolved to impeach the twelve bishops of high treason "for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm; and the very Being of Parliaments."²⁰ All but the two oldest bishops were by the Lords on the same day committed to the Tower. A contemporary satirist pictured Williams as a decoy duck leading his colleagues into a trap: "This Lincoln-shire Duck . . . strongly opinion'd, boasted like the Decoy Duck unto his feeder, that if once he was permitted to flie abroad, he had that skill and knowledge in all parts and fenny Countries and sea-coast . . . and so much as the very Rivulet from the See of *Rome*." When trapped by the decoy Williams, the other ducks wailed: "Shew mercy; I was brought in by a wild: Another quackt, and said, hee thought it onely a matter of custome, and

¹⁶ Rushworth, IV, 463.

¹⁷ *By the King* (December 28, 1641), 669f3(26).

¹⁸ John Venn, *A True Relation of . . . Captain Ven* (December 29, 1641), E181(21), pp. 1-2, 4-5

¹⁹ Rushworth, IV, 467.

²⁰ *Ibid*

Protested for forme sake.”²¹ Of the twenty-six bishops in the Lords, only seven were now at liberty: Bridgman, Curle, Duppa, Mainwaring, Potter, Prideaux, Warner. By the impeachment of thirteen bishops on August 4 (see above, p. 129), the Commons had attempted in vain to keep the bishops from voting in the Lords. Four sees were now vacant. Of the remaining twenty-two bishops, twelve were now in prison, seven at liberty, three in retirement. No more than three or four ventured to vote thereafter. By the end of 1641, then, the bishops ceased to influence legislation in the House of Lords.²² On February 7 the Lords assented to the second Bishops’ Exclusion Bill, an action really precipitated by the blunder of Williams and his colleagues.

4 RISING FANATICISM THE BIBLE TOSSED IN A BLANKET

Meanwhile every passing day yielded new evidence of an expanding fanaticism that lent aid and comfort to the Puritan radicals in the Commons; and the more tumultuous the London citizens, the more likely were the Lords and king to accept more planks of the reformation program. In *Lucifers Lacky* a satirist of the fanatics expressed his horror of the mobs around Parliament on December 4 and December 12. Each Puritan, wrote the satirist, had “a Religion by himselfe, and every one a nigher way to Heaven than the other.” The author was alarmed that “this sort of people were not once a handfull, and then crept in corners, but now they are like to the Ægyptian Locust covering the whole Land.” Many pamphlets struck the same note of alarm at the common man’s presumption in interpreting religious truth. “*When Women Preach, and Coblers Pray,*” asserted *Lucifers Lacky*, “*The fiends in Hell, make holiday.*”¹ In November the fanatics had been excoriated in *Religions Enemies*, a tract picturing papists and sectarians tossing the Bible in a blanket, but on the whole serious in argument, of Hall’s general outlook. God has ordained order in disparity; each should be honored in descending scale: first God, then the king, the nobility, the clergy, the doctors and lawyers. Not comprehending the fanaticism he deplures, the author can only hold up his hands in horror at the rough and tumble debates of his countrymen: “In the meane space, (amongst mutable and contentious spirits) Religion is made a Hotch potch, and as it were tost in a Blanquet, and too many places of *England* too much *Amsterdamnified* by severall opinions . . . Table-talke in every Taverne and Ale-

²¹ *The Decoy Duck* (January, 1642), E132(35), pp. [1], [5].

²² Masson, II, 336; Gardiner, X, 163

¹ *Lucifers Lacky* (December 4, 1641), E180(3), no pagination.

house.”² In *The Schismatick Stigmatized*, a far more meaty, if less learned, analysis of Puritan fanaticism than *Religions Enemies*, Richard Carter traced an illuminating profile of sectarian psychology, of men howling for equality, acting the prophet, scorning church music as “Devills Bag-pipes,” harping on no string but “Reformation! Reformation!” hating almshouses or hospitals founded by papists, hating Latin for its use by the whore of Rome, “snuffing thorow their noses,” hating all but extempore prayer, “playing the Devill for Gods sake.” As for a church, any place a Puritan preached was holy ground: “Up with a Barne, a Cow-house, a Stable, a Hogs-stye, a Dogs-kennell, a private house, or Privy house, the Woods, fields, in a Ditch, under a hedge.”³ How remote such exaggerations were from the actions of Puritans such as Milton, Parker, or Henry Robinson, we need not pause to examine; but with each month that the dynamics of Puritanism ran its course, especially after the victories of the Commons program, the more varied and extreme its manifestations, as in all revolutions. In *A Curb for Sectaries and Bold Propheciers* the authors also inveighed against common men preaching the gospel, asserting that “Zeal joyned with ignorance [is] like to mettle in a blind Horse.”⁴ What varied knowledge, indeed, was required to preach the gospel! Duty to kings, politics, ethics, law, history, geography, knowledge of nature, mastery of tongues, logic, rhetoric, understanding of controversies, all these were desperately needed. Would preaching by the spirit overweigh all this knowledge? Could such preachers in corners as Richard Farnham the weaver, James Hunt the farmer, or John Greene the feltmaker overcome their abysmal ignorance? There was nothing more evident, however, than that in the Puritan Revolution as in other eras, each man brought to the Bible not only his knowledge but his prejudices as well. As the learned slaveholder was afterward to justify slavery from the Bible, so all the inequalities of the seventeenth century could be justified also. The ignorant preacher might condemn monopolies; the learned one was likely to dwell on the virtue of patience and the likelihood of salvation. As Cromwell was to speak for propertied men in the Leveller debates, so Winstanley was to speak for the unpropertied mass in *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*. Both Winstanley and Cromwell grounded their convictions on Biblical injunctions. But Cromwell was a well-to-do man, Winstanley a poor one. As each man read his Bible, the unseen shadow of his wealth or his

² *Religion's Enemies* (November, 1641), E176(7), p. 6.

³ Richard Carter, *The Schismatick Stigmatized* (December, 1641), E179(14), pp. 7, 13, 15.

⁴ (November, 1641), E196(17), Preface.

poverty hung over him; what he took for the truth of the Word was all too often the mirror of his circumstance.

The fanaticism of the Puritan left expressed itself in private gatherings or surreptitious church services now and then broken up by apprentice mobs or officers of the law. On December 12, according to *The Cobblers End*, a Holborn cobbler by the name of Vincent appeared at the St. George parish church in Southwark (supported by a number of the congregation) and asked to preach in place of the curate Masson. When the curate asked him if he had a warrant to preach, Vincent brushed off the question and "crawled up into the Pulpit, like a Jackanapes, and preached there according to his wisdom," claiming that the damnation of men (including the king) had been ordained from the beginning by God; now and then he yelled, "Fire! Fire!"; he would rather hear tinkers and horserubbers preach than any scholar; all bishops were contrary to Scripture; the prayer book was taken from the popish mass book; and "he which is led by the spirit, is an absolute child of God." When Vincent had finished, he was surrounded by his friends ready to defend him from the church wardens. Thus he escaped, continued the narrative, but Sir John Lentle, the justice of the peace, had ordered his arrest.⁵ On December 19 a leatherseller named Barebones (the same Praise-God Barebones who was to be famous under Cromwell) preached at his house on Fleet Street to an audience of about 150 people. Barebones' voice being very loud (on hell and damnation), a crowd gathered outside, became incensed at Barebones' ideas, broke the windows of the house, and tried to break down the door. Barebones, with the help of his associate Greene, the hat maker, preached for five hours, the greatest confusion being near seven o'clock, when a constable appeared and arrested some of the audience amid clamor and tumult. Many "Brownists" escaped over the houses, fearing violence from the mob, who caught one of the hearers, beating and kicking him severely.⁶ As a last gesture of rage, the mob unhinged the sign from Barebones' house to leave a ready gibbet for the fiery preacher.⁷ On the same day, December 19, Prophet Hunt (evidently James Hunt the farmer), who had once before suffered imprisonment for preaching at Christ's Church, rose after a sermon at St. Sepulchre's, announced his text, and began to preach. Stopped by the constables, he was taken to the Lord Mayor's, a mob of his supporters following him. Though he had not warrant from man, Hunt declared to the Lord Mayor that "he had sufficient warrant from God, for he knew

⁵ *The Cobblers End* (December, 1641).

⁶ *The Discovery of a Swarme of Seperatists* (December 19, 1641), E180(25).

⁷ *New Preachers, New* (December 19, 1641), E180(26), p [7].

that he was his Messenger." ⁸ The Lord Mayor committed him to the Counter. It was in vain that king, Lords, or constables attempted to control such fanaticism. The tide of Puritanism was now running high, carrying its believers to strange islands of belief, with stranger horizons yet to come.

5. ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS: CHARLES'S WITHDRAWAL

With the opening days of the New Year a still deeper crisis loomed in the prelude to civil war. Distrust had built a wall so high between Charles and the Commons majority that the House ordered halberds for the members to defend themselves if need be. On the thirty-first Hollis had delivered verbally a message to the king from the Commons, asking for a guard and voicing their deep apprehensions of "*a Malignant Party bitterly envenom'd*." ¹ On the same day Charles prepared a statement (not delivered until January 3) assuring the Commons that there was no need for a guard, that he had not the least "Knowledge or Belief of the least Design in any, of Violence." ² On January 1 Charles made a half-hearted attempt to appoint Pym as Chancellor of the Exchequer, but chose Culpepper instead, and Falkland for the secretaryship. His Privy Council would still do his will, not that of the Commons. Then within the first few days of January the king received a report that the Pym faction was preparing to impeach the queen. Nothing was more certain to swerve Charles from his course of constitutional resistance than such a threat, especially since the evidence against Henrietta Maria was far more damning than that against Strafford or Laud. Behind Charles lay the tradition of gallantry and daring, as well as a sense of kingship weakened and wronged. Possibly at Digby's suggestion, he resolved to indict for treason the very men who were preparing to impeach the queen, if not actually to drag her, like Strafford, to the scaffold. There was not an hour to lose. Early on January 3 Charles's Attorney General Herbert appeared at the doors of the Lords with seven articles of high treason against Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, Hollis, and Strode. The most serious charge (and the one with greatest constitutional validity) was that they had endeavored "to deprive the King of his Legall power." The articles also charged that the five had "endeavour'd by many foule aspersions upon his Majesty . . . to alienate the affections of his people,

⁸ *The Discovery of a Swarme of Seperatists* (December 19, 1641), E180(25), p. [5].

¹ Rushworth, IV, 471.

² *Ibid.*

and to make his Majesty odious to them.”³ Further they had attempted to alienate the army from the king; they had raised tumults against both king and Parliament. The Lords received the articles without enthusiasm; it was their prerogative to impeach, not that of the king, who should have requested them to act. The Lords appointed a committee to “consider the Legality of this accusation.”⁴ Meanwhile Pym reported to the Commons that his study, and those of Hollis and Hampden, had been closed and sealed,⁵ an action named at once by the House as a breach of privilege. When Sergeant at Arms Francis appeared with Charles’s order to arrest the five members, the House replied with a committee to tell the king that his message “*concerneth the Privilege of Parliament.*”⁶ With the Commons’ assurance that it would send a message to the king by their own members, Sergeant Francis returned without his quarry of five.

When he received the news of this rebuff, Charles rashly resolved to arrest the five members in person. On the next day, January 4, at a little after three in the afternoon, a Captain Landrish reported to Fiennes at the Commons that Charles was approaching with a guard of soldiers and officers; in the throng he had passed them with difficulty to bring the House the dire news. The five members, already in their seats by the injunction of the House, were immediately asked to leave “to the end to avoid Combustion in the House, if the said Soldiers should use Violence, to pull any of them out.”⁷ Strode only resisted until his old friend Sir Walter Earle “pulled him out by Force,” as the king was entering the New Palace Yard. Passing through Westminster Hall between lanes of his armed guards,⁸ Charles entered the House and walked toward the chair, looking to the right for Pym. Standing by the chair and saying, “*By your Leave, (Mr. Speaker) I must borrow your Chair a little,*”⁹ Charles looked in vain over the House for the five members, then addressed the House in part as follows:

I Am sorry for this occasion of comming unto you: yesterday I sent a Sergeant at Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high Treason, whereunto I did ex-

³ *An Exact Collection* (1642), pp 34–35.

⁴ Gardiner, X, 130–32; Rushworth, IV, 474.

⁵ Milton later wrote that the members’ “Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were seal’d up and search’d; yet not found guiltie.” *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter III (1649, p. 24).

⁶ Rushworth, IV, 475.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 477.

⁸ Charles called them “some gentlemen”; Milton called them the “ragged Infantrie of Stewes and Brothels.” *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter III (1649, p. 25).

⁹ Rushworth, IV, 477.

pect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here that albeit no King that ever was in *England* shall be more carefull of your PRIVILEGES, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power then I shall be, yet you must know, that in cases of Treason no person hath a priviledge . . . Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I finde them. well, sithence I see all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soone as they retuine hither ¹⁰

Having finished his speech, Charles asked Speaker Lenthall if any of the five were present. With striking presence of mind Lenthall knelt in his place and said, "*I Have neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak in this Place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose Servant I am here.*" As the king passed out, there was a great bustle and cries of "*Privilege! Privilege!*" ¹¹

Though Charles had attempted to lend his proceedings a constitutional sanction, he had now done his cause irreparable harm. He was now faced with the alternative of carrying out his threat to arrest the five leaders by stratagem or force or departing from London and admitting defeat in imposing his articles of treason. The next day, January 5, the House immediately declared the king's action a breach of privilege "inconsistent with the liberty and freeborn Members thereof." ¹² Voting to adjourn until the following Tuesday, January 11, they appointed a committee to sit in the Guild Hall with power to act for the privileges of the Commons. The same day, as Charles passed along London streets toward the Guild Hall with his usual attendance of armed horsemen, some of the bolder citizens cried out, "*Privileges of Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!*" Henry Walker the ironmonger was rash enough to thrust a paper into the king's coach on which was written, "*To your Tents, O Israel,*" an action for which he was immediately lodged in jail. ¹³ Charles was not yet ready to renounce his threat of arresting the five. At the Guild Hall he said to the citizens assembled, "*I Am come to demand such Persons as I have already accused of High-Treason, and do believe are shrowded in the City. I hope no good Man will keep them from me; their Offences are Treason and Misdemeanors of an high Nature.*" ¹⁴ But no man in London would venture to arrest the five members for the king: Charles had the

¹⁰ *An Exact Collection* (1642), p. 36.

¹¹ Rushworth, IV, 478.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 479.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 479-80 Milton afterward wrote: "Prosecuting so greedily the track of five or six fled Subjects; himself not the Solicitor onely but the Pursuivant, and the Apparitor of his own partial cause." *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter III (1649, p. 25).

disadvantage in his struggle with the Commons of being hemmed round by many thousands of zealous Puritans, from the men of substance now resolved to make their power felt in the House of Commons to the mobs of tumultuous apprentices (with power more vocal than real) who were to become the mainstay of Leveller agitation. "Had I called this Parliament to any other place in England," wrote Charles (or Gauden) in *Eikon Basilike*, "as I might opportunely enough have done, the sad consequences in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented."¹⁵ On January 12 Charles announced that he would abandon the legal impeachment of the five, asserting that he would later proceed against them in a way not to be challenged.¹⁶ Was this a threat that the next step would be the test of war? Men wondered. Charles had already departed from London on the tenth, never to return until he would be tried for his life in 1649. In leaving London, he crystallized among the Lords not unity, but more divisions. Men loyal to Parliament, like Essex and Holland, refused to join him. Received joyously in the Commons, the five members became the focus anew of popular strength; and with many aristocrats the representative process now held more solid appeal than the magic of the king's favor. Though war was not yet imminent, it was certain; both sides knew that they must strike next for control of the militia, the most vital tool of power in the impending struggle.

6. ROYALIST VOICES AGAINST THE FANATICS

In January the royalist satirists continued their stinging blows against the zealots and fanatics of the Puritan cause. Though the satirists' accounts of strange actions were exaggerated and often absurd, their revelation of trends and meanings was seldom wanting. In *The Resolution of the Round-heads* the author berated the Puritan radicals for their hatred of universities and learned men; the zealots preferred indeed the tumultuous assemblies at More Fields. One Roundhead resolution affirmed that "the very name of Bishops, shall be a sufficient Jury and Judge, to condemne any of them, without any further Evidence or Circumstance."¹ The Roundheads would fill all bishoprics with feltmakers and cobblers. In *New Orders New* this kind of satire was repeated with telling strokes. The Cripplegate assemblies, dubbed Round-heads Hall by the author, passed a resolution for equality:

Since a parity was first ordained by God himselfe, and that there needeth no Order or Degree of persons, because God is equall and no

¹⁵ *Eikon Basilike* (1649), pp 22-23.

¹⁶ Rushworth, IV, 484.

¹ *The Resolution of the Round-Heads* (January, 1642), E132(39), p. [3].

respector of persons. Be it therefore ordered, that we have no King but P [Pym].²

Not content with social equality, the Hall also passed resolutions for community of goods and women. It voted to name streets after the zealot preachers Greene and Spencer. An annual feast and sermon would celebrate Puritan virtues and symbols:

That every Yeare there shall be the *Round-heads* Feast Celebrated, a well-lung'd-long-breathed Cobler shall preach a Sermon six houres, and his Prayers two houres long, and at every Messe in this Feast shall be presented a goodly Dish of *Turnips*, because it is very agreeable to our Natures; for a *Turnip* hath a round head, and the Anagram of *Puritan* is *ATURNIP*.³

Meanwhile the Roundhead abjured all the symbols of order, tradition, authority, and kingship: bells, bishops, organs, crosses, surplices, pictures of saints, kneeling, prayers for the king. In each main thrust the satirist struck here a spark of reality: the Puritan elevation of humble believers to the role of teachers; the predominance of extempore prayer and sermon; hatred of Anglican symbols as remnants of the Roman tradition; the distrust of instrumental music as a part of religious service.

On January 24 the large cross in Cheapside was set upon by a mob and broken to pieces. A series of pamphlets followed by both Puritan and royalist satirists, of which one of the most striking was *The Dolefull Lamentation of Cheapside Crosse*. With due allowance for absurdities, the extremes of Puritanism were nowhere more clearly mirrored than in this pamphlet. "I was much abused," said Cheapside Cross, "and defaced, by a sort of people which I cannot terme better than a mad and giddy headed multitude." The multitude, claimed the Cross, was swayed either by "passion, or new wine lately come from *New-England*."⁴ Almost every man around the Cross was seeking or preaching a new belief. Ignorant people acting the prophet, immersing themselves in distractions and tumults, losing all charity, hating dignities, preaching and exhorting, scorning tradition, these surrounded the Cross, a "multitude of proud and precise Sects, who are all knowledge, and all eyes, loving nothing but their own silly fancies . . . full of new wine, and a new spirit, new revellations, new formes of prayer."⁵ The confidence of the fanatics, as these satires show, was rooted in the daily clash of minds re-examining

² *New Orders New* (January 15, 1642), p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴ *The Dolefull Lamentation* (January, 1642), E134(9), p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2. The satirist objected (p. 2) to coachmen and button makers defacing Bibles: "They thumbe over the leaves with their greasie fingers."

the old traditions and eagerly forging new ones. In the rural districts of England such agitation was unthinkable, but in the turbulent streets of London, where thousands of apprentices were thrown daily together, gaining a little literacy, absorbing the new pamphlet magic, turning eagerly to the Bible, seeing daily Puritans of substance who had risen from the ranks of apprentices, a revolution of ideas was gaining headway month by month. From the agitation against the bishops was to spring a new and dangerous secular agitation against the king, even kingship itself. Inevitably individualism in religious discussion paved the way to passion and turbulence in the field of civil affairs. In 1641 John Milton had no thought of an English republic, much less of regicide. But in a short eight years he and thousands of other Englishmen were to move rapidly from religious reform to secular reform to revolutionary action, to abolish with one blow both kingship and lords.

Meanwhile sober and moderate voices were not wanting to uphold the cause of Charles and the Anglican tradition. On New Year's Day, 1642, James Howell presented his poem, *The Vote*, to Charles, not forgetting Parliament, it is true, but picturing the monarch as the vessel of the true faith:

*May He go on to vindicate the right
Of holy things, and make the Temple bright,
To keep that Faith, that Sacred Truth entire
Which He receiv'd from Salomon his sire*⁶

In a January petition the Inns of Court reminded the Commons that the king was God's anointed, with respect due to his "Regall dignities and lawfull immunities." The petitioners urged the Commons to reduce the "exorbitances of the Separatists and disorderly persons." They trusted, moreover, that the Commons would maintain in their debates free speech on all issues "without interruption or feare of punishment."⁷ Calybut Downing, though declaring himself for reformation, struck a note of warning: "Reformers shall doe well to be tender of the honour of Offices." Moreover, "all sudden departures are dangerous and offensive, as prodigious."⁸ Though long dead, Robert Rollock, first principal of the University of Edinburgh, spoke in December for the king's cause in a tract entitled *Episcopal Government Instituted by Christ*, one of the most compelling expositions of the origin of hierarchy in the pamphlet literature of the period. Like Andrewes, Rollock showed the parallels be-

⁶ *The Vote* (January 1, 1642), E238(7), p. 11.

⁷ *The Humble Petition . . . by the Gentlemen of the Foure Innes of Court* (January, 1642), E181(35), p. 3.

⁸ *Considerations Toward a Peaceable Reformation* (December, 1641), E179(7), p. 7.

tween the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Old Testament and that adopted by the primitive church. Christ corresponded to Aaron, the twelve apostles to the twelve patriarchs, the seventy disciples to the seventy elders of the Jews. Like the priests and Levites of the Old Testament, Jesus entered into his ministry in his thirtieth year. As the Jews had one mother church, the temple at Jerusalem, so in primitive times there was one mother church in each diocese, with a bishop presiding over her.⁹

On January 24 Bishop Hall, whom Henry Parker lately called "one of the greatest asserters, and in that the noblest, of Episcopacy,"¹⁰ wrote from the Tower to ask, in effect, why he as a bishop had been persecuted. On November 15 he had been made bishop of Norwich. Had he silenced any preachers? Had he acted despotically? Had he showed great pomp? True, he had advocated Episcopacy as a divine institution according to his belief, as had other good men before him. "I cannot deprecate a truth," wrote Hall, "and such I know this to be."¹¹ He did not doubt that truth would shine forth "the more lustre with often rubbing." In presenting Hall's letter to the world, his friend H.S. pictured him as a genuine reformer who had often sided with the men now persecuting him. In the old days had Hall not protected the reformers against the informant Richard Kilver? Now, in the days of reformation, his reward was a prison cell. This picture of Hall, despite his collaboration with Laud in 1639-1640, was on the whole a just one. In still earlier years Laud had feared Hall as too strongly inclined to Calvinism. Believer as he was in Episcopacy, Hall was no absolutist. Like Rainolds, he would have broadened the Church of England to enfold elastically the vagaries of Puritan reforms.

7. THE EMERGENCE OF RICHARD OVERTON

January, 1642

In late January, 1642, appeared Richard Overton's first signed pamphlet, *Articles of High Treason Exhibited against Cheap-Side Crosse*.¹ Written partly in rhymed couplets, *Articles* presents a dialogue between Master Papist and Master Newes in which the story is told of the toppling of Cheapside Cross on January 24. Master Newes recounts the last moments of the Cross, in which she makes her last will and testament, bequeathing her body to be buried in St. Paul's, the metal in her body to be made into bullets for Irish Catholics, her gilt to be sold at the next

⁹ *Episcopal Government Instituted by Christ* (December, 1641), E238(6).

¹⁰ *The True Grounds* (November, 1641), p. 1.

¹¹ *A Letter Lately Sent* (January 24, 1642), E134(24), p. 7.

¹ E134(23).

Lambeth Fair. The pamphlet exhibits a strong democratic bias. Whereas Master Papist refers to the people as "*Rabble rout*," Master Newes exclaims,

Vox populi hath doom'd thee to thy end,
They'll let thee live no longer to amend.²

Overton's second signed pamphlet was *New Lambeth Fayre*, which appeared in March, 1642.³ Also in rhymed couplets, this is in part a reprint of *Lambeth Faire*, which had appeared in June, 1641.⁴ These two signed pamphlets by Overton, though they do not anticipate the remarkable intellectual qualities of the 1645-1646 pamphlets, exemplify Overton's sharp satirical wit, his preoccupation with courtroom symbols, his coarse, pungent diction, his outright championship of apprentices and common soldiers, his fierce and indiscriminating hatred of bishops.⁵

8 FERMENT OF DEMOCRATIC PASSIONS

Amid the tumultuous happenings of January, a significant undertone was the rise of confidence among the city's poorer workers, no doubt encouraged by the impressive demonstrations of the apprentices. On January 31 the Commons received *The Humble Petition of Many Thousand*

² *Articles* (1642), p. 2.

³ E138(26).

⁴ See above, p. 133.

⁵ Other pamphlets in which Overton's hand appears to be evident are *Farewell Myter*, by Richard Newrobe (January, 1642), E131(33); *Roger the Canterburian* (January, 1642), E132(24); *The Prentises Prophecie* (January, 1642), E132(4); *Newes from Hell, Rome, and the Innes of Court* (January, 1642), E133(13); *The Decoy Duck* (January, 1642), E132(35); *The Mutuall Joyes* (February 5, 1642), E135(24); and *The Remarkable Funeral of Cheapside-Crosse* (February 14, 1642), E132(38). Among these pamphlets *Farewell Myter* bears a resemblance to *Canterburies Dreame* (May 14, 1641), E158(3), which Peck (*New Memoirs*, 1740, p. 431, attributed to Milton. Still other pamphlets that reflect Overton's handiwork are *Mercuries Message* (May[?], 1641), McAlpin, II, 57; *Mercuries Message Defended* (June, 1641), E160(13); *Vox Borealis* (November, 1641), E177(5). *Vox Borealis* contains the most vivid and realistic account of the bishops' wars I have found in Thomason tracts.

The marks of Overton's early pamphleteering style are as follows: (1) rhymed couplets of no poetic value (2) extreme class bias: "robb the poor," "voice of the people," etc (3) effective satirical thrusts such as "leg religion," "gussets in his prayers" (4) coarse phrasing, such as "veneriall smock," "shite-a," "dock leaves steeped in pisse" (5) use of pseudonyms in the Martin tradition such as "Martin Harper Trump," "Margery Mar-Prelat," "Richard Newrobe," etc. (6) frequent reference to courts and lawyers, such as "proctors," "parators," "O-Yes," etc. (7) references to Scottish "blew caps" (8) ironical publication dates: "Printed in the year of Grace and Reformation," "Printed in the yeare, of our Prelates Feare," etc.

Poore People ("of the meanest ranke and quality"), asserting that "your Petioners [*sic*] are utterly impoverished, and our miseries are growne unsupportable . . . nor can [we] tell where to get bread to sustaine our selves and families." Their savings had vanished. Unless action was forthcoming, the petitioners would "not rest in quietnesse." Like the poor of Elizabeth's time, the signers naively blamed their economic ills on the bishops and Catholic lords. They made, however, a startling constitutional suggestion that could have come only from a theorist of unusual insight: that the Lords and Commons sit as one body. This procedure "will remove from us our distracted feares." That some leadership in agitation was at work behind the petition is evident from the postscript: "For the use of the Petitioners who are to meet this present day in More Fields, and from thence to go to the House of Parliament with it in their hands."¹ From the Commons Hollis carried the petition to the Lords, where he made no mention of the constitutional proposal, but conjured up famine and confusion in the land, saying, "It is the Common Proverbe, necessitie hath no law . . . It is not to be thought that Millions of men, women and children will starve and perish, so long as there is Corne in the Land of *Goshen*."² On the same day the House received *The Humble Petition of 15000. Poore Labouring Men, Known by the Name of Porters, and the Lowest Members of the Citie of London*. Trade, long languishing, was now dying. The petitioners had sold or pawned their goods to feed their families; with no money left to pay rent, they were in danger of being turned out upon the streets. The wives and children of the petitioners, three times their number, were likewise in desperate need. The laborers prayed that "the way and life of Trading may againe be set up and opened." As for political grievances they wished offenders punished at once; if justice were further postponed, the petitioners would be forced "to extremities, not fit to be named," having "nothing to lose but our lives." When the House acknowledged this petition with thanks and assured the laborers of satisfaction, the spokesman was still not content, urging the House to instant action: "The pressing necessities are such we lye under, as cannot admit of delays."³ No doubt the Commons welcomed such petitions (Captain Venn on December 2 had already been accused of inciting tumultuous protest) as a means of intimidating the Lords. But for the first time since Parliament had met on November 3, 1640, the least literate workers of London had grown vocal and emphatic enough to be received with respect by the Commons. Month by month reading and discussion of the Bible were enlarging the assurance of the humble. The petitions were another de-

¹ 669f4(54).

² *Mr. Hollis His Speech* (January 31, 1642), E200(25), p. [4].

³ 669f4(55).

cisive step in the series of democratic extremes inherent in Puritan agitation among the poorer citizens.

A few days later, on February 4, two petitions of women provided a democratic impetus to events hitherto unparalleled in the Long Parliament. True the first petition represented no startling departure: *The Humble Petition of Many Hundreds of Distressed Women, Trades-mens Wives, and Widdowes*.⁴ Unlike the laborers' petitions, the women complained mainly of the state of religion: the bishops, idolatry, vice and impurity, traditions observed instead of Scripture. The Catholic peers, continued the petitioners, should be prohibited in the House of Lords.⁵ The second women's petition, however, titled *The Petition of the Gentlewomen, and Tradesmens-Wives* (presented by Mrs. Anne Stagg, a brewer's wife) represents not only the grievances but a justification for the participation of women in civil affairs. Unless the conquest of Ireland was pressed, the petitioners were fearful that the calamities of Ireland might descend upon English women. They had already suffered grievously:

We thought it misery enough . . . but few yeares since for some of our Sex, by unjust divisions from their bosome comforts, to be rendred in a manner Widdowes, and the children Fatherlesse, Husbands were Imprisoned from the Society of their wives, even against the Lawes of GOD and Nature, and little Infants suffered in their Fathers banishments. thousands of our dearest friends have bin compelled to fly from Episcopall persecutions into desert places amongst wilde Beasts, there finding more favour then in their native soyle.⁶

If any thought it strange that women should petition the Commons, the women brought forth reminders of their dignity. Had Christ not died for them, too, as well as for men? Did the state of the church and country not depend on women's happiness as well as that of men? As for the prelatical persecutions, women had shared in the common trials, suffering imprisonment in Smithfield and Newgate; their consciences, too, had been smitten and oppressed. They presented their prayers to do their duty as citizens, not as "seeking to equall our selves with Men, either in Authority or wisdom." After the petition was read in the House, Pym himself was called upon to reply to the women, going to meet them at the door of the Commons, where he assured the petitioners that their prayers were gratefully received, having "come in a seasonable time." The Commons would give them satisfaction. "We intreat you," concluded Pym, in mild rebuke, "to repaire to your Houses, and turne your Petition which you have delivered here, into Prayers at home for us." ⁶

⁴ 669f4(57).

⁵ (February 4, 1642), E134(17), pp. 2-3.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 6.

CHAPTER XVI

MILTON AGAIN IN POLEMIC STRIFE

February–April, 1642

Now fully committed to warfare against the prelates, Milton found himself impelled to renew the strife again and again. Each new batch of pamphlets brought new provocations to enter the lists and a new need for his prophetic voice. "It were sad for me," he was to write, "if I should draw back." In February, therefore, Milton sent forth *The Reason of Church-Government*, a tract based upon the frequent Puritan assumption that a platform of church government could be traced from the Scriptures alone. As *Christian Doctrine* was again to demonstrate, he had superb confidence that his intelligence unaided could extract from the Bible the ultimate truth, both divine and human. Unlike Richard Hooker, who in *Ecclesiastical Polity* had brought to bear on church government the accumulated learning of the Renaissance, Milton thrust aside his immense secular erudition as irrelevant in his search for Scriptural revelation.

Milton's search for a true church pattern, however, gave way in *The Reason of Church-Government* to fresh assaults upon the bishops as the hinderers of reformation and a new fervor for the average humble Englishman as one competent to discuss and determine important issues of church discipline. In *An Apology against a Pamphlet* (April, 1642) Milton continued his strain of bishop-baiting in white heat, stung by a personal attack on his person infinitely milder than he had administered to Hall in *Animadversions*. Although marred by polemic extravagances, *Church-Government* and *An Apology* nevertheless provide two memorable self-portraits that trace Milton's vision of himself as a great national poet. These portraits, and the patriotic strain of high confidence anticipating *Areopagitica*, make *Church-Government* and *An Apology* an invaluable record in the growth of Milton's thought.

1 CERTAIN BRIEF TREATISES

In pursuing his aim, Milton as in his attack on Hall selected the most distinguished treatise for Episcopacy that his opponents had mustered in recent months. This was a tract entitled *Certain Briefe Treatises, Written by Diverse Learned Men, Concerning the Ancient and Mod-*

erne Government of the Church. There are nine short tracts in all, three of them (by Bucer, Rainolds, and Ussher) appearing under one title, *The Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans*. A glance at the table of contents shows that the compiler of the pamphlet had as his aim a pacific and moderate appeal to public opinion. Not only were the treatises selected those of low churchmen as opposed to high churchmen like Laud; among them were several men whom Milton had reason later to admire, and one of them, John Dury, he was to number like Hartlib among his personal friends. The other authors are Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, Martin Bucer, John Rainolds, James Ussher, Edward Brerewood, and Francis Mason. The individual tracts are titled as follows:

1. Richard Hooker, *The Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions Concerning Church-Government*
2. Lancelot Andrewes, *A Summarie View of the Government Both of the Old and New Testament*
The Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans [in which is included]
3. *The Judgement of M. Bucer*
4. *The Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes*
5. *The Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans, Set down by James Archbishop of Armagh*
6. Ussher, *A Geographick and Historicall Disquisition, Touching . . . Asia*
7. Edward Brerewood, *The Patriarchicall Government of the Ancient Church*
- Francis Mason, *The Validity of the Ordination of the Ministers of the Reformed Churches* [in which is included]
8. John Duree, *The Severall Formes of Government, Receiv'd in the Reformed Churches*
9. *The Addition of Francis Mason*

In a sense the most constructive and original tract of the group is the preface attributed to Hooker, titled *The Causes of the Continuance of these Contentions Concerning Church-Government*. Like Bacon, Hooker knew the futility of reducing church controversies by taking one side or the other. What he proposed was a means of resolving controversies. It was impossible, wrote Hooker, to deal with contentions by forbidding preaching, as the Russian emperor had done throughout his realm, allowing only the sermons of Greek and Latin fathers to be read in church: "So had a policy," wrote Hooker, "was no fit salve for so great a soare."¹ To Hooker there were only two ways of dealing with heresy, especially "when error hath once disquieted the minds of men and made them restless."² It was possible for the church to repress and punish men moderately and thus to some extent prevent the growth of schisms. Terrifying men without teaching them was of no avail. On the other hand,

¹ *Certain Briefe Treatises* (1641) (hereafter cited as *CBT*), p. 2.

² *CBT*, p. 2.

when one attempted instruction without force as a cure for heresy, it was found that men "shut their eares against the word of truth and sooth themselves in that wherewith custome or sinister persuasion hath inured them." At the very beginning of a heresy, wrote Hooker, the usual error on the part of the governors was to deal with heretics too severely, as had Alexander with Arius and Idacius with the followers of Priscillian: "For by overmuch vehemency against *Lactantius* and his mates, a sparke was made a flame: insomuch that thereby the seditious waxed rather more fierce then lesse troublesome." When great disturbance rises in the church, it is a futile blunder, thought Hooker, to punish the persons of men rather than to deal patiently with their ideas. Of this offense the English church, Hooker admitted, was by no means guiltless. At the same time, he deplored the vehemence of his Puritan opponents, saying, "Will you dipp your tongues in gall and your pennes in blood, when yee write and speak in his cause?"³ The way to peace was not by bitter declarations, however sound the doctrine. To Hooker another cause of the continuance was the emotional immaturity of men engaged in disputation, men loath to admit their errors before other men, or perhaps in the violence of the argument unable to bring forth their ripest judgments. Thus far, he concluded, "the wayes which we take to be most likely to make peace, doe but move strife."⁴ Such an examination of the roots of controversy and the means to their peaceful resolution, though consistent with Hooker's own outlook in the *Polity*, had not yet been paralleled in Puritan literature except in *A New Petition for the Papists* and its identical successor, *The Humble Petition of the Brownists*.

The second tract, *A Summarie View of the Government both of the Old and New Testament*, was written by Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), revered bishop of Winchester upon whose death Milton at eighteen had written his elegy, "In Obitum Praesulis Wintoniensis."⁵ Though Andrewes in *A Summarie View* attempted to clarify the patterns of primitive church government from the Scriptures and fathers, he succeeded (to the modern reader) only in showing why confusion among the ablest commentators was inevitable. According to Andrewes, who like all Anglican apologists was conscious of the scarcity of the word *bishop* in the New Testament, the apostles themselves were called priests, seniors, deacons, ministers, teachers, doctors, overseers, prophets, evangelists. Bishops, asserted Andrewes, were called variously apostles, evangelists, deacons, and priests. How was it possible to clarify Episco-

³ *CBT*, p. 5.

⁴ *CBT*, p. 6.

⁵ Masson, I (1875), 121.

pal hierarchy in primitive times with such various names for the original twelve? Andrewes traced, however, a hierarchy in both the Old and the New Testaments, Aaron corresponding to Christ, Eleazar to the archbishop of the early church, priests to presbyters, etc. A digest of available sources rather than a reasoned argument, *A Summarie View* is the weakest representative of Episcopacy among *Certain Briefe Treaties*.

The tract following Andrewes', however, that of Martin Bucer (1491-1551) on the origin of bishops, is a reasoned and orderly tract, pointed and persuasive. Bucer's background was to be very important to John Milton. Born of humble parents in Lower Alsace, placed in a monastery at fifteen against his will, Bucer was freed from his monastic vows at thirty, married a former nun, became an associate of Luther and Zwingli, gained renown throughout Europe as a leader of German Protestantism, upheld divorce (and the bigamy of Philip of Hesse), lectured at Cambridge at the invitation of Cranmer. Bucer tried in vain to reconcile the factions springing up after the revolt from Rome; on his deathbed he was prophetic in his fear that the English church (for lack of a settled discipline) would suffer the same quarrels and schisms that had marred the advent of Protestantism in the land of his birth.⁶ Unlike Luther, Bucer was moderate and conciliatory; his analysis of the origin of bishops reflects his temperate and balanced mode of argument. Like Ussher, Hall, and Rainolds, Bucer freely granted that bishops and presbyters were originally indistinguishable; each church was governed by the body of presbyters. But when heresies arose in the church, and each one might in effect organize a new sect, "then at length one of the Presbyters was set over the rest, and peculiarly called a Bishop."⁷ Within each Roman province was a metropolis, the bishop of which gradually assumed supervision of the churches in his province and was called a metropolitan.

Following the arguments of Bucer, Rainolds, and Ussher⁸ from Biblical sources, appeared two tracts by Ussher and Edward Brerewood⁹

⁶ CBT, p. 46. Three valuable studies of Bucer are Hastings Eells, *Martin Bucer and the Bigamy of Philip of Hesse* (New Haven, 1924); Eells, *Martin Bucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931); and Constantin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946). The Hopf volume contains important letters and documents hitherto inaccessible in print.

⁷ CBT, p. 46

⁸ The tracts of Rainolds and Ussher were an enlargement (with substantial repetition) of the tracts used in *The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes* (1641), which Milton had answered in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (above, pp. 115-17; below, pp. 618-52).

⁹ Brerewood (1565?-1613) was graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford, B.A., 1586, M. A., 1590. In 1596 he was made first professor of astronomy in

designed to show the correlation between the divisions of the Roman empire and the ranks and orders of church officials. The later the sources used by Episcopal scholars, the easier it was to show such correlation. In 311 A.D., on his deathbed, the emperor Galerius decreed toleration for the Christian church. By the time of the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. the church had achieved a centralized organization, naturally relying for its divisions upon the civil organization of the empire. By the end of the fourth century, under Theodosius the Great, Christianity had become the sole official religion. The empire, as Brerewood points out, was divided into thirteen dioceses, seven in the eastern empire and six in the west. In turn the dioceses were divided into about 120 provinces.¹⁰ Within each province was a number of cities. "Truly it is wonderfull," wrote Brerewood, "how neerely and exactly the Church in her Government did imitate this civill Ordination of the *Roman* Magistrates."¹¹ In each city or parish was a bishop (corresponding to the *Defensores civitatum*), in each province an archbishop or metropolitan (corresponding to a pronconsul), in each diocese a primate (corresponding to the Roman lieutenant), and over all the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. To such proof that a hierarchy of officials existed in early church organization Milton and the Puritans posed the assumption of a corrupted church departing from a still more ancient democracy of preaching ministers. They would seek the true church government not from custom and precedent but from the Scriptures only.

The progression of *Certain Briefe Treatises* is from Biblical times to contemporary. Andrewes dealt with church government in the Old and New Testaments; Bucer, Rainolds, and Ussher with earliest records of the Christian church; Brerewood with the formal organization of the church after its alliance with the Roman empire; last, Dury and Mason with the hierarchical practices of the continental Protestants. Dury presents impressive evidence of hierarchical organization in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, less significant facts about Holland, Switzerland, and France. In Sweden seven bishops and one archbishop, all of whom have votes in Parliament as well as jurisdiction over the lower

Gresham College, London. Two interesting tracts are *Enquiries Touching the Diversities of Languages and Religions* (1614) and *A Treatise of the Sabbath* (Oxford, 1630).

¹⁰ Ussher states (*CBT*, p. 83) that the boundaries of Roman provinces were determined not by considerations of nationality but by the necessities of court circuits. According to Brerewood (*CBT*, p. 101), the Roman citizen appealed from one tribunal to another. It is likely that ecclesiastical appeals followed a similar pattern.

¹¹ *CBT*, p. 101.

clergy; in the German states superintendents maintaining the prerogatives of bishops, serving life terms in office; in Holland, Switzerland, and France a Presbyterian system, with a president elected by each synod. If Holland, France, and Switzerland were a partial justification of democratic trends, the practices in Sweden, Denmark, and Germany made an impressive parallel with the English hierarchy, a parallel traced by the Scotchman John Dury, friend of Hartlib, and Comenius, already known by reputation if not by sight to John Milton.

Dury's argument is buttressed and extended by "The Addition of Francis Mason," a part of Mason's *Validity of the Ordination*. Instead of relying only on custom, however, Mason attempts to refute the fundamental assumption of Aerius that Scripture admits no distinction between bishop and presbyter, asserting that "the calling of *Bishops* is approved by the mouth of *Christ* himselfe, when he adorned the *seven Prelates* of the seven Churches, with the honourable title of *Starres* and *Angells*." ¹² This of course was the same shaky ground over which Puritan and Anglican had jostled a thousand times. Mason is on firmer ground when he shows that inevitably, while rejecting the authority of Catholic bishops, the Protestant churches of Europe have themselves set up a hierarchy, with a new name, such as *superintendent*, to signify the function and authority of the bishop. Since the days of the apostles, asserts Mason, only bishops have had the power of ordination; they could function without the presbyters, but the presbyters could not "regularly performe without them." ¹³ Were not Calvin and Beza also for hierarchy? When, therefore, Mason concluded, any person is named as superior to the presbyter, that person is in effect a bishop, and his function is a justification of the gradation of ranks as maintained in the Anglican tradition.

Mason's tone, like that of his fellow authors, is moderate and persuasive, rich in qualifications, appealing to the necessity for a human solution to the practical needs of the Protestant churches. "The Addition of Francis Mason" is a fitting conclusion to a series of appeals by Anglicans of the *via media*, a tract with no Laudian overtones or even the horrified accents of Joseph Hall. In essence *Certain Brieft Treatises* carries this message: "Like you, we are against the high-church innovations of William Laud and the abuses of the episcopal function. We ask you to join us in seeing the necessity for keeping the Episcopal office, which is in reality very ancient, even apostolic, in its origin. In a practical sense, moreover, some kind of hierarchy is inevitable, as shown not only by the practice of many centuries but by the practical adapta-

¹² CBT, p. 133.

¹³ CBT, p. 174.

tion of the hierarchy in the Protestant churches of Europe." Such a middle ground was sure to be derided by the fiery and impetuous John Milton, whose revolutionary zeal could be satisfied only with the toppling of all bishops, whether benign as Ussher or fiery as William Laud.

2 THE REASON OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT

January or February, 1642 \

In his preface to *The Reason of Church-Government*¹ Milton sets forth a purpose that he fails to fulfill: to trace from the Scriptures only the perfect pattern of church government, which to him is Presbyterian discipline by presbyters and deacons. Church government, indeed, he asserted, was too crucial in God's eyes to be left to man's wavering imagination, especially to the "brute inventions" of the prelates. The key to church government is to be found in the New Testament, the teachings of the gospels having abrogated the ceremonies and discipline set forth in the Old Testament. Yet one searches in vain for Milton's New Testament sources that trace the full range of Presbyterian hierarchy. His only source is I Peter 5, a chapter of vague generalizations, in which the most specific words on government are as follows: "The elders therefore among you I exhort, who am a fellow-elder . . . neither as lording it over the charge allotted to you, but making yourselves examples to the flock." This is the sole source that bears out Milton's purpose, in comparison to hundreds of citations of Biblical sources by Andrewes, Ussher, Rainolds, and Mason. Whereas the authors of *Certain Briefe Treatises*, unlike Milton, did not exclude human invention from church government, they argued a hundred times more closely from Scripture than did Milton. As a polemic tract, then, whatever the grandeur and insight of Milton's digressions, *Church-Government* is a weak presentation of Presbyterian claims compared with the patient array of argument for Episcopacy in *Certain Briefe Treatises*. Compared to the fourth book of the *Institutes*, in which Calvin reinforces his pattern of church government not only with Biblical sources but also from his immense learning in the church fathers, Milton's *Church-Government* is a weak, almost irrelevant document for his purpose. Nor can it for a moment compare even in Scriptural analysis to the reasoned pages of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

In place of Scriptural justification of church government (which indeed could not be conclusive for either Anglican or Presbyterian),

¹ *Church-Government* appeared probably in January or February, 1642. See below, pp. 737-38.

Milton sets forth a strong democratic bias against the hierarchical and lordly government upheld by the prelates. To the practices of prelacy he opposes, in effect, the dignity of men under the Gospel, "all sons in obedience, not in servility" ² Men are instructed in Christian citizenship not by ceremonies but by knowledge; not by lordly authority but by the example of humility, like that shown by the Roman patricians when they laid down dictatorships to become "fellow-elders among their brethren"; not by the bones of antiquity but by honest example before the flock; not by consecrating tables but by "lowliness to confound height"; ³ not by the elevation of custom and authority but by exhorting all men to search the Scriptures. As in previous pamphlets Milton lumps the bishops in one poisonous mass, acknowledging no distinction between such men as Laud and Ussher, Wren and Davenant, Montaigne and Hall. He derides them again for their opposition to reading the Bible and free inquiry into its meaning. Over the free spirit of man prelacy hangs like a cloud; no man who loves his country can work creatively in its shadow. Are not sects and schisms the birth pangs of reformation? As in nature, so in society and in man himself: no reformation can come "without the struggl of contrarieties" or the "fierce encounter of truth and falsehood," as in the soul of St. Paul Yet the prelates would solve all by a forced uniformity buttressed by ceremonies, "gaudy glisterings," "carnal supportment of tradition," "simoniacal Courts," "servile and blind superstition." ⁴ In every aspect of religious life the prelates contradict the teachings of the Gospel. The true bishop is the laborious teacher, the servant of his fellow men, persuader, friend, fellow seeker, with no pretensions of authority or pre-eminence.

Milton's democratic bias in *Church-Government* led him to a higher praise of the common man's faculties than he would express again except in *Areopagitica*. Under the Gospel, runs Milton's argument, man has acquired a new stature and therefore a new freedom. The relative democracy of Presbyterian church government Milton identifies with the new democracy of the Gospel. Whereas under the law men were children, under the Gospel they are God's adopted sons. In Milton's eyes prelacy denies the new freedom of man in forbidding him a place in church government, the functions of which "ought to be free and open to any Christian man though never so laick, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour commend him." ⁵ When the prelates forbid a man to lay his hat on the chancel table, they degrade the believer elevated

² Below, p. 848.

³ Below, p. 830.

⁴ Below, pp. 795, 796, 827, 828, 845.

⁵ Below, p. 844.

by the Gospel to new dignity and worth. However humble and weak, the Christian is "a perfect man, as to legal rites."⁶ Another aspect of Milton's elevation of man is his essential rejection of the professional minister as one worthier to teach than his lay brother. All Christian men are now "the rightfull Clergy of Church."⁷ All the Lord's people are not yet (as in *Areopagitica*) become prophets to Milton; but he strikes for the first time the strain of the average believer elevated by the Gospel and the pangs of Reformation to a bringer of light and a participant in church government.

In *Church-Government* Milton anticipates not only his tolerationist position in *Areopagitica* but also a more extreme heresy: the separation of church and state. In his stand for toleration of the sects Milton was already an Independent, on the side of Burton and Chidley and Brooke as opposed to Geree, Edwards, and Milton's old tutor, Thomas Young. Sectarian opinions, argues Milton, are a healthful incitement to reformation. Indeed it is not the rebellion of honest men but the lack of it that hinders true reform. What is truth without trial and challenge? What people are more pious and upright, better able to reject falsehood, than the English? Over such a free and fervent trade in ideas the state should wield no secular power. It is indeed a part of the Gospel freedom that the inner man has a freedom of inquiry which the magistrate should not be permitted to judge. Although the magistrate may restrain and punish the outward man for unlawful actions, he should not attempt to judge or censure the inner man's ideas. Conversely, the church should make no attempt to use the arm of the magistrate to enforce uniformity in religious practices. Avowedly a Presbyterian in church government, Milton is on uneasy ground here; he knows that the Presbyterians favor a state church, as in Scotland, where imprisonment was possible for religious deviations. When he pushes ahead, nevertheless, to inquire into the meaning of ecclesiastical censure, he is emphatic on the point that it should be persuasion of the congregation only, not an enforced uniformity by the magistrate. From this position Milton was to advance in the years to come to many pleas for separation of church and state, a cause that would claim the support of only one great Puritan leader, Sir Henry Vane.

Milton's arguments for free inquiry, the toleration of sects and schisms, ecclesiastical censure by persuasive means only, the capacity of the humble man under the Gospel, are conscious deviations from his stated aim of tracing church government from the Scriptures only. It is plain from the range of Milton's thought that he is writing in a

⁶ Below, p. 828.

⁷ Below, p. 838.

period of intense and violent intellectual growth, with a new sense of his own gifts and his own creative destiny. We know this partially from the revelations he makes about himself.

The main question Milton explores is stated early in his long autobiographical passage: In what way should he use "those summes of knowledge and illumination, which God hath sent him into the world to trade with"? Long ambitious to be a poet, given many years of leisure "out of the sweat of other men," convinced that his poetic style "by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live,"⁸ he had nursed daily his great ambition to become as great a poet for England as David for Israel, Homer for the Greeks, Virgil for Rome. For this purpose he required a lifetime of meditation, study, solitude. Yet his country needed him, even his left hand, to oppose tyranny within the church. In the field of civil affairs, too, he was one of God's chosen in the tradition of Jeremiah; for this work also he carried a burden of illumination, whatever the strife that other bold voices had already spoken. Milton felt that as a prophet he had been reluctant and silent too long; he did not want it to be said of him later: "Thou wert domb as a beast." Though he had a dread of entering the "troubl'd sea of noises and hoars disputes," grappling each day with "hors loads of fathers and citations," Milton could not draw back, however wrongly his motives might be described. "It were sad for me if I should draw back, for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help ease and enlighten the difficult labours of the Church."⁹ Thus does Milton analyze the great decision that precipitated his dedication to a pamphleteering career. To this time he had felt that his pamphlets were but a tributary to the main current of his energies; now he was prepared for a deeper commitment to the career of a prophet, whatever the cost to his central life plan.

In its revelation of the growth of Milton's ideas and elucidation of his life plan, *The Reason of Church-Government* is the most original and illuminating of the five antiprelatical tracts. In *Of Reformation* Milton had been concerned mainly with historical analysis of the role of the bishops; in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* with dissection of the church fathers; in *Animadversions* with satirical banter and abuse. Freeing himself largely from both Scriptural and historical sources (thus failing in his stated purpose), Milton in *The Reason of Church-Government* gives himself over to the free flow of the positive and constructive aspects of sectarian agitation, toleration, the function of the humble searcher, the spirit of religion as opposed to its formalities, the censure of speech as opposed to the censure of fine and imprisonment. As

⁸ Below, pp. 801, 804, 809.

⁹ Below, pp. 805, 821, 822.

in *Areopagitica* to come, Milton is filled with hope for the average Englishman: his intelligence, his piety, his capacity for intellectual growth. No other writers except Brooke and Henry Parker spoke with equal insight or eloquence about the dynamic flow of ideas in an age of reformation; but neither Brooke nor Parker was as expectant as Milton of insight and sober citizenship from the humble believer. Finally Milton releases his own meditations about himself: a man superbly confident of his poetic genius, conscious of himself as a part of two great traditions: Jeremiah and Tiresias; David and Homer. In this union of two traditions Milton was a unique Englishman: No other Puritan prophet had his vision of himself as a great national poet; and no Cavalier poet combined in his background Milton's vast humanistic learning and his zeal for root and branch reformation.

3 A MODEST CONFUTATION

In the early months of 1642, when *The Reason of Church-Government* was published, Hall was in prison, having been committed to the Tower December 30, 1641, with nine fellow bishops.¹ Here he remained until Whitsuntide, sometime in May. Meanwhile, however, he had sent forth a pamphlet that may have been partially composed in prison, *A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell, Entituled, Animadversions*. This pamphlet was the belated reply to *Animadversions* that Milton was to answer in *An Apology against a Pamphlet*. It is possible that Robert Hall, the bishop's eldest son, was part author of *A Modest Confutation*.²

In the polemic descent into indignities the Halls were no equal to Milton. Only in the preface, "To the Reader," does *A Modest Confutation* bristle with cheap personalities; these pages are to me the only ones in the pamphlet that may have been written wholly by Robert Hall. Whereas Milton was convinced that serious persuasive argument with the Halls was now a waste of time, Joseph Hall was in dead earnest in his opposition to Milton's ideas; he could not treat *Animadversions* with the contempt and abuse a John Taylor would have heaped upon it. Had he been as venomous as Milton, writes the Confuter, the two antagonists might have been "*like a Toad and a Spider, and each dyed of the others poyson.*"³ "To the Reader" alone was poisonous enough to rouse Milton again to furious attack.

¹ "Bishop Hall's Hard Measure," in *The Shaking of the Olive Tree. The Remaining Works* (1660), p. 54.

² Masson, II, 394.

³ *A Modest Confutation* (1642), sig. A4.

In *A Modest Confutation* Hall rightly accuses Milton of calling all bishops malign for the faults of a few. Again, as in former pamphlets, Hall denies that the office of Episcopacy should be held accountable for the abuses of men in office: "Hath Prelacy some ill quality in it, that makes good men bad? why are not all the Prelates alike vicious?" Are there no Christian actions or examples except in the Presbyterian tradition? Would Milton, asks Hall, assert that all ministers are evil because of individual misdemeanors? Evil is personal, not institutional: "It is the man then, the sinfull corrupt nature of man, that yeelds these bitter fruits" ⁴ Even as many Anglicans, among them Hall himself, failed to distinguish one kind of Puritan personality and viewpoint from another, Milton does fail, as Hall asserts, to differentiate one bishop's actions from those of all. There were, in fact, Puritan bishops like Potter and Davenant whom Milton never mentions. In their attitude toward free will the bishops were for the most part Arminian like the future Milton, in contradiction to more typical Puritans such as Prynne, Baillie, Henderson, and Edwards. In no one of his tracts does Milton qualify his statements to show points of agreement with even a few prelates of his day. In this he was a victim, like most of his fellow pamphleteers but unlike Walwyn and Saltmarsh in pamphlets to come, of the stern necessities of polemic struggle.

While thus pinning down a fallacy in Milton's logic, the Confuter falls into an assumption few Puritans were likely to grant: People of the working class cannot be permitted to participate in church government. "Who but you," declares the Confuter to Milton, "against the command of God himself, dare bring not the Congregation onely, but the very beasts of the people, within the borders of the Mount?" Milton is one with the "mutinous rabble," with the apprentices who live in ugly garrets, with the "furious, hot-brained Hereticks, Schismatics," the wild extempore men from Amsterdam, Geneva, and New England ⁵ In such declarations the Confuter ran against the full tide of democratic agitation inherent in Protestant dynamics. In the mind of each new Bible-reading sectarian the theory that all souls are equal before God, a theory inherent in Christianity but seldom applied in social practice, was likely at any time to crystallize in explosive meaning. Equality of souls among people illiterate and penniless, especially before the diffusion of printing, had little social effect; equality of souls among men with literacy, some travel, and some economic gains was a force of capricious and incalculable power, agitating thousands of London apprentices who gathered in throngs around the Parliament, a force soon to dominate all others around the campfires of Cromwell's army. In this

⁴ *A Modest Confutation*, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 23.

gathering of social forces that made dynamite of spiritual equality Milton was an unconscious leader. But the Halls still held to the simple feudal assumption of social and intellectual classes fixed by heredity. In a social sense this was the most striking difference between the typical Elizabethan like Sidney or Raleigh on the one hand and the Puritan on the other. Many Puritans were aware of the intense and violent fluctuations in human station and achievement through the power of religious fervor. A man of God could leap over the walls of social custom: In church government at least, stratification by social or economic class was an insult to God's grace and wisdom. For the moment (and perhaps for polemic effect) Milton leans to this extreme position, a position from which he was to retreat after *Areopagitica*.

4. AN APOLOGY AGAINST A PAMPHLET

April, 1642

An Apology against a Pamphlet, Milton's reply to *A Modest Confutation*, appeared probably in April, 1642.¹ Except for *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, it is the least creative of Milton's pamphlets against the prelates. Even *Animadversions*, in which Milton resorts to unstinted abuse and derision, contains more original and constructive ideas than *An Apology*, anticipating, like *The Reason of Church-Government*, some of the most creative passages in *Areopagitica*. Though less bound to his enemy's text than in *Animadversions*, Milton in *An Apology* is able only infrequently to free himself from polemic strain and release his intellectual energies into his own life plan or images of the new Jerusalem on English soil.

As in *The Reason of Church-Government*, Milton strikes a democratic note in response to the ridicule of the people in *A Modest Confutation*. The more violently the Anglicans attacked the capacity of the laymen for governing the church, the hotter became Milton's anger. Each side may have forced the other to a more extreme position on the common man's gifts than either would have assumed in nonpolemic exchange. After *Areopagitica*, Milton's confidence in the common man would suffer sharp diminution. In *An Apology*, however, as in *Church-Government*, Milton identifies his and the Smectymnuean cause with the intelligence of the average parishioner. Is there any plain artisan, Milton asks, who cannot read the Bible, tell the difference between right and wrong, or judge a minister by the life he leads? The humblest man is discerning enough to speak his voice in selecting a minister. "No my *matriculated confutant*," exclaims Milton, "there will not want in any

¹ For the dating of *An Apology*, see below, pp. 863-64.

congregation of this Island . . . divers plaine and solid men" ² competent to judge both ministers and sermons.

In a long digression Milton makes it evident that Parliament is carrying out the reforms that he, not the Halls, wish for the English people. Whereas the Halls protest their loyalty to the ancient government of king, Lords, and Commons (stressing again the divine right of kings), Milton makes reference to the Commons only as the restorer of charters and liberties, the enemy of the bishops, the breaker of prisons that held "the elect Martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer." The doors of the Commons have been open to all petitioners: women, servants, and the meanest artisans have gone to them with assurance, knowing that "neither their meanesse would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemn'd, nor yet their urgency distasted." ³ In his praise of the Commons Milton takes care to point out that they are men of "ancient and high Nobility, or at least of knowne and well reputed ancestry," who overcame the destructive influences of their youths, "correcting by the clearnesse of their owne judgement the errors of their mis-instruction." ⁴ Though his digression on Parliament is a testimony of his gratitude, it is evident that Milton thinks of himself as a participant and abettor of their reforms. They also, like John Milton, are defenders of the multitude, the common people, the really religious citizens.

Not in the social analysis, however, but in the personal and autobiographical passages the modern reader finds the most vital ideas of *An Apology*. In these passages, while betraying bitter anger at the traducer of his uprightness, Milton outlines for the serious appraiser of his ambitions some sober habits and creative aspirations. At Cambridge the fellows of Christ's College had respected and favored him "above any of my equals"; in winter and summer he rises with the dawn, reads good authors, exercises his body, his country's liberty requiring "firme hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations." ⁵ In school, asserts Milton, he had found it easy to imitate "the smooth Elegiack Poets" and "agreeable to natures part in me." Grave poets thought it their function to judge, praise, and love "those high perfections" dramatized in their poems. As these great poets aspired to virtue in personal life, so did Milton, believing that a man "to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition, and patterne of the best and honourablest things." ⁶ In the stories of

² Below, p. 935.

³ Below, pp. 925, 926.

⁴ Below, p. 923.

⁵ Below, pp. 884, 886.

⁶ Below, pp. 889, 890.

King Arthur, it struck him, continues Milton, that nothing was more precious than the honor and chastity of the maiden; whereupon he concluded that the chastity of the knight was a still more precious jewel of character, man being "the perfeter sex" and "both the image and glory of God."⁷ In this praise of chastity, already exemplified in *Comus*, Milton was undoubtedly honest and forthright—whether one regards Milton's chastity as the fortunate conservation of creative energy, an abnormal and unhealthy restraint of the sexual man, or the action of a rigid idealist. If he protests too much, it is not because he has visited bordellos to depart from his ideal. In maintaining his chastity, continues Milton, religion has been less influential than moral discipline imposed by philosophy and "a certain reserv'dnesse of naturall disposition."⁸ Of more vital importance is the revelation that Milton's ambition to be a poet rose in part from his exercises in imitation. This statement is further confirmation that Milton consciously prepared himself for greatness by the constant test of comparison with the great poets, finding it easy and delightful to equal or surpass them, aspiring also to set forth their visions of "high perfections," himself meanwhile a laudable example.

Milton was unique among his contemporaries in making a conscious choice of a career of political agitation just when he felt a great creative life ripening within him. None of his fellow pamphleteers, Prynne, Brooke, Burton, Parker, or Overton, felt Milton's conviction that an immortality of fame lay within his reach.

A year had now passed since Milton had made his great decision to inject his "left hand" into the hot stream of pamphlet agitation. In that year he had written five pamphlets which, except for infrequent memorable passages, we cannot stamp as fitting additions to world literature. These pamphlets show him irrevocably committed to the role of a reformer; they reveal both the ideological sources and the consequences of his zeal. It is apparent that Foxe, Holinshed, Stow, and Speed, all of them hostile to the bishops in varying degrees, had provided the background for his blazing attacks in *Of Reformation*. His long perusal of the church fathers at Horton had substantiated his prejudices against both the Roman and the Anglican hierarchy, to be unleashed in the accepted scholarly fashion in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* and with acid satire in *Animadversions. Church-Government* and *An Apology* show a strong democratic bias arising not so much from Milton's natural sympathies as from Biblical zeal and the Anglican jibes at Presbyterian church democracy, particularly those of Joseph Hall. These

⁷ Below, p. 892.

⁸ Below, p. 892.

pamphlets show, too, that Milton already rejected all distinctions based on blood or social position. Hence we cannot imagine Milton kissing the king's hand, as was the custom in the aristocratic circles of such rebels as Vane and Brooke. Already the king was to him a man to be called to account by Parliament and the laws of the land. Though two of Milton's heroes were Vane and Brooke, and though he was not unaware of the charm of aristocratic graces and customs, Milton's study of the Bible, his own unaristocratic origins, and his fanatical bias against the artificial distinctions of the Anglican hierarchy, opened his sympathies to the democratic aspects of Puritan agitation, soon to find confident expression in *Areopagitica*.

CONCLUSION

In less than eighteen months that had passed since November 3, 1640, a sharp rearrangement of forces and powers had taken place in English society. The theory of royal absolutism in secular affairs, successfully maintained by Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and James I, with passing deference to Parliamentary wishes, had now suffered irrevocable damage on the ship money issue in the Long Parliament.¹ No longer could Parliament be dissolved without its own consent.² The control of the militia, traditionally vested in the crown, passed in these months into the hands of Parliament.³ Abolition of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, courts that had served the crown effectively for three reigns, was now imminent and inevitable.⁴ Indeed it was in the field of ecclesiastical affairs that the realignment of powers was most decisive. Since Elizabeth's statute of 1559 the crown had assumed a control over church appointments, ceremonies, and courts that at times had been a mere arm of the monarch's policy, virtually independent of Parliamentary interference. But now Laud lay helpless in prison, a number of his fellow bishops impeached, all of them prohibited by law from taking their seats in the House of Lords.⁵ True, though Charles had yielded to these constitutional changes by assenting to a number of bills, his military resistance to them was still to come. But constitutionally the months of November, 1641–April, 1642, were decisive in English history. Never again would a monarch attempt to dominate the Church of England and make it a vehicle of royal persuasion. From

¹ Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 112.

⁵ Gardiner, *History of England*, X, 165.

the less of Strafford's trial, men knew that henceforth even a king's advisers would not serve him long without sanction of the Commons.

In the struggle between king and Parliament, whereas the bishops unanimously supported the king, a number of lords and lesser aristocracy, among them Brooke, Saye and Sele, Falkland, Warwick, Waller, Digby, and Vane, stood for a monarchy limited by laws and subordinate to Parliament. On most issues it was the cooperation of aristocrats and Puritans that made possible the shift of power from the king to Parliament. When the proposed changes affected the property of the citizens, such as the issue of ship money, there was almost unanimous agreement between the Puritans rising in the economic scale and the leaders of ancient families serving in Parliament in the tradition of their class. On the issue of Strafford there was similar agreement. Whereas by and large, however, the older families wished the redress of ecclesiastical grievances, the Puritans in the main wanted drastic action not only against the bishops but also against the traditional ceremonies copied or continued from the Roman church of the time of Henry VIII.

If the constitutional changes of 1641-42 could not have crystallized without the leadership of liberal aristocrats, it is certain that the Puritans provided the energy, the agitation, the fanatical convictions without which the country might have lapsed again into a period of absolutism such as Charles had successfully imposed from 1629 to 1640. Vocal as the Puritans were, they were a minority of the population, more than half of whom could not read or write. Probably no more than ten thousand extremists had fled to America during the Laudian persecutions, these out of a population of three or four millions. Among the nine thousand clergy the Puritans may have numbered no more than a thousand, as represented roughly by the Ministers Petition of January 23, 1641. In cultural and economic terms, however, the Puritans were becoming more powerful with each passing year of transition from country to city, isolation to association, illiteracy to Biblical zeal, poverty to substance. Many whose families had moved to London decades before had now become merchants and money lenders, prosperous enough, like Milton's own father, to send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge. Of such were the Puritans who rode to the Commons in fifty coaches to present their petition of December 11, 1641, reminding the Commons of their loan to the state of fifty thousand pounds for the suppression of the Irish rebels. If these men spoke for the exclusion of the bishops and the reform of the church, their main concern was the subordination of kingship to Parliament. Between these prosperous Puritans and the mobs of poor apprentices who agitated against the

bishops there were large gaps in social distinction, economic worth, and intellectual achievement. Yet the poor and the prosperous Puritans could unite against the bishops in the London Petition and the petition of December 11, 1641. Secular issues that were to divide them were yet to come. It is evident that some apprentice riots were synchronized with Parliamentary action against the bishops and the king's attempt on the Five Members. All Puritans could unite, moreover, on Scriptural justification as the sure road to truth, personal, social, theological. Whatever the creed, Biblical zeal directed the energies of the Puritans toward equality of souls before the Lord, prayer, labor, a resolute and purposeful existence.

Among the Puritans, though Milton possessed unique gifts, he too accepted the premises of Scriptural justification, prayer, hard labor, a purposeful daily life. Like most Puritans Milton believed that property rights should be protected by Parliament and not subject to the whims of the monarch. Though he was courageous, he did not possess the fanatical defiance of the pillory, the knife, and the whip shown in the lives of Lilburne, Prynne, and Burton. Though he was to risk the scaffold in 1660, he was not among those who defied the High Commission in the 1630's. In his command of historical sources and in his violent vituperative diction, Milton is most like Prynne, who was one of his pamphleteering teachers. Yet unlike Prynne, Milton accepted music and drama as would an Elizabethan gentleman. In his polemic against Arminianism Prynne was a typical Puritan. Yet Milton speaks few words against Arminianism in the antiprelatical tracts. On this issue he was to stand, not with the Puritan theologians, but with his most hated antagonists, the Laudian bishops. In Milton's sallies on the nature of truth (in which he is most like Lord Brooke) in *Animadversions* and *Church-Government*, we find the seeds of *Areopagitica*. These sallies show Milton's zeal for intellectual liberty, a belief that each person should have the right to search for truth unaided save by his Scripture and his reason. In this concept of intellectual method, applied to the humblest searcher, Milton resembled most closely Vane, Burton, and Chidley. A Puritan with such a belief (which rejected the authority of all superior minds for the authority of private judgment), could not remain long with the orderly and disciplined Presbyterians. Indeed the principle of individualistic search for truth was to lead Milton from one extreme position to another. In April, 1641, Milton the reformer was already in effect leaving the ranks of his friends the Smectymnuans for that zealous minority of Independents who, aided by Leveller fanaticism, were to bring Charles to the block in 1649.

THE PROLUSIONS

OR

ACADEMIC EXERCISES

TRANSLATIONS BY PHYLLIS B. TILLYARD. PREFACES AND
NOTES BY KATHRYN A. McEUEEN

The seven Latin essays, usually called the *Prolusions* or *Academic Exercises*, were first printed in the 1674 edition of Milton's familiar letters, *Joannis Miltonii Angli, Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus: Quibus Accesserunt, Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis, Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae*.¹ Included there by the printer to pad out an otherwise thin volume, the essays were written and delivered while Milton was a student at Christ's College, Cambridge. Whether they were widely read when first published or when occasionally included in subsequent editions of Milton's works is problematical. At any rate, the first significant recognition which they received was at the hands of Masson, who translated excerpts from them, provided a running comment on the sections omitted, and showed their importance for a knowledge of Milton's career in college.² It remained for the Tillyards to make

¹ "The Printer's Preface to the Reader" runs as follows:

I had some time since conceived the hope, gentle reader, that the letters of this Author, both public and private, might be entrusted to me to be printed in a single volume. But when I learnt that those who had the sole rights objected, for certain reasons, to the issue of the public letters, I decided to rest content with such part as was permitted and to publish the private letters alone. Finding however that they were somewhat too few to form a volume of reasonable size, I decided to treat with the author through a common friend and obtain his sanction to the publication in addition of any small work he might chance to have kept by him, to fill up the space and compensate for the paucity of the letters. This friend prevailed upon him to look through his papers, scattered among which he eventually chanced upon these youthful productions, and yielded to his friend's importunity regarding them. So, finding that they were approved by this common friend, in whose judgment I fully concurred, and that the Author himself was not dissatisfied with them, I had no hesitation in publishing them, youthful work though they are, in the hope that I should find them as saleable (which is my chief personal concern) as those who originally heard them delivered found them enjoyable.

² I, 239-40. Peck's comment on the *Prolusions* runs as follows.

As I was lately reading Mr Milton's *Latin Prose Exercises*, wrote when he was a very young man at *Cambridge*, I could not help taking particular notice of that *de Sphaerarum Conventu* [Toland's ed.], & I found in it something, to my apprehension at least, so exceedingly beautiful, that I was immediately tempted to make a translation of it; which (such

available a complete English translation of the *Exercises* and to provide editorial comments and notes.³ Subsequently, the Columbia edition of Milton's *Works* has included the Latin text and a complete translation of the *Exercises*, but without editorial comment.⁴

The consensus is that the *Prolusions* are of special value to students of Milton because of the autobiographical material interspersed throughout the serious or pseudo-serious discussions. The reader of the *Exercises* learns much about the academic procedures at Cambridge during Milton's residence there (1625-1632) and about Milton's reaction to the established curriculum and certain academic practices.⁵ All this is interesting for the light it sheds on one aspect of his life. They are invaluable, moreover, for the clues they provide for an understanding of the techniques which he was later to employ in his tracts, enabling us to see the future polemicist in the making. This holds true for the tracts written in both English and Latin.⁶ For that reason, an examination of the technical devices and the literary style of the *Exercises* is necessary for a true evaluation of much of Milton's later prose. The devices were the customary rhetorical ones derived from classical authors; the style also owed a great deal to the classics.

as it is) is here added, with the Original itself, to shew the youth of the university what good use Mr Milton made of some of those happy hours which he spent there. And I heartily wish it may excite many other ingenious spirits, at their leisure, to raise up the like agreeable monuments of their own wit & learning

This passage appears as an "Advertisement" on the page preceding Milton's Latin and the translation Francis Peck, *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr John Milton* (London, 1740).

³ *Milton Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises*, tr. Phyllis B. Tillyard, with an introduction and commentary by E. M. W. Tillyard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932) (hereafter referred to as Tillyard or Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*)

⁴ *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson and others (18 vols., New York: Columbia University Press), XII, 118-285. (Hereafter cited as Columbia). In his *John Milton Prose Selections* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1947), Merritt V. Hughes included translations, with notes, of Prolusions I and II and part of Prolusion VII. For his comments on these exercises, see his introduction, pp. xxviii-xxix. Cf. pp. xxi ff. for comment on Milton's attack on scholasticism. For the early Prolusion on the topic, "Mane citus lectum fuge" ("In the Morning Rise up Early" [Columbia, XII, 288-91]), see Appendix H, below, pp. 1034-39.

⁵ For the occasion of the disputations, the circumstances under which they were held, the importance attached to them, and a general picture of the Cambridge of Milton's day, see Masson, I, 241; Tillyard, p. xvii, James B. Mullinger, *Cambridge Characteristics in the Seventeenth Century* (London and Cambridge, 1867), chap. 2.

⁶ Cf. the statement, "It was at Cambridge that he became a controversialist." Hanford, *John Milton, Englishman*, p. 26.

What should be carefully kept in mind is that the *Academic Exercises* of Milton were truly "exercises" in the sense that they provided him with much of the training and equipment which he was to make use of in the future. Relatively insignificant as they are in themselves, they warrant reading and study, nevertheless, for an understanding of his tracts as a whole.

—KATHRYN A. McEUEEN

Brooklyn College

Joannis Miltonii Angli,

EPISTOLARUM FAMILIARIUM

LIBER UNUS:

QUIBUS

Accefferunt, Ejusdem, jam olim in Col-
legio Adolescentis,

PROLUSIONES

Quædam

ORATORIAE.

LONDINI,

Impensis *Brabazoni Aylmeri* sub Signo
Trium Columbarum Via vulgo
Cornhill dicta, *An.Dom. 1674.*

Some of the Author's Preliminary Academic Exercises

EXERCISE I: *Whether Day or Night*, etc.

This *Exercise*, either read or recited ¹ in college according to the regulations and, apparently, delivered in mid-winter,² deals with the question of whether day or night is the more excellent. Masson reconstructs the circumstances under which the speech was delivered and sees in one section of it a "castigation for somebody, if not for the whole College of Christ's."³ Tillyard comments especially upon the playfulness with which Milton handles the subject, his half-bored treatment of it, his padding it out with mythological material, and his slightly ironical turn of mind from time to time.⁴ Masson's and Tillyard's remarks lead to additional explanation.

First of all there is the subjective element, more in the Renaissance than in the medieval tradition. The importance attached to the individual, his ideas and his feelings was by Milton's time firmly established. The qualities mentioned by Tillyard are more or less common to all the *Prolusions*. Milton was (as shown especially in *Exercise III*) more than half-bored by the requirements exacted of him by the university; however (see *Exercises IV* and *V*), he met them punctiliously. That he treated the topics play-

¹ See Masson, I, 241. Cf. Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, p. 169.

² Some of the remarks in the course of the *Exercise* lead to this assumption. For comment on the relationship between this *Prolusion* and the minor poems, see Merritt Y. Hughes, ed., *Paradise Regained, the Minor Poems, and Samson Agonistes* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1937), pp. xxiv-xxv; E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Miltonic Setting* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 1-27; A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Notes on Milton's Early Development," *UTQ*, XIII (1943), 66-101.

³ Masson, I, 242-43.

⁴ Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. xxv.

fully, gave an occasional ironic twist to them, and called upon his knowledge of classical mythology was to be expected in view of the attitude that he held toward the academic requirements and of his training in the classics.

What needs special emphasis is the fact that, despite the personal digressions from time to time and despite his antipathy toward the assigned task, Milton adhered to a large extent to his scholastic training; that is, he took cognizance of the five parts of rhetoric which he had been taught certainly at St. Paul's and possibly also at Cambridge: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *pronuntiatio* or *actio*, and *memoria*⁵—especially the first three. *Inventio* (the art of finding arguments to support the position taken by the speaker) and *elocutio* (the art of phrasing thoughts and feelings correctly, appropriately, and pleasingly) will be commented on specifically later. For the time being it is enough to call attention to the admirable way in which, for the most part, Milton handled the *dispositio* (the art of so arranging arguments that they will arouse the interest of the hearer, provide him with information concerning the subject at hand, and persuade him to accept the probability, if not the truth, of the position taken by the speaker), because the *dispositio* is the most significant of the rhetorical devices which Milton used in the *Prolusions*. He consistently opened with an *exordium* designed to capture the interest of his hearers, whether or not it had anything to do with the subject under discussion (and sometimes it did not); he then proceeded to the *narratio* (a statement of facts so presented as to favor his side of the question), to the *confirmatio* (his proof on the affirmative side), to the *refutatio* (his rebuttal of possible arguments advanced against the position which he had taken), and to the *peroratio*,⁶ which should constitute a ringing *finale*, but which sometimes consisted of a weak apology for his wordiness.

In Prolusion I, as in the other six, Milton was writing the kind of school exercise which was known as a thesis; that is, it was a theme on a topic that had two sides, one of which was maintained in the course of the oration. In this instance Milton upheld the position that day is more excellent than night. This provides a good example of one type of exercise required in both grammar school and university, and so Milton was necessarily well trained in it. Since the thesis derived from the ancients, its pattern had been firmly established for centuries and examples of it had been provided in textbooks for imitation. It constituted, therefore, just one particular aspect of the classical rhetorical training that Milton

⁵ Clark, pp 10-12.

⁶ These oratorical principles and five divisions are set forth, for example, by Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, xxxi, 137-43, tr. Edward Sutton (2 vols., London. Loeb Classical Library, 1926), though they were more or less common to the classical rhetoricians.

received.⁷ Inherent in the classical training was a preoccupation with Greek and Roman mythology that was to become pervasive in Milton's poetry.⁸

I.

DELIVERED IN COLLEGE

Whether Day or Night is the More Excellent

IT IS a frequent maxim of the most eminent masters of rhetoric, as you know well, Members of the University, that in every style of oration, whether demonstrative, deliberative, or judicial, the speaker must begin by winning the good-will of his audience; without it he cannot make any impression upon them, nor succeed as he would wish in his cause. If this be so (and, to tell the truth, I know that the

⁷ For a full account of the Progymnasmata see Clark, pp 208, 230-49.

⁸ It is not usually possible to identify the specific editions of sources on which Milton was drawing for his mythological allusions in the *Prolusions*. Among the classical authors whom he probably studied at school (see Clark, *Milton at St Paul's*, pp 110 ff, 120 ff), Ovid, Apollodorus, Hesiod, Homer, and Virgil are the richest in the kind of material he was using. Subsequent citations indicate, therefore, the most likely sources. It has been said of a poet whom Milton admired and to whom he was indebted in many ways, "Like any educated Renaissance poet, Spenser decorates his poetry with classical similes, invocations, and graceful allusions to the antique mythology" Henry G. Lottspeich, *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p 13. This might have been written about Milton's poetry, and much attention has been paid by scholars to the classicism in both the English and Latin poems. Although the remark is also applicable, in many ways, to the *Prolusions*, less work has been done on them (Tillyard's commentary and Hughes's notes being exceptions); and yet the classicism in them constitutes an important aspect of Milton's intellectual life. Attention to it is therefore worthy of note, for the more we know about the use of the classics in the early works of Milton, the better we are prepared for reading the later works with understanding. Generally speaking, Milton did not retell myths in the *Prolusions*; more commonly he merely referred to them or to the characters involved, taking for granted that his audience would make the proper association. The casual allusions do not have the same connotative value for many readers of Milton today, because they do not have at their command the knowledge of classical mythology that his hearers had. The editor has, therefore, provided the explanation necessary for an understanding of the particular reference made. Milton's use of the classics in the *Prolusions* parallels in many ways that in the early poems. E. K. Rand remarked, after quoting some lines from one of the Latin elegies, "For the most part, Milton is a young Ovid at the time when he wrote the lines that I have quoted." "Milton in Rustication," *SP*, XIX (1922), No. 2, 111. Later he wrote, "The youthful

learned ¹ are all agreed in regarding it as an established axiom), how unfortunate I am and to what a pass am I brought this day! At the very outset of my oration I fear I shall have to say something contrary to all the rules of oratory, and be forced to depart from the first and chief duty of an orator. For how can I hope for your good-will, when in all this great assembly I encounter none but hostile glances, so that my task seems to be to placate the implacable? So provocative of animosity, even in the home of learning, is the rivalry of those who pursue different studies or whose opinions differ concerning the studies they pursue in common.² However, I care not if "Polyda-

Milton . . . consecrated his earliest verse to Ovid" *Ovid and His Influence* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), p. 165. Other studies like that of Davis P. Harding, *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1946), and of Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," pp. 108 ff., emphasize the influence of Ovid on Milton's early poetry, and rightly so. The influence on the *Prolusions* is equally marked and certainly worthy of note. Whereas Homer, Hesiod, Virgil, and Ovid have been listed in the order given as the four poets from whom Milton derived most help in his English poems (see Charles G. Osgood, *The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems* [New York, 1900], p. xlii), in the *Prolusions* Ovid takes precedence over the others and shares honors only with Hesiod and Apollodorus. The emphasis on Ovid in the curriculum at St. Paul's as a model for imitation in the writing of Latin verse accounts naturally for Milton's heavy reliance on him for form, phrasing, and content—the last-named being most important as far as the *Prolusions* are concerned. See Harding, pp. 29 ff. For texts of the *Metamorphoses*—upon which Milton drew very heavily—available when Milton was writing the *Prolusions*, see *ibid.*, pp. 17 ff. Milton tended to allude over and over again to the same classical myths, characters, and deities. Space prohibits the citation of many parallels or an analysis of the changes made in the several uses to which the same classical material is put. Only a few cross references, consequently, have been provided. They may be regarded as typical. Such works as Osgood, *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, Walter MacKellar, ed. and tr., *The Latin Poems of John Milton* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), and well-annotated editions of Milton's works such as Hughes, ed., *Paradise Regained*, Hughes, ed., *Paradise Lost* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1935), and A. W. Verity, ed., *Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), II, *passim*, will prove helpful to the student who wishes to pursue the subject further.

¹ See *Of Education* (1644, p. 6) for a more specific citation by Milton of "the most renowned masters." See also Clark, pp. 157, 231, 233; Masson, I, 226–31; *Brutus*, tr. G. L. Hendrickson (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1939), 37, 285; *De Oratore*, I, xxxi, 143, for discussions of Hermogenes, Phalereus, and Cicero's interpretation of the function of the introduction (exordium) of an oration.

² See *Exercise III* and notes on it in reference to Milton's tutorial difficulties and his outspoken criticism of the contemporary Cambridge educational system. For a further discussion of his rebellion against medievalism, see, e.g., Tillyard, pp. xix–xxii; Masson, I, 230–32, 231, n. 1; E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (London:

mas and the women of Troy prefer Labeo to me;—a trifle this.”³

Yet to prevent complete despair, I see here and there, if I do not mistake, some who without a word show clearly by their looks how well they wish me.⁴ The approval of these, few though they be, is more precious to me than that of the countless hosts of the ignorant, who lack all intelligence, reasoning power, and sound judgment, and who pride themselves on the ridiculous effervescing froth of their verbiage. Stripped of their covering of patches borrowed from new-fangled authors, they will prove to have no more in them than a serpent’s slough,⁵ and once they have come to the end of their stock of phrases and platitudes you will find them unable to utter so much as a syllable, as dumb as the frogs of Seriphus.⁶ How difficult even Heraclitus⁷ would find it, were he still alive, to keep a straight face at the sight of these speechifiers (if I may call them so without offence), first grandly spouting their lines in the tragic part of Euripides’ Orestes, or as the mad Hercules in his dying agony, and then, their slender stock of phrases exhausted and their glory all gone, drawing in their horns and crawling off like snails.

But to return to the point, from which I have wandered a little. If

Chatto & Windus, 1934), pp. 14 ff ; John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark (2 vols., Oxford, 1898), I, 63.

³ This seems to be Milton’s cryptic way of saying that, after all, he is not really concerned about *what* the attitude of his audience is toward him. He may have been speaking in arrogance or in sheer braggadocio. If he was given to this kind of arrogant utterance, his unpopularity at the university is by no means inexplicable; if he wanted to assume an air of nonchalance in the face of the already existing hostility, the quotation was very apt. It comes from Persius, *Satires*, I, 4–5. Attius Labeo, a poor poet of his time, is said to have translated Homer. Polydamas and the women supposedly represent the opinions of “the respectable Mrs. Grundys of the day.”

⁴ In the second of three published letters written to Alexander Gill, Jr., Milton gives clear indication of the way in which he missed the intellectual companionship and atmosphere which he had known at St. Paul’s and disliked that of Cambridge. See the letter written from Cambridge and dated July 2, 1628, when Milton had been at the university for more than three years, below, pp. 313–15.

⁵ In the *Deipnosophistae*, VIII, 362^b, Athenaeus quotes the proverbial expression, “You proclaim yourself more empty than the serpent’s slough.”

⁶ On Seriphus, a small island in the Aegean Sea where criminals from Rome were banished, the frogs were reputed never to croak, although when removed elsewhere they were even noisier than the other frogs.

⁷ Heraclitus, an eminent Greek philosopher of Ephesus (540–475 B.C.), came to be known as the “obscure” philosopher and as “the mourner,” because of his unsocial way of living and his habit of weeping over the follies, frailties, and vicissitudes of mankind. Hence Milton’s apt allusion.

there is anyone who has refused peace on any terms and declared war *à mort* against me, I will for once stoop to beg and entreat him to lay aside his animosity for a moment and show himself an unbiassed judge in this debate, and not to allow the speaker's fault (if such there be) to prejudice the best and most deserving of causes. If you consider that I have spoken with too much sharpness and bitterness, I confess that I have done so intentionally,⁸ for I wish the beginning of my speech to resemble the first gleam of dawn, which presages the fairest day when overcast.

The question whether Day or Night is preferable is no common theme of discussion, and it is now my duty, the task meted out to me this morning, to probe the subject thoroughly and radically, though it might seem better suited to a poetical exercise than to a contest of rhetoric.

Did I say that Night had declared war on Day? [69] What should this portend? What means this daring enterprise? Are the Titans waging anew their ancient war, and renewing the battle of Phlegra's plain? ⁹ Has Earth brought forth new offspring of portentous stature to flout the gods of heaven? ¹⁰ Or has Typhoeus ¹¹ forced his way from beneath the bulk of Etna piled upon him? Or last, has Briareus ¹² eluded Cerberus and escaped from his fetters of adamant?

⁸ See Woodhouse's illuminating discussion of the young Milton's relation to his academic audience "Notes on Milton's Early Development," *UTQ*, XIII (1943-44), pp. 68-69.

⁹ For an account of the Titans—their names, their war against Jupiter, and their imprisonment—see *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric*, tr. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1929), pp. 89, 95, 107, 111, 133, 137, 139, 141, 143. In view of the fact that in the *Prolusions* Milton quotes from Hesiod's *Theogony*, it is reasonable to assume that he was familiar with the work and drew upon it for at least some of the mythological material. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I, 198; III, 464; XI, 642, 688.

¹⁰ Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 147-69.

¹¹ Typhoeus was a famous son of Tartarus and Terra. Among his several characteristics was that of emitting devouring flames from his mouth and eyes. As one of the giants, he waged a vengeful war against heaven, so frightening the gods that they took on different shapes and fled. At length, however, Jupiter resumed courage, put Typhoeus to flight with his thunderbolts, and crushed him under Mount Aetna. Cf. n 18. See also Ovid, *Meta*, III, 303; V, 321 ff., 348, 353; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 298; IX, 716; and Homer, *Iliad*, II, 781 ff.

¹² Briareus, another famous giant and son of Coelus and Terra, had one hundred hands and fifty heads. He too assisted the giants in their war against the gods and was thrown under Mount Aetna. Milton's mythological association here may have been a comparison between Cerberus, the dog of Pluto and the watchful keeper

What can it possibly be that has now thrice roused the hopes of the gods of hell to rule the empire of the heavens? Does Night so scorn the thunderbolt of Jove? Cares she nothing for the matchless might of Pallas,¹³ which wrought such havoc in days of old among the earth-born brothers? Has she forgotten Bacchus' triumph¹⁴ over the shattered band of Giants, renowned through all the space of heaven? No, none of these. Full well she remembers, to her grief, how of those brothers most were slain by Jove, and the survivors driven in headlong flight even to the furthest corners of the underworld.¹⁵ Not for war, but for something far other, does she now anxiously prepare. Her thoughts now turn to complaints and accusations, and, woman-like, after a brave fight with tooth and nail, she proceeds to argument or rather abuse, to try, I suppose, whether her hands or her tongue are the better weapon. But I will soon show how unadvised, how arrogant, and how ill-founded is her claim to supremacy, compared with Day's. And indeed I see Day herself, awakened by the crowing of the cock, [70] hastening hither more swiftly than is her wont, to hear her own praise.

Now since it is generally agreed that to be of noble lineage and to trace one's descent back to kings or gods of old is an essential qualification for honours and dignity, it behoves us to enquire, first, which of the two is of nobler birth, secondly, which can trace back her descent the furthest, and thirdly, which is of the greater service to mankind?

I find it stated by the most ancient authorities on mythology that Demogorgon, the ancestor of all the gods (whom I suppose to be identical with the Chaos of the ancients), was the father of Earth,

of the lower regions, and Briareus, both of whom had fifty heads, and the fact that some of the vanquished were imprisoned in the infernal regions, the gates of which were supported by columns of adamant. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 150-52, 714-19. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 287; Homer, *Iliad*, I, 401 ff.

¹³ Pallas Athene, or Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, war, and all the liberal arts, had great power in heaven. She was the only one among the divinities to have authority equal to that of Jupiter. See Ovid, *Meta.*, IV, 38, 800; V, 297; VI, 6, 23.

¹⁴ Called Father Liber (free) in Milton's Latin, Bacchus gained this name, according to one story, by delivering some cities of Boeotia from slavery. He assisted the gods in the war waged by the giants. See Ovid, *Meta.*, III, 520, 528, IV, 17; VI, 125; *Fasti*, II, 713 ff. Cf. Horace, *Satires*, I, iv, 89, and *Epistles*, I, xix, 4.

¹⁵ This continues the reference to the war of the giants against the gods and finishes the story. See, e.g., Typhoeus above.

among his many children.¹⁶ Night was the child of Earth, by an unknown father (though Hesiod gives a slightly different pedigree and calls Night the child of Chaos, in the line "From Chaos sprang Erebus and black Night" ¹⁷). Whatever her parentage, when she had reached marriageable age, the shepherd Phanes asked her to wife. Her mother consented, but she herself opposed the match, refusing to contract an alliance with a man she did not know and had never seen, and one moreover whose style of life was so different from her own. Annoyed at the rebuff, and with his love turned to hatred, Phanes in his indignation pursued this dusky daughter of Earth through all the length and breadth of the world to slay her. She now feared his enmity as much as she had previously scorned his love. Therefore she did not feel secure enough even among the most distant peoples or in the most remote places, [71] nor even in the very bosom of her mother, but fled for refuge, secretly and by stealth, to the incestuous embrace of her brother Erebus. Thus she found at once a release from her pressing fears and a husband who was certainly very like herself. From this pretty pair Aether and Day are said to have sprung, according to Hesiod, whom I have already quoted:

From Night again sprang Aether and the Day
Whom she conceived and bore by Erebus' embrace.¹⁸

But the more cultured Muses and Philosophy herself, the neighbour of the gods, forbid us to place entire confidence in the poets who have given the gods their forms, especially the Greek poets; and no one should regard it as a reproach to them that in a question of such importance they hardly seem sufficiently reliable authorities. For if any of them has departed from the truth to some slight extent, the blame should not be laid upon their genius, which is most divine, but

¹⁶ Demogorgon was thought to be god of nether darkness; Chaos was thought by some to be one of the oldest gods and so was invoked as one of the infernal deities. On Chaos and Demogorgon, see Osgood, *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, pp. 21, 27. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, II, 960-65.

¹⁷ Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 123.

¹⁸ *Theogony*, ll. 124-25. All this is in good mythological tradition. Terra, the most ancient of the gods after Chaos, and the wife of Uranus (Coelus), is said to have been the mother of Oceanus, the Titans, giants, etc., and by Aether (the air) to have borne Grief, Mourning, etc. The story of Night and Erebus was common in mythology, most accounts making Night the daughter of Chaos, and Erebus the son of Chaos and Darkness, and making the two of them the parents of Light and Day as a result of the incestuous union. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, II, 882, *Comus*, l. 804.

upon the perverse and blind ignorance of the age, which at that time was all-pervading. They have attained an ample meed of honour and of glory by gathering together in one place and forming into organised communities men who previously roamed like beasts at random through the forests and mountains, and by being the first to teach, by their divine inspiration, all the sciences which are known to-day, arraying them in the charming cloak of fable; and their best title to everlasting fame [72] (and that no mean one) is that they have left to their successors the full development of that knowledge of the Arts which they so happily began.

Do not then, whoever you are, hastily accuse me of arrogance, in shattering or altering the statements of all the ancient poets, without any authority to support me. For I am not taking upon myself to do that, but am only attempting to bring them to the test of reason, and thereby to examine whether they can bear the scrutiny of strict truth.

First, then, the story that makes Night the child of Earth is a learned and elegant allegory of antiquity; for what is it that makes night envelop the world but the dense and solid earth, coming between the sun's light and our horizon?

Then, as to the statements of the mythologists, calling Night sometimes fatherless, sometimes motherless, these too are pleasing fictions, if we understand them to signify that she was a bastard or a changeling, or else that her parents refused for very shame to acknowledge so infamous and ignoble a child. But why they should believe that Phanes, endowed as he was with a wondrous and superhuman beauty, was so much in love with Night, a mere mulatto or silhouette, as even to wish to marry her, seems a problem hopelessly difficult to solve, unless the phenomenal scarcity of females at that time left him no choice.

But now let us come to close quarters with our subject. The ancients interpret Phanes as the sun or the day, [73] and in relating that he at first sought Night in marriage and then pursued her to avenge his rejection, they mean only to signify the alternation of day and night. But why should they have thought it necessary, in order to show this, to represent Phanes as a suitor for the hand of Night, when their perpetual alternation and mutual repulsion, as it were, could be indicated far better by the figure of an innate and unremitting hatred? for it is well known that light and darkness have been divided from one another by an implacable hatred from the very be-

ginning of time. It is in fact my opinion that Night got her Greek name of *εὐφρόνη* * for the very reason that she showed caution and good sense in refusing to bind herself in wedlock to Phanes; for if she had once submitted to his embrace she would doubtless have been destroyed by his beams and by his unendurable radiance, and either annihilated altogether or utterly consumed by fire; like Semele, who, legend says, perished by fire,¹⁹ against the will of her lover Jove. For this reason, with a proper regard for her security, she preferred Erebus to Phanes. With reference to this, Martial aptly and wittily says, "Worst of husbands, worst of wives, I wonder not that you agree so well."²⁰

It is, I think, proper to mention with what a handsome family, how like their mother,²¹ she presented her husband—namely Misery, Envy, Fear, Deceit, Fraud, Obstinacy, Poverty, Want, Hunger, Fretfulness, Sickness, Old Age, Pallor, Darkness, Sleep, Death and Charon, her last child; so that the proverb *from a bad crow a bad egg* † is exactly applicable to this case.

There are, however, some who maintain that Night also bore Aether and Day to her husband Erebus.²² But who in his senses would not howl down and turn out the advocate of such a theory, as he would anyone who seriously propounded Democritus' notions²³ or

* *Εὐφρόνη* (euphrone) really means "kindly time," but Milton here takes it to mean "sensible."—P.B.T.

† Milton here quotes the Greek proverb, *κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ὄν*—P.B.T.

¹⁹ For the destruction of Semele by the jealous Juno, see *Iliad*, XIV, 323 ff.; Virgil, *Catalepton*, IX, 33; Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, 317–19; Ovid, *Meta*, III, 261 ff., and *Fasts*, III, 715; VI, 485.

²⁰ As Tillyard has pointed out, Milton altered the quotation from Martial to suit his convenience. The whole epigram should read (*Epigrams*, VIII, 35, in Tillyard, p. 136):

Cum sitis similes paresque vita,
uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,
miror non bene convenire vobis.

²¹ Night is represented in mythology as being the mother by Erebus not only of the Parcae (the powerful goddesses of Fate—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos—who preside over the birth and life of mankind) but also, among other unpleasant things, of discord, death, complaint, and fraud. For an enumeration of the progeny of Night and Erebus, see Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III, xvii, tr. H. Rackham (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1933), p. 329.

²² See above, p. 223, n. 18.

²³ Democritus (b. ca. 460 B.C.), rated by some as one of the greatest of Greek physical philosophers, was at one time accused of insanity; but Hippocrates, ordered to investigate the nature of the mental disorder, decided, after a conference with the philosopher, that the enemies of Democritus, not he himself, were

the fairytales of childhood? Is it indeed probable on the face of it that black and gloomy Night should be the mother of a child so comely, so sweet, so universally beloved and desired? Such a child, as soon as conceived, would have caused her mother's death by her birth before due time, would have driven her father Erebus into headlong flight, and forced old Charon to hide his dazzled eyes beneath the waters of the Styx and flee to seek what refuge he might in the realms below, as fast as his oars and sails could carry him. No, so far from being born in Hades,²⁴ Day has never even shown her face there, nor can she find entrance even through a chink or cranny, except in defiance of Fate's decree. Nay, I dare rather declare that Day is older than Night, and that when the world had but newly emerged from Chaos, Day shed her wide-spreading rays over it, before ever the turn of Night had come—unless indeed we are so perverse as to call by the name of Night that foul and murky darkness, or regard it as identical with Demogorgon.²⁵

Therefore I hold that Day is the eldest daughter of Heaven,²⁶ or rather of his son, [75] begotten by him, it is said, to be the comfort of the race of men and the terror of the infernal gods, for fear lest Night

insane He was the author of the doctrine of atoms, which he believed to be indestructible, and was the first to teach that the Milky Way was caused by the light from a multitude of stars. In a way, he may be regarded as the parent of experimental philosophy. See B. A. G. Fuller, *A History of Philosophy* (2 vols., New York: Holt, 1946), I, 85 ff.; J. B. Burgess, *Introduction to the History of Philosophy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), pp. 56 ff.; John Burnet, *Greek Philosophy* (London: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 193–201; and Kathleen Freeman, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), pp. 289–326. The standard classical source is Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, tr. R. D. Hicks (2 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925), IX, 34 ff.

²⁴ The infernal regions. In the Latin Milton uses the Roman term *Orcus*. This word was used to designate both Hades and the god of Hades; other names for the god were Pluto and Dis. See Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 398, IV, 242, 699, VI, 273; VIII, 296, IX, 527, 785.

²⁵ See above, n. 16. Demogorgon and Chaos were sometimes used interchangeably. Chaos is usually represented mythologically as a huge, shapeless mass of matter existing before the formation of the world. From it the hand and power of a superior being framed the universe—the earth, the sea, and heaven. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 117–18, 699–710.

²⁶ Uranus, sometimes spoken of as Coelus, is also called the most ancient of the gods. He married Tithea or Terra, who bore to him Oceanus, Hyperion, Briareus, and the other Titans.

should rule unopposed, lest Ghosts ²⁷ and Furies ²⁸ and all that loathsome brood of monsters,²⁹ unchecked by any barrier between Earth and Hades, should leave the pit of Hell ³⁰ and make their way even to the upper world, and lest wretched Man, enveloped and surrounded by murky darkness, should suffer even in this life the tortures of the damned.

So far, Members of the University, I have endeavoured to drag from their deep and dark hiding-places the obscure children of Night; you will immediately perceive how worthy they are of their parentage—especially if I should first devote the best of my small powers to the praise of Day, though Day herself must far transcend the eloquence of all who sing her praise.

In the first place, there is assuredly no need to describe to you how welcome and how desirable Day is to every living thing. Even the birds cannot hide their delight, but leave their nests at peep of dawn and noise it abroad from the tree-tops in sweetest song, or darting upwards as near as they may to the sun, take their flight to welcome the returning day. First of all these the wakeful cock acclaims the sun's coming, and like a herald bids mankind shake off the bonds

²⁷ Ghosts, or shades (Manes), was a name generally applied by the ancients to souls when separated from their bodies. By some they were counted among the infernal deities and were supposed to preside over the burial places of the dead, being, therefore, invoked by the augurs and solemnly worshiped. By others they were thought to fill the air, particularly during the night, for the purpose of disturbing the peace of mankind. The latter association seems to be the one made here by Milton. See, e.g., Horace, *Satires*, I, viii, 29, and *Epistles*, II, i, 138, Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 63, VI, 896.

²⁸ The Furies (also known as the Eumenides and Erinyes) were the three daughters of Nox (Night) and Acheron, of Pluto and Proserpine, or of Chaos and Terra, or they sprang from the drops of blood shed by Coelus when wounded by Saturn. Whatever their origin, they were supposed to be the ministers of vengeance of the gods, punishing the guilty on earth as well as in the infernal regions. They held a burning torch in one hand and a whip of scorpions in the other and were generally represented with frightful mien, having serpents instead of hair on their heads. See Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 236; See also *Meta*, I, 241, 725; IV, 452, 470 ff.; VIII, 481; IX, 410, X, 314, 349.

²⁹ The monsters in mythology were beings with unnatural proportions and immense strength and ferocity. Some monsters possessed a combination of human faculties and the terrible qualities of wild beasts. The idea of monsters was more Grecian than Roman.

³⁰ See Ovid, *Meta*, IV, 433–51, for images of Hell.

of sleep, and rise and run with joy to greet the new-born day. The kids skip in the meadows, and beasts of every kind leap and gambol in delight. The sad heliotrope, [76] who all night long has gazed toward the east, awaiting her beloved Sun, now smiles and beams at her lover's approach.³¹ The marigold too and rose, to add their share to the joy of all, open their petals and shed abroad their perfume, which they have kept for the Sun alone, and would not give to Night, shutting themselves up within their little leaves at fall of evening. And all the other flowers raise their heads, drooping and weighed down with dew, and offer themselves to the Sun, mutely begging him to kiss away the tear-drops which his absence brought. The Earth too decks herself in lovelier robes to honour the Sun's coming, and the clouds, arrayed in garb of every hue, attend the rising god in festive train and long procession. And last, that nothing may be lacking to proclaim his praise, the Persians and the Libyans give him divine honours; the Rhodians too have dedicated to his glory that far-famed Colossus of astounding size, created by the miraculous art of Chares of Lindus; to the Sun too, we are told, the American Indians even to this day make sacrifice with incense and with every kind of ritual. You yourselves, Members of the University, must bear witness how delightful, how welcome, how long-awaited is the light of morning, since it recalls you to the cultured Muses from whom cruel Night parted you still unsatisfied and athirst. Saturn, hurled down to Hades from highest heaven, bears witness how gladly he would return to the light of day from that dread gloom,³² would Jove [77] but grant the

³¹ This is an interesting allusion to a famous mythological tale. Clytie, a daughter of Oceanus, was in love with and was loved by Phoebus Apollo. When he deserted her, she pined away, content merely to gaze on the Sun from the time he rose until he set, keeping her face constantly turned toward him. At last she was changed into the flower which we today call the sunflower because it keeps its face turned toward the sun in its course, as if in pledge to her love. It has, therefore, come to be a symbol of constancy. See Ovid, *Meta*, IV, 234 ff. This reference, as well as the passage following, is to Apollo as god of the sun. As such, and as the god of archery, prophecy, and music, he was worshiped widely, having statues and temples in practically every country. See Ovid, *Meta*, II, 1 ff.; III, 8, 130. The Colossus of Rhodes, which Milton particularly mentions, has been regarded as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. See Lemprière, *Classical Dictionary of Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors*, ed. F. A. Wright (rev. ed., New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949), p. 161.

³² Of the many interpretations given in mythology to the character of Saturn, the reference here is to him as the artful revenger upon his father Uranus for his cruelty to his children. Saturn, in turn, however, devoured his own sons as soon

boon. Lastly, it is manifest that Pluto himself far preferred light to his own kingdom of darkness, since he so often strove to gain the realm of heaven. Thus Orpheus says with truth and with poetic skill in his hymn to Dawn—"Then of a truth do mortal men rejoice, nor is there one who flees thy face which shines above, when thou dost shake sweet sleep from their eyes. Every man is glad, and every creeping thing, all the tribes of beast and bird, and all the many creatures of the deep."³³

Nor is this to be wondered at, when we reflect that Day serves for use as well as pleasure, and is alone fitted to further the business of life; for who would have the hardihood to sail the wide and boundless seas, without a hope that Day would dawn? He would cross the ocean even as the ghosts cross Lethe and Acheron,³⁴ beset on every hand by fearsome darkness. Every man would then pass his life in his own mean hovel, hardly daring even to creep outside, so that the dissolution of human society must needs follow. To no purpose would Apelles have pictured Venus rising from the waves,³⁵ in vain would Zeuxis³⁶ have painted Helen, if dark, dense night hid from our eyes [78] these wondrous sights. In vain too would the earth bring forth in abundance vines twining in many a winding trail, in vain nobly towering trees; in vain would she deck herself anew with buds and blossoms, as with stars, striving to imitate the heaven above. Then indeed that noblest of the senses, sight, would lose its use to every creature; yes, and the

as they were born (because of an agreement he had made with his brother Titans not to rear any male children in return for being given his father's kingdom), until his wife Rhea managed to deceive him about the birth of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. When Jupiter, secretly educated in Crete, had grown up, he and his brothers and sisters took revenge upon Saturn and the Titans, vanquishing them and inflicting various punishments upon them, among them imprisonment in Tartarus, which Saturn suffered. See Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 113, and *Fasti*, III, 796; V, 19, 34; Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 453-506.

³³ Tillyard identifies this passage as the Orphic *Hymn to Dawn*, xxviii, 7-11. *Private Correspondence*, p. 136.

³⁴ These were rivers in Hades. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, II, 578, 583.

³⁵ Apelles was a celebrated painter of the time of Alexander the Great. His masterpiece was "Venus Anadyomene" (Venus rising from the sea), one of three of his pictures (the other two were a sleeping Venus and a picture of Alexander) to which he signed his name.

³⁶ Zeuxis was such a famous painter that he surpassed not only his contemporaries but also his master Apollodorus. Among his most celebrated works is his painting of Helen, the conception of whose perfection he drew from the combined physical beauties of five models provided by the people of Crotona who requested him to execute the painting.

light of the world's eye being quenched, all things would fade and perish utterly; nor would the men who dwelt upon the darkened earth long survive this tragedy, since nothing would be left to support their life, nor any means of staying the lapse of all things into the primeval Chaos.

One might continue in this strain with unabating flow, but Day herself in modesty would not permit the full recital, but would hasten her downward course toward the sunset to check her advocate's extravagances. My day is now indeed already drawing to its close, and will soon give place to night, to prevent your saying in jest that this is the longest day though the season is midwinter. This alone I ask, that by your leave I may add a few words which I cannot well omit.

With good reason, then, have the poets declared that Night springs from Hell, since by no means whatever could so many grievous ills descend upon mankind from any other quarter. For when night falls all things grow foul and vile, no difference can then be seen between a Helen and a Canidia,³⁷ a precious jewel and a common stone (but that some gems have power to outshine the darkness). Then too the loveliest spots strike horror to the heart, a horror gathering force from a silence deep and sad. All creatures lingering in the fields, be they man or beast, hasten to house or lair for refuge; then, hiding their heads beneath their coverings, they shut their eyes against the dread aspect of Night. [79] None may be seen abroad save thieves and rogues who fear the light, who, breathing murder and rapine, lie in wait to rob honest folk of their goods, and wander forth by night alone, lest day betray them. For Day lays bare all crimes, nor ever suffers wrongdoing to pollute her light. None will you meet save ghosts and spectres, and fearsome goblins who follow in Night's train from the realms below; it is their boast that all night long they rule the earth and share it with mankind. To this end, I think, night sharpens our hearing, that our ears may catch the sooner and our hearts perceive with greater dread the groans of spectres, the screeching of owls and night-birds, and the roaring of lions that prowl in search of prey. Hence clearly is revealed that man's deceit who says that night brings respite from their fears to men and lulls every care to rest. How false and vain is this opinion they know well from their own bitter experience

³⁷ Helen represents the epitome of feminine beauty, and Canidia is a symbol of ugliness or venomousness in women. See, e.g., Horace, *Epodes*, III, 8; V, 15; XVII, 6.

who have ever felt the pangs of guilty consciences; they are beset by Sphinxes and Harpies, [80] Gorgons and Chimaeras,³⁸ who hunt their victims down with flaming torches in their hands; those poor wretches too know it full well who have no friend to help or succour them, none to assuage their grief with words of comfort, but must pour out their useless complaints to senseless stones, longing and praying for the dawn of day. For this reason did that choicest poet Ovid rightly call Night the mighty foster-mother of cares.³⁹

Some indeed say that it is above all by night that our bodies, broken and worn out by the labours of the day, are revived and restored. But this is the merciful ordinance of God, for which we owe no gratitude to Night. But even were it so, sleep is not a thing so precious that Night deserves honour for the bestowal of it. For when we betake ourselves to sleep, we do in truth but confess ourselves poor and feeble creatures, whose puny frames cannot endure even a little while without repose. And, to be sure, what is sleep but the image and semblance of death? Hence in Homer Sleep and Death are twins, conceived together and born at a single birth.⁴⁰

³⁸ Sphinxes, harpies, gorgons, and chimerae represent cumulatively the oppressive effect of monstrous horror. Specifically, the sphinx was a monster with the head and breasts of a woman, the body of a dog, the tail of a serpent, the wings of a bird, the paws of a lion, and a human voice. The harpies (three daughters of Neptune and Terra) were winged monsters which had the face of a man, the body of a vulture, and feet and fingers with sharp claws. Emitting an infectious odor, they polluted whatever they touched by their filth and excrement. See Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 131 ff., Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 225. The gorgons (three daughters of Phorcys and Ceto, brother and sister) had hair entwined with serpents, hands of brass, gold-colored wings, bodies covered with impenetrable scales, and teeth as long as the tusks of a wild boar. They possessed the power of changing into stone anyone upon whom they fixed their eyes. Medusa was the most notorious of this trio because of her vying with Minerva and being involved in the Perseus story, neither of which tales is pertinent here. See Ovid, *Meta*, IV, 615 ff. The chimera was a monster possessing three heads (one each of a lion, a goat, and a dragon), vomiting flames continually, and having a composite body: the fore part like that of a lion, the middle part like that of a goat, and the hinder part like that of a dragon. See Ovid, *Meta*, VI, 339, IX, 647. The sphinx sprang from a union between the chimera and Orthos, a two-headed dog belonging to Geryon, another famous monster. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 319-25. Cf. "Gorgons and Hydra's, and Chimera's dire," *Paradise Lost*, II, 628.

³⁹ Ovid says: "But, I suppose, when rest and sleep, the common healer of cares, attend me, night comes free from the usual woes." Cf. "Sleep, the common rest from cares, possessed me" *Ex Ponto*, I, ii, 41-42; III, iii, 7, tr. Arthur L. Wheeler (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1924), pp. 273, 391.

⁴⁰ Death, or Mors, was, according to mythology, one of the infernal deities

Lastly, it is thanks to the sun that the moon and the other stars display their fires by night, for they have no light to radiate but such as they borrow from the sun.

Who then but a son of darkness, a robber, a gamester, or one whose wont it is to spend his nights in the company of harlots and snore away his days—who, I ask, but such a fellow would have undertaken to defend a cause so odious and discreditable? [81] I wonder that he dare so much as look upon this sun, or share with other men, without a qualm, that light which he is slandering so ungratefully. He deserves to share the fate of Python,⁴¹ slain by the stroke of the sun's hostile rays. He deserves to pass a long and loathsome life imprisoned in Cimmerian darkness.⁴² He deserves, above all, to see sleep overcoming his hearers even as he speaks, so that his best eloquence affects them no more than an idle dream, till, drowsy himself, he is cheated into taking his hearers' nods and snores for nods of approval and murmurs of praise as he ends his speech.

But I see the black brows of Night, and note the advance of darkness; I must withdraw, lest Night overtake me unawares.

I beg you then, my hearers, since Night is but the passing and the death of Day, not to give Death the preference over Life, but gra-

(born of Night without a father) and as such was worshipped by the ancients Sleep, or Somnus, also one of the infernal deities, was the son of Erebus and Night. The Lacedemonians always placed the image of Somnus near that of Mors. The specific reference which Milton makes here is to the *Iliad*, XIV, 230. Cf. Ovid, *Meta*, XI, 593 ff.

⁴¹ The python was a celebrated serpent which, according to one account, sprang from the mud and stagnant waters remaining on the surface of the earth after the Deucalion Deluge, or which, according to another account, was produced from the earth by Juno, who sent it to persecute Latona, pregnant at the time as the result of one of the amorous ventures of Jupiter. He enabled Latona to escape the fury of the python by changing her into a quail for the rest of her pregnancy. Later he restored her to her original form on the island of Delos, where she bore Apollo and Diana. Apollo forthwith attacked and slew the python. See Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 439 ff. Cf. Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, iv, 1. Milton seems to be alluding to the second account, especially since earlier in the Prolusion he consistently referred to Phoebus Apollo as god of the sun and here he speaks of the hostile strokes of the rays of the sun.

⁴² "Cimmerian darkness" has become proverbial. It derived its connotative significance from the fact that the Cimmerii, a nation on the western coast of Italy, were generally imagined to have lived in caves and, therefore, to have cut themselves off from the light of the sun; the manner in which they lived and the section of the country which they inhabited came to be symbolic of gloominess and obscurity. See Ovid, *Meta.*, XI, 592.

ciously to honour my cause with your votes; so may the Muses⁴³ prosper your studies, and Dawn,⁴⁴ the friend of the Muses, hear your prayers; and may the Sun, who sees and hears all things, hearken to all in this assembly who honour and support his cause. I have done. [82]

EXERCISE II: *On the Harmony of the Spheres*

This short essay on the music of the spheres maintains that the theory of Pythagoras is at least poetically tenable and that if we shared his admirable qualities we, too, might hear such rare celestial music. This Prolusion is of interest not so much for what the author said as for how he said it; that is, although the content is slight, the rhetorical effects are dexterously handled. Making much of almost nothing, Milton here called into play his knowledge of such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle, in addition to Pythagoras, and so shaped his material as to exemplify *inventio* at its best.

⁴³ The Muses, nine in number, were daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne (daughter in turn of Coelus [Uranus] and Terra) who were the presiding goddesses over all the arts, respectively. Cho, history, Euterpe, music, Thalia, pastoral poetry and comedy; Melpomene, tragedy; Terpsichore, dancing; Erato, lyric or love poetry; Polyhymnia, rhetoric and harmony; Calliope, eloquence and epic poetry; and Urania, sacred poetry and astronomy.

⁴⁴ Aurora is evidently referred to here as the "friend of the Muses" since, as goddess of the Dawn, she causes Night and Sleep to fly before her. This ties in with one of Milton's earlier remarks to the effect that Dawn must be agreeable to his fellow-students, separated by Night from the Muses.

II.

DELIVERED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

On the Harmony of the Spheres

IF THERE is any room for an insignificant person like myself, Members of the University, after you have heard so many eminent speakers, I too will attempt, to the best of my small powers, to show my appreciation of this day's appointed celebrations, and to follow, though at a distance, the festal train of eloquence to-day. And so, though I should in any case shun and avoid the usual trite and hackneyed topics, I am fired and aroused to do my utmost to find some novel theme by the thought of this day's importance and of our speakers who, as I rightly expected, have already paid such worthy tribute to it. These two considerations might well suffice to stimulate and spur on even a dull and sluggish brain. So I conceived the idea of making a few preliminary remarks with open hand, as we say, and rhetorical exuberance, on the subject of that heavenly harmony which is presently to be discussed as it were with closed fist—but this with an eye to the time at my disposal, which is now strictly limited.¹

Now I beg you, [83] my hearers, not to take this theory as seriously intended. For who in his senses would suppose that Pythagoras, a very god among philosophers, whose name all men of that time hailed with the most profound reverence—who, I ask, would suppose that he had ever put forward a theory based on such very poor founda-

¹ The personal element in the introduction is worthy of note. Designed, one supposes, as the exordium should be, to win a sympathetic hearing from his audience, it also tells us that Milton's task was to compose a short piece of rhetoric to fit in with the topic of disputation set for the day. Though we have no means of dating this Prolusion, Masson (I, 246) is probably correct in inferring from the placating tone of the introduction that this essay was among the earliest of Milton's *Academic Exercises*. The fact that it is brief, that it was delivered before his own college and not before the whole university, and that it was only a relatively unimportant contribution to the oratory of the day lends plausibility to Masson's inference. For a suggested dating of the *Prolusions*, especially as they may be related to the early poems, see A. S. P. Woodhouse, "Notes on Milton's Early Development," *UTQ*, XIII (1943-44), p. 69 n. The usual desire of the author that his "rhetorical copiousness" be taken with a grain of salt has already been commented on.

tions? Surely, if he held any doctrine of the harmony of the spheres, or taught that the heavens revolve in unison with some sweet melody, it was only as a means of suggesting allegorically the close interrelation of the orbs and their uniform revolution in accordance with the laws of destiny for ever. In this he followed the example of the poets, or (what is almost the same thing) of the divine oracles,² who

² Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher of the sixth century B.C., was, as Milton suggests, so eminent that during his lifetime he commanded respect amounting almost to reverence and worship. After his death he received the same honors as were paid to the immortal gods, and his house became a sacred temple. When the Romans were commanded by the oracle of Delphi during the fifth century B.C. to erect a statue to the bravest and the wisest of the Greeks, Pythagoras shared honors with Alcibiades. Though his heliocentric system of the universe was one of the most important contributions which he made to philosophy, the two beliefs which are most commonly attributed to him are metempsychosis (transmigration of the soul into different bodies) and the harmony of the spheres. It is, of course, the latter which is pertinent here. Interested in astronomy, music, and geometry, he worked out a theory of numbers, which he considered the principles of everything. He perceived in the universe, therefore, regularity, correspondence, beauty, proportion, and harmony. In addition to assigning a mathematical basis to the universe he also made musical principles prominent in his system, because, presumably, the heavenly bodies were divided by intervals in accordance with the laws of musical harmony. From all this, apparently, arose the notion of Pythagoras' belief in the music of the spheres. Milton's explanation of it as being merely a poetic representation of a scientific theory is both ingenious and apt. Appropriate, too, is his allusion to the hidden meaning of the pronouncements of the oracles, since they were always obscure. Cf. "De Idea Platonica," "Ad Patrem," l. 35, *Comus*, l. 112, and the following lines from *Paradise Lost*, V, 620-27

which yonder starrie Spheare
Of Planets and of fixt in all her Wheeles
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem
And in thir motions harmonie Divine
So smooths her charming tones, that Gods own ear
Listens delighted

Many scholars have commented on the relationship between this Prolusion and the minor poems. See, e.g., Hughes, *Paradise Regained*, p. xxxiii; Woodhouse, "Notes on Milton's Early Development," pp. 76, 85 ff., 86, n. 30, and Albert S. Cook, "Notes on Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*," TCAAS, XV (1909), 342-45. The following passage from Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* should also be noted. Man "has been given a spirit—a spark from those eternal fires called stars and constellations, which are circular and globe-shaped and animated by divine intelligences, and which with wonderful velocity spin about in their established orbits." *The Dream of Scipio*, ed. and tr. James A. Kleist, S. J. (New York, 1915), pp. 25, 27. For material on Pythagoras, see Fuller, *A History of Philosophy*, I, 41 ff.; Burgess, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 27 ff.; Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, pp. 36-56; and Freeman, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, pp. 73-83.

never display before the eyes of the vulgar any holy or secret mystery unless it be in some way cloaked or veiled.

Pythagoras was followed by Plato, that best interpreter of Mother Nature; he tells us that upon each one of the celestial orbs is seated a being called a Siren,³ at whose mellifluous song both gods and men are rapt in wonder.

Homer moreover used the remarkable and apt metaphor of the golden chain suspended by Jove from heaven⁴ to represent this universal concord and sweet union of all things which Pythagoras poetically figures as harmony.

Then Aristotle, the rival and constant detractor of Pythagoras and Plato, wishing to construct a road to fame on the ruin of these great masters' theories, foisted on Pythagoras the literal doctrine of the unheard symphony of heaven and of the melody of the spheres.⁵ But if [84] only fate or chance had allowed your soul, O Father Pythag-

³ The Sirens are usually represented in mythology as three sea nymphs who, by their melodious voices, so charmed their hearers as to command their exclusive attention, frequently to their destruction. The allusion here is, therefore, not mythological. In describing the motion of the planets, Plato writes: "And the spindle turned on the knees of Necessity, and up above on each of the rims of the circles a Siren stood, borne around in its revolution and uttering one sound, one note, and from all the eight there was the concord of a single harmony." *The Republic*, X, 617b, tr Paul Shorey (2 vols, London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1935), II, 503-05. Cf. the opening lines of "At a Solemn Musick,"

Blest pair of *Sirens*, pledges of Heav'n's joy,
Sphear-born harmonious Sisters, Voice, and Vers.

Even closer to Plato's phrasing is the passage in "Arcades" (ll. 61 ff.):

But els in deep of night when drowsines
Hath lockt up mortal sense, then listen I
To the celestial *Sirens* harmony,
That sit upon the nine enfolded Sphears,
And sing to those that hold the vital shears,
And turn the Adamantine spindle round,
On which the fate of gods and men is wound.
Such sweet compulsion doth in musick ly,
To lull the daughters of *Necessity*.

⁴ When Zeus is boasting of his power to the other deities, he suggests as a trial of their ability, "Make ye fast from heaven a chain of gold, and lay ye hold thereof, all ye gods and goddesses." *Iliad*, tr. A. T. Murray (2 vols., London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1942), VIII, 18 ff. For Milton's later use of the chain image, see *Paradise Lost*, II, 1031 ff.

⁵ In a passage too long to quote, Aristotle explains and refutes the Pythagorean theory of the harmony of the spheres. Though he admits that the theory shows great feeling for fitness and beauty, he feels, nevertheless, that it cannot be true. See *De Caelo*, II, ix.

oras, to transmigrate into my body, you would not have lacked a champion to deliver you without difficulty, under however heavy a burden of obloquy you might be labouring!

After all, we may well ask, why should not the heavenly bodies give forth musical tones in their annual revolutions? Does it not seem reasonable to you, Aristotle? Why, I can hardly believe that those Intelligences ⁶ of yours could have endured through so many centuries the sedentary toil of making the heavens rotate, if the ineffable music of the stars had not prevented them from leaving their posts, and the melody, by its enchantment, persuaded them to stay. If you rob the heavens of this music, you devote those wonderful minds and subordinate gods of yours to a life of drudgery, and condemn them to the treadmill. And even Atlas himself would long since have cast down the burden of the skies from his shoulders to its ruin, had not that sweet harmony soothed him with an ecstasy of delight as he panted and sweated beneath his heavy load. Again, the Dolphin ⁷ would long since have wearied of the stars and preferred his proper element of the sea to the skies, had he not well known that the singing spheres of heaven far surpassed Arion's ⁸ lyre in sweetness. And we may well believe that it is in order to tune their own notes in accord with that harmony of heaven to which they listen so intently, that the lark takes her flight up into the clouds at daybreak and the nightingale passes the lonely hours of night in song.

Hence arose the story, which has prevailed since the earliest times, of how the Muses dance before Jove's altar ⁹ day and night; hence

⁶ See *Physics*, III, iv, 203^a and 203^b for Aristotle's discussion of *intelligences*.

⁷ One of the northern constellations. It is also the name given to such sea mammals as the porpoise.

⁸ Arion was a famous lyric poet and musician. The juxtaposition of the Dolphin and Arion here is apt in view of the fact that once when Arion had vainly played a melodious tune to save his life at the hands of sailors and had thrown himself overboard, a number of dolphins had been attracted round the ship by the sweetness of his music and one of them carried him safely ashore on its back. Plutarch recounts the story in detail in *Moralia*, tr. F. C. Babbitt (14 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1929), II, 429-33. On the susceptibility of the dolphin to music, see Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, viii, 24.

⁹ Hesiod opens the *Theogony* with a reference to the Muses of Helicon dancing around the altar of "the mighty son of Saturn" (Jupiter) and singing his praises ll. 1-10:

From the Heliconian Muses let us begin to sing, who hold the great and holy mount of Helicon, and dance on soft feet about the deep-blue spring and the altar of the almighty son of Cronos. . . . Thence they arise and go abroad by night, veiled in thick mist, and utter their song with lovely voice, praising Zeus the aegis-holder.

too the attribution to Phoebus,¹⁰ [85] in the remote past, of musical skill. Hence the belief held by revered antiquity that Harmonia¹¹ was the daughter of Jove and Electra, and that at her marriage to Cadmus all the choirs of heaven sang in concert.

What if no one on earth has ever heard this symphony of the stars? It does not therefore follow that everything beyond the sphere of the moon is mute and utterly benumbed in silence. The fault is in our own deaf ears, which are either unable or unworthy to hear these sweet strains.¹²

But this melody of the heavens is not all unheard. For who, O Aristotle, could believe that those "goats"¹³ you tell of keep skipping in the midmost tracts of air for any other reason than that when they plainly hear the orchestra of heaven, being so near at hand, they cannot choose but dance?

Again, Pythagoras alone among men is said to have heard this music—if indeed he was not rather some good spirit and denizen of heaven, sent down perchance by the gods' behest to instruct mankind in holiness and lead them back to righteousness; at the least, he was assuredly a man endowed with a full meed of virtue, worthy to hold converse with the gods themselves, whose like he was, and to partake of the fellowship of heaven. Therefore I wonder not that the gods, who loved him well, permitted him to share the most secret mysteries of nature.¹⁴

The fact that we are unable to hear this harmony seems certainly to be due to the presumption of that thief Prometheus, which brought

¹⁰ In Prolusion I Milton gave prominence to Phoebus Apollo as the god of the sun. Here the association is with Phoebus as the god of music. Milton was correct in attributing to Phoebus only skill on the lyre, not the invention of it, since Mercury is generally credited with having given the instrument to him.

¹¹ Representing Harmonia as the daughter of Jove and Electra is contrary to most mythological accounts. According to some she was the daughter of Mars and Venus. Electra is sometimes mentioned as a sister of Cadmus whom, according to the consensus, Harmonia married. The gods are said to have left Olympus in order to honor the occasion of the marriage with their presence. See Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, iv, 2.

¹² Tillyard notes a parallel between this sentence and "Arcades," ll. 72-73. Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. 138. Cf. Tillyard, *Milton*, pp. 375-78.

¹³ In his discussion of appearances that form in the sky, Aristotle speaks of "moving torches and stars," popularly known as "goats." *Meteorologica*, I, iv, 341^b.

¹⁴ This final tribute to Pythagoras is consonant with what has been said about him earlier. Cf. p. 235, n. 2.

so many evils upon men,¹⁵ [86] and robbed us of that happiness which we may never again enjoy so long as we remain buried in sin and degraded by brutish desires; for how can we become sensitive to this heavenly sound while our souls are, as Persius says,¹⁶ bowed to the ground and lacking in every heavenly element? But if our souls were pure, chaste, and white as snow, as was Pythagoras' of old, then indeed our ears would ring and be filled with that exquisite music of the stars in their orbits; then would all things turn back to the Age of Gold,¹⁷ and we ourselves, free from every grief, would pass our lives in a blessed peace which even the gods might envy.

At this point time cuts me short in mid career, and luckily too, for I am afraid that by my confused and unmelodious style I have been all this while offending against that very harmony of which I speak, and have myself been an obstacle to your hearing it. And so I have done. [87]

¹⁵ Although mythologically and poetically Prometheus is usually represented as the great benefactor of mankind because of the instruction he gave in many useful arts, some of the ills of mankind are also to be attributed to him because of his theft of fire. Climbing to the heavens with the aid of Minerva, he stole fire from the chariot of the sun and then took it down to earth. Jupiter, already angry at Prometheus as the result of having been duped by him, decided to punish him by giving him a wife, and so he ordered Vulcan to make a woman of clay. After Jupiter had given her life, the several deities vied with each other in bestowing the gifts of beauty, eloquence, charm, rich ornaments, etc. on her. Hence she was known as Pandora. Jupiter then gave her a beautiful box which she was to present to the man who married her. Prometheus, suspecting a trick, did not permit himself to be captivated by her charms. His brother Epimetheus, however, not being so prudent, married Pandora; and when he opened the box, from it a host of evils issued, which spread all over the world and which ever since have constituted the afflictions of the human race. This whole story is referred to in Milton's allusion. See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll. 42-105; *Theogony*, ll. 510-616.

¹⁶ The reference is to Persius, *Satires*, II, 61:

O curvae in terris animae et caelestium inanis!

O Souls bowed down to earth, and void of all heavenly thoughts!

Juvenal and Persius, tr. G. G. Ramsay (London and New York. Loeb Classical Library, 1930), p. 340

¹⁷ The Golden Age was, according to the Greek and Roman poets, the first and the best age in the world and was a time when man lived in an ideal state of prosperity, innocence, and happiness. The term is sometimes associated with the beneficent and virtuous reign of Saturn in Italy. See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ll. 111 ff.; Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 89 ff., and *Fasti*, I, 235 ff.; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 794; VII, 49, 180, 203; VIII, 319, 357; *Eclogue* IV. Cf. *Georgics*, I, 336; II, 406, 538; III, 93,

EXERCISE III: *Against Scholastic Philosophy*

This diatribe against scholastic philosophy in general (the thesis being that it is neither pleasurable nor profitable) might better have been aimed at the *evils* of scholastic philosophy, in view of the fact that here and elsewhere Milton cogently employed the techniques of the very system which he decried. What has to be taken into consideration, however, is that Milton, frequently an iconoclast, was opposed to the medieval practices in university education and, apparently, favored including in the curriculum some of the subjects in which he was interested, such as history and experimental science.

III.

DELIVERED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

An Attack on the Scholastic Philosophy

I HAVE been deeply occupied of late, gentlemen, in seeking, and indeed one of my chief anxieties has been to find, what device of rhetoric would best enable me to engage my hearers' attention: when of a sudden there came into my mind the precept often inculcated in his writings by Cicero (with whose name my speech auspiciously begins)—namely that the fundamental duties of an orator are first to instruct, secondly to delight, and thirdly to persuade.¹ And so I have made it my chief object to fulfil as nearly as possible this threefold function of a speaker.

Now for instruction, it ill befits me to take upon myself to give it to men so erudite in every branch of learning as yourselves, or you to receive it; still, it may be permissible for me to take the nearest course and bring to your notice a matter which may prove to be not altogether without interest. Secondly for delight, though I greatly fear it is beyond my poor abilities, yet it shall be my chief wish to afford this also: but even if I attain this, it will not be enough unless I succeed also in persuading you. Thirdly for persuasion, I shall attain the height of my ambition for the present if I can induce you who hear me to turn less assiduously the pages of those vast and ponderous

¹ See, e.g., *De Oratore*, I, viii, 30–32.

tomes of our professors of so-called exactitude, and to be less zealous in your study of the crabbed arguments of wiseacres.

Now to make it plain to all how proper and reasonable is my theme, I will show briefly, in the short half hour at my disposal, that these studies promote neither delight nor instruction, nor indeed do they serve any useful purpose whatsoever.

First I will issue a challenge, gentlemen.² If I can at all judge your feelings by my own, what pleasure can there possibly be in these pretty disputations of sour old men, which reek, if not of the cave of Trophonius,³ at any rate of the monkish cells⁴ in which they were written, exude the gloomy severity of their writers, bear the traces of their authors' wrinkles, and in spite of their condensed style produce by their excessive tediousness only boredom and distaste; and if ever they are read at length, provoke an altogether natural aversion and an utter disgust in their readers. Many a time, when the duty of tracing out these petty subtleties for a while has been laid upon me, when my mind has been dulled and my sight blurred by continued reading—many a time, I say, I have paused to take breath, and have sought some slight relief from my boredom in looking to see how much yet remained of my task. When, as always happened, I

² Milton opens his attack on scholastic philosophy immediately after the exordium. His use of the expression "subtle doctors" is pertinent because of the fact that Duns Scotus (1265?-1308?) was known as the "Doctor Subtilis." Later Milton would make mention of Scotus in *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 13): "Which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than *Scotus* or *Aquinas*." As one of the most famous of the Schoolmen, Scotus (as well as his followers, the Scotists, who constituted one of the predominating scholastic sects) naturally came under attack by the humanists and the reformers. Scotus is, therefore, the most likely target for Milton in his attack on the whole system. The "warty disputes" were the hair-splitting distinctions associated with scholasticism. As for the "monstrous volumes," Scotus left twelve folios.

³ The cave of Trophonius was one of the most celebrated oracles of Greece. Those who consulted the oracle were always pale and dejected upon their return from it; hence it became proverbial to say of a melancholy man that he had paid a visit to the cave of Trophonius. This explanation fits in with the "sour old men" of whom Milton speaks. See Plutarch, *Lives*, tr. Bernadotte Perrin (11 vols., New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928), II, 270; IV, 380. Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, tr. J. E. King (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1927), I, xlvii.

⁴ Duns Scotus had been a Franciscan and St. Thomas Aquinas a Dominican monk. Scholastic philosophy had, of course, been largely fostered by the two great mendicant orders.

found that more remained to be done than I had as yet got through, how often have I wished that instead of having these fooleries forced upon me ⁵ [89] I had been set to clean out the stable of Augeas again, and I have envied Hercules his luck in having been spared such labours as these by a kindly Juno.⁶

⁵ This passage of Milton's is typical of the humanistic hatred of Scotus and Scotism:

It is against Scotus and his still more spider-like successors that the popular diatribes of sixteenth-century humanists and reformers were mainly directed. It was upon Scotus that the wrath of the New Learning fell most hotly, when for instance Thomas Cromwell's visitors left the Quadrangle of New College strewn with leaves of 'Dunce.' And certainly it is to the later phases of scholastic controversy ushered in by the 'Subtle Doctor' that the popular strictures on the scholastic philosophy are most obviously applicable. The abuse of distinction and of syllogism, the habit of spinning cobwebs out of the philosopher's own inside, the multiplication of barbarous technicalities and unintelligible jargon—these are in popular estimation the characteristics of the scholastic philosophy. If these strictures will not be applied by the discriminating critic without reservation to the works of Scotus himself, there can be no doubt that they are applicable enough to the writings of schoolmen without the genius of Duns in what must after all be called the decline of scholasticism (Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden [rev. ed., 3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936], III, 259).

Although the antipathetic attitude toward Scotism described here is that of sixteenth-century Oxford (where Scotus had studied and had taught before leaving for Paris in 1304), there is little detectable difference between it and that of early seventeenth-century Cambridge, as expressed by Milton. As an illustration of the nature of the subtleties against which Milton was inveighing, the following may be cited.

But the distinction we make between individual "contractions" of the same essence cannot be reduced to the kind of distinction we make between things whose Forms and essences also are different. Tom, Dick, and Harry do not differ from one another in the same way as they differ from a litter of kittens. Nor do they differ from one another as different concepts the mind forms of Tom and Dick may differ. Their difference is of another sort, resting upon the fact that each individual "contraction" of a given Form is necessarily *this* individual. Tom, for example, possesses not only *whatness* (*quidditas*) which makes him human, but *thisness* (*haecceitas*) which makes him Tom. But it is the nature of "this" to be "not that." Logically and formally, then, "this" is "not-that." Tom by virtue of being Tom is logically not Dick. In short, the difference between Tom and Dick is a difference not of *matter* (as with Aristotle and Aquinas) or of *essence* and nature (as in the case of Aquinas' angels) or of *individual forms* (Plotinus) or of mixture of *substantial forms* (Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure). It is of a new sort original with Scotus—the formal and logically necessary difference of any "this" from all "thats" or, in other words, of any one *individual "contraction"* of a given Form from all other contractions.

This kind of difference which Scotus calls "formal difference with respect to the thing" is not confined to the distinction between members of the same species. It is also the sort of difference that distinguishes God from his attributes, the absolutely indeterminate material substratum from its different formulations, the soul from her faculties. There, too, we have not merely difference of nature and form, such as exists between Universals, but the formal difference between this and that individual thing which distinguishes me from you. The universal application of this new "formalistic" principle is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Scotus, and is one of his chief claims to original thinking (Fuller, *History of Philosophy*, I, 411–12).

⁶ The fifth of the famous Twelve Labors of Hercules was cleaning the stables of Augeas, where three thousand oxen had been confined for many years. The feat was accomplished by Hercules' changing the course of the river Alpheus so that it flowed through the stables. The labors were really commanded by Eu-

And then this dull and feeble subject-matter, which as it were crawls along the ground, is never raised or elevated by the ornaments of style, but the style itself is dry and lifeless, so exactly suited to the barrenness of the subject that it might well have been composed in the reign of the gloomy king Saturn,⁷ but that the innocent simplicity of those days would have known nothing of the delusions and digressions with which these books abound in every part. Believe me, my learned friends, when I go through these empty quibbles as I often must, against my will, it seems to me as if I were forcing my way through rough and rocky wastes, desolate wildernesses, and precipitous mountain gorges. And so it is not likely that the dainty and elegant Muses preside over these ragged and tattered studies, or consent to be the patrons of their maudlin partisans; and I cannot believe that there was ever a place for them on Parnassus unless it were some waste corner at the very foot of the mountain, some spot with naught to commend it, tangled and matted with thorns and brambles, overgrown with thistles and nettles, remote from the dances and company of the goddesses, where no laurels grow nor flowers bloom, and to which the sound of Apollo's lyre can never penetrate.⁸

Now surely divine poetry, by that power with which it is by heavenly grace indued, raises aloft the soul smothered by the dust of earth [90] and sets it among the mansions of heaven, and breathing

rytheus, to whose will Hercules had to be subject for twelve years in compliance with Jupiter's command *Facilis* is scarcely an appropriate epithet for Juno in view of the fact that, jealous of Hercules because he had been born as the result of one of Jupiter's amours (in this case with Alcmena), she had tried to destroy him as a baby by sending two snakes to devour him, and that later, in order to punish him for his disobedience in refusing to perform certain labors, she had rendered him so delirious that he killed his own children. The only way in which *facilis* might be applied to Juno is in ironic contrast with the *difficilis* work of reading the scholastic philosophers. Even so, it was not actually she who commanded the labors, although she was indirectly responsible for them. For a full account of the Twelve Labors, see Apollodorus, *The Library*, II, v, 1-12.

⁷ This is another reference to the Golden Age. Cf. p. 239, n. 17. The epithet "gloomy" stems from the several mythological representations of Saturn. He is usually pictured as an old man, bent with age and infirmity.

⁸ A reference to the most arid part of Parnassus, that furthest removed from the inspirers and patrons of the liberal arts. Such a place would be appropriate only for the Schoolmen. The laurel, sacred to Apollo, was the symbol of fame and honor. Naturally, to Milton's way of thinking, none would grow in a scholastic atmosphere. The description of the arid abode foreshadows the passage in *Of Education* (1644, p. 3) in which Milton speaks of "that asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles which is commonly set before" students.

over it the scent of nectar and bedewing it with ambrosia instils into it heavenly felicity and whispers to it everlasting joy.⁹ Rhetoric, again, so captivates the minds of men and draws them after it so gently enchained that it has the power now of moving them to pity, now of inciting them to hatred, now of arousing them to warlike valour, now of inspiring them beyond the fear of death. History,¹⁰ skilfully narrated, now calms and soothes the restless and troubled mind, now fills it with delight, and now brings tears to the eyes; soft and gentle tears, tears which bring with them a kind of mournful joy. But these useless and barren controversies and bickerings lack all power to affect the emotions in any way whatever; they merely dull and stupefy the intellect. Further, they bring delight to none but those of a rude and boorish disposition, inclined by some innate tendency to quarrels and dissension, prating fellows moreover, and such as detest and ever turn away from sound and wholesome wisdom. Let us then banish such an one with all his quibbles to the Caucasus or wheresoever blind Barbarity holds sway; there let him set up his workshop of tricks and fallacies, and vex and torment himself to his heart's content about questions of no importance, until excessive fretting, [91] like Prometheus' eagle, eats out his heart¹¹ and consumes him altogether.

These studies are as fruitless as they are joyless, and can add nothing whatever to true knowledge. If we set before our eyes those hordes of old men¹² in monkish garb, the chief authors of these quibbles, how many among them have ever contributed anything to the enrichment of literature? Beyond a doubt, by their harsh and uncouth

⁹ Nectar was the drink and ambrosia the food of the gods. Ambrosia had the power of giving immortality to those who ate it. The gods sometimes sprinkled their hair with it because of its delightful odor.

¹⁰ These tributes are similar to the enumeration and characterization which Descartes was to provide of the subjects which he especially favored. Part I of the *Discours* opens in an autobiographical vein very like Milton's. See *Discours de la Méthode*, ed. Étienne Gilson (Paris. Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1930), pp. 1-7 especially.

¹¹ The Caucasus mountain range was inhabited in ancient times by savage tribes, thus connoting for Milton a barbarous place. It was on top of the Caucasus where Jupiter had Prometheus chained to a rock. During the daytime a vulture consumed his liver, which was restored each night. Cf. p. 239, n. 15.

¹² This is another attack on the monastics. The succeeding passage is merely a repetition of Milton's quarrel with the Schoolmen and their quibbles. The very use of the term "philosophasters" is pejorative. Cf. the passage in *Of Education* beginning (1644, p. 2), "And for the usuall method of teaching Arts . . ."

treatment they have nearly rendered hideous that philosophy which was once cultured and well-ordered and urbane, and like evil genii they have implanted thorns and briars in men's hearts and introduced discord into the schools, which has notably retarded the happy progress of our scholars. For these quick-change philosophasters of ours argue back and forth, one bolstering up his thesis on every side, another labouring hard to cause its downfall, while what one would think firmly established by irrefragable arguments is forthwith shattered by an opponent with the greatest ease. Between them all the student hesitates, as at a cross-roads, in doubt whither to turn or what direction to choose, and unable to make any decision, while such a host of weapons is hurled against him from every side that they hide the light and shed deep darkness over the whole question; so that in the end the reader is reduced to imitating the weary toils of Ceres and seeking for Truth through all the world ¹³ by the light of a torch without ever finding it: at last he reaches such a pitch of madness as to believe himself utterly blind [92] when in fact there is nothing for him to see.

Besides all this, it not infrequently happens that those who have entirely devoted and dedicated themselves to this blight of disputation lamentably betray their ignorance and absurd childishness when faced with a new situation outside their usual idiotic occupation. Finally, the supreme result of all this earnest labour is to make you a more finished fool and cleverer contriver of conceits, and to endow you with a more expert ignorance: and no wonder, since all these problems at which you have been working in such torment and anxiety have no existence in reality at all, but like unreal ghosts and phantoms without substance obsess minds already disordered and empty of all true wisdom.

For the rest, even were I silent, it is amply clear to you how little

¹³ When Proserpine was carried away by Pluto, her mother, Ceres (goddess of corn and harvests), having sought for her in vain in Sicily during the day, lighted two torches in the flames of Mount Aetna in order that she might continue the search by night all over the world. During her search she so neglected the world that the cattle died, the seeds failed to come up, etc. When she finally learned the whereabouts of her daughter and was promised that Proserpine might spend half the year with her, she repented of her neglect and so taught Triptolemus everything about agriculture and sent him to impart his knowledge everywhere. See Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, xxvi; Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, v, 1, 3; Ovid, *Meta.*, V, 508, 528, *The Homeric Hymns*, II ("To Demeter"); *Fasti*, IV, 417 ff. Milton refers to this myth also in *Paradise Lost*, IV, 270 ff., 981; IX, 395.

these trivialities contribute to morality or purity of life, which is the most important consideration of all.¹⁴ From this obviously follows my final point, namely that this unseemly battle of words tends neither to the general good nor to the honour and profit of our country,¹⁵ which is generally considered the supreme purpose of all sciences.

Now there are, as I have remarked, two things which most enrich and adorn our country: eloquent speech and noble action. But this contentious duel of words has no power either to teach eloquence or to inculcate wisdom or [93] to incite to noble acts. Then away with these ingenious praters, with all their forms and phrases, who ought to be condemned after death to twist the rope in Hades in company with the Ocnus of legend.¹⁶

But how much better were it, gentlemen, and how much more consonant with your dignity, now to let your eyes wander as it were over all the lands depicted on the map, and to behold the places trodden by the heroes of old, to range over the regions made famous by wars, by triumphs, and even by the tales of poets of renown, now to traverse the stormy Adriatic, now to climb unharmed the slopes of fiery Etna, then to spy out the customs of mankind and those states which are well-ordered; next to seek out and explore the nature of all living creatures, and after that to turn your attention to the secret virtues of stones and herbs. And do not shrink from taking your flight into the skies and gazing upon the manifold shapes of the clouds, the mighty piles of snow, and the source of the dews of morning; then inspect the coffers wherein the hail is stored and examine the arsenals

¹⁴ Instruction in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice and the inculcation of moral principles through the works of Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, *et al.* constituted an important aspect of Milton's educational system. See *Of Education* (1644), pp. 4-5

¹⁵ This sentence is significant as revealing thus early in his life the high conception which Milton had, and later was to demonstrate so ably in both his English and Latin tracts, of the value to the state of a constructive use of rhetoric and oratory as opposed to what he regarded as the wastefulness of scholasticism. Though this was a common notion among the ancients, a good statement of it appears in Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, viii, 30, 34

¹⁶ The cord of Ocnus has come to be proverbial for work which is completely wasted, because Ocnus, who was very industrious, had a wife who managed to do away immediately with whatever he earned, and, therefore, he is represented as twisting a cord which as fast as he makes it is consumed by an ass standing near him. See Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, X, xxx, 1, 2.

of the thunderbolts. And do not let the intent of Jupiter or of Nature elude you, when a huge and fearful comet threatens to set the heavens aflame, nor let the smallest star escape you of all the myriads which are scattered and strewn between the poles: yes, even follow close upon the sun in all his journeys, and ask account of time itself and demand the reckoning of its eternal passage. [94]

But let not your mind rest content to be bounded and cabined by the limits which encompass the earth, but let it wander beyond the confines of the world, and at the last attain the summit of all human wisdom and learn to know itself, and therewith those holy minds and intelligences whose company it must hereafter join.¹⁷

What need I say more? In all these studies take as your instructor him who is already your delight—Aristotle, who has recorded all

¹⁷ This paragraph contains more or less of a summary of the subjects to which Milton would have preferred to devote his time and energy. They seem to embrace such topics as geography, history, political science, natural science, astronomy, and meteorology. This passage, in many ways the best and certainly the most glowing of the whole Prolusion, constitutes Milton's advocacy of the replacement of the old curriculum by a new one, one based on real knowledge and experimental science. No longer satisfied with the theological explanation of the *why* of things, seventeenth-century people wanted to know the *how* of things, the manner of causation. Hence, since scholasticism seemed to discourage experimental investigation, it was regarded as an obstacle to the kind of "real" or "scientific truths" for which men were seeking. See, e.g., Basil Willey, *The Seventeenth Century Background* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1934), pp. 4, 7–8, 15. Bacon was naturally the scientist with whose criticism of the Cambridge curriculum and with whose scientific approach Milton sympathized. See Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, p. 210. There is, of course, a divergence of opinion regarding the place to which Bacon should be assigned as an experimental scientist. See Douglas Bush's illuminating analysis of Bacon's thought in *English Literature . . . Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), pp. 258–68. Spedding writes, regarding Bacon's last days: ". . . we may suppose that he was proceeding with unabated diligence in the trial of experiments, solitary or in consort, touching the various processes of nature." James Spedding, *An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon* (2 vols., Boston, 1878), II, 621.

See also *Novum Organum*, ed. Thomas Fowler (2d ed., Oxford, 1889), introduction, pp. 22 ff., 72–130. For Bacon's own presentation of his scientific method and for other topics pertinent to this Prolusion, see *Novum Organum*, I, Aphorisms xi, xix, xx, xxiv, xxv, xxxi, xxxii, xxxvii, xxxix ff., xlix, l, lxiii, lxxvii, xc, cxxviii, cxxx. Aphorisms xi, xc, and cxxviii should be especially noted.

Whether or not Milton had read the *Novum Organum* when he wrote this Prolusion or the later ones is conjectural. In view of the fact that Bacon's book came out in 1620 and that Milton was an adherent of the Baconian faction at Cambridge, it may reasonably be assumed that he was familiar with the work, but no direct reference to the book is found in Milton's writings.

these things with learning and diligence for our instruction.¹⁸ I see that the mention of his name at once arouses you, Members of the University, and that you are gradually being won over to my side, and following apace, as it were, at his invitation. If this be so, it is to him that you must render praise and thanks for any profit my words have brought; so far as concerns myself, I shall be well satisfied if you of your goodness grant me pardon for the length of my address. I have done. [95.]

EXERCISE IV: *In the Destruction, etc.*

This Prolusion, like the following one, exemplifies the sort of scholasticism against which Milton inveighed in the one just preceding. Here the thesis is that in the destruction of anything a resolution into primary matter is not caused. It is not surprising that on "the rigidly scholastic disputations" Tillyard felt himself incompetent to speak¹ and that, after translating some brief sections of this *Exercise*, even Masson compromised as follows:

After two or three pages of metaphysical reasoning of this kind—utterly, and, I think, purposely bewildering to the wits of his auditors, but in which the old metaphysical terms, *Substance*, *Accident*, *Quantitative*, *Extension*, *Intension*, &c. are apparently used in the most approved academic fashion—the disputant emerges, with a smile on his face.²

Most of us today do not have the training and background necessary for an understanding of Milton's Prolusion IV, but what Masson regarded as purposely calculated to bewilder the hearers may not have been so designed at all, since Milton's audience would probably have the same frame of reference as he had. The terms which Masson said were "apparently" used accurately by Milton certainly were.³

¹⁸ After delivering his diatribe against scholasticism and after giving an impassioned description of the joys of the New Learning, Milton, interestingly enough, comes back at the end to Aristotle as the perfect instructor in all matters.

¹ Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. xxx.

² I, 251.

³ Almost any good text on philosophy will furnish definitions of these terms. See, e.g., Brother Benignus, *Nature, Knowledge, and God* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1947), pp. 69, 106, 107, 115, 118, and *passim*.

IV.

DELIVERED IN COLLEGE A THESIS

*In the Destruction of any Substance there can be no Resolution into
First Matter*

THIS is not the place in which to enquire too nicely whether Error escaped from Pandora's box,¹ or from the depths of the Styx, or lastly whether he is to be accounted one of the sons of Earth who conspired against the gods. This much, however, is clear to the least observant, that by imperceptible degrees, like Typhon² of old or Neptune's son Ephialtes,³ he has grown to such portentous size that I believe Truth itself to be menaced by him. For I see that he often fights on equal terms against the goddess Truth, I see that after sustaining losses he is richer, after being wounded he is sound and whole, after being vanquished he is triumphant over his vanquishers, like the Libyan Antaeus⁴ [96] in the ancient tale. So far has this gone, that one might with good reason doubt the correctness of Ovid's well-known poem, and question whether Astraea was really the last of the immortals to quit the earth;⁵ for I fear that many centuries later Peace and Truth too came to loathe mankind and abandoned it. For assuredly no one could be persuaded into be-

¹ See p. 239, n. 15, for Pandora and the significance of this expression.

² Typhon was a giant produced by Juno by striking the earth. See Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, vi, 3.

³ Ephialtes, son of Neptune, was a giant who grew nine inches every month. See Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, vii, 4, Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 582.

⁴ Antaeus was a giant of Libya, the son of Terra and Neptune. When he wrestled, he received new strength from his mother every time he touched the ground. Hercules was finally able to overcome him by holding him aloft, so that he could no longer renew his strength from contact with the earth, and by squeezing him to death. See Apollodorus, *The Library*, II, v, 11; Juvenal, *Satires*, III, 89; *Lucan*, tr. J. D. Duff (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928), IV, 593 ff.; *Statius*, tr. J. H. Mozley (2 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1928), *Thebaid*, VI, 893 ff; *Meta.*, IX, 184.

⁵ In the course of his description of the evils of the iron age, Ovid wrote (*Meta.*, I, 149-50):

Victa iacet pietas, et virgo caede madentis
Ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit.

"Piety lies conquered, and the maiden Astraea, the last of the divinities, forsook the blood-soaked earth."

lieving that if Truth were still a visitor to the earth, one-eyed and near-sighted Error could look upon her, the co-equal of the sun, without being altogether blinded and cast back once more into that lower world from which he originally came forth. But there can in fact be no doubt that Truth has fled away to her home in heaven, never to return to hapless man; ⁶ and now foul Error reigns supreme in all the schools, and has seized the power, as it were, with the help of a strong and active body of supporters. With this added strength, and swollen past endurance, he has assailed every particle and fragment of natural philosophy and outraged it with impious claws, even as, we are told, the Harpies defiled the table of Phineus, King of Arcady.⁷

The thing has come to such a pass that the richest dainties of philosophy, sumptuous as the feasts which the gods enjoy, now only disgust those who partake of them.⁸ For it often happens that a stu-

⁶ Truth (Veritas) was both personified and deified by the ancients. Spoken of as the daughter of Saturn and as the mother of Virtue, she was represented as a diffident, modest virgin

⁷ See p. 231, n. 38 The accounts vary as to precisely who (Juno, Jupiter, or Helios—the Sun) sent the harpies to despoil the tables of Phineus and as to why he was deprived of his eyesight. For some reason or another (a plausible one being that he was so punished for having put out the eyes of his sons), the harpies were divinely instructed to steal or to defile the food which was placed before him. See Virgil, *Aeneid*, III, 212; Ovid, *Meta*, VII, 3; Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 265 ff.; Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, ix, 21, and III, xv, 4. The harpies of mythology provided Milton with a convenient figure of speech. See, e.g., *Comus*, l. 604; "Ad Joannem Rousium," l. 33; *Paradise Regained*, II, 403. In *Of Reformation* (below, p. 590) he writes: "What a Masse of Money is drawne from the Veines into the Ulcers of the Kingdome this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that swarme about their Offices declare sufficiently." And in *The Tenure* (1649, p. 54) he describes the divines as "gorging themselves like Harpy's" on the preferments of their ousted predecessors.

⁸ Milton's delay in getting to the heart of the discussion of the assigned topic should be noted. The unusually long introduction, devoted to a continuation of the attack on scholastic philosophy and to a display of his knowledge of classical mythology (a part of the humanism which he espoused), seems to indicate an avoidance as long as possible of an unpleasant task. In connection with Milton's aversion to scholasticism one may recall that Cowley, like Bacon and Milton, hated the quibblings of the Schoolmen. See his Latin comedy *Naufragium Jocularis* (1639), the latter part of which contains a satire on education, schoolmasters, and pupils in the *schola jocandi*. Cf. the following statement regarding Milton's humanism: "The essential character of that humanism is its assertion of the spiritual dignity of man, its recognition of the degree to which his higher destinies

dent who turns the pages of the philosophers' books and is busied about them day and night departs more puzzled than he came. For whatever one writer has affirmed [97] and believes that he has established by a sufficient argument, another confutes, or at least seems to confute, with the greatest ease, and both are able almost indefinitely the one to find objections, the other replies. The wretched reader meanwhile, continually rent and torn in pieces as if between two wild beasts, and half dead with boredom, is at last left as at a cross-roads, without any idea which way to turn. But, to be quite candid, it may not be worth while to spend the trouble which is demanded in finding out on which side the truth really lies; for in fact it is very often about questions of the most trifling importance that the most heated disputes of the forces of philosophy occur.

But I seem to catch a whisper of "What is he driving at now? He attacks Error, while he himself wanders erratically all over the world". I confess that I have indeed erred and strayed, which I should not have done had I not hoped much from your kindness.⁹

Well, I must now gird myself up to the task before me; and may the goddess Lua¹⁰ (as Lipsius¹¹ says) grant me a happy deliverance from all my difficulties.

The problem which is set us to enucleate to-day is whether in the destruction of any substance there can be a resolution into first matter. This is usually expressed in other words, "whether any accidents which were in the corrupted substance remain also in that generated from it"—that is to say, whether when the form perishes all accidents which had previously existed in the composite perish also.

There is a wide divergence of opinion about this on the part of [98] philosophers of great repute. Some vehemently assert that such

are in his own hands, its repudiation of the claim of his lower nature to control his higher." James H. Hanford, "Milton and the Return to Humanism," *SP*, XVI (1919), 143.

⁹ Cf. preceding note That Milton was only too well aware of what he was doing is evident from this passage That from at least some members of his audience he could expect a sympathetic hearing is also evident. See the second paragraph of the exordium of *Exercise I*.

¹⁰ Lua was a Roman goddess who presided over things purified by lustrations

¹¹ Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was well known in the sixteenth century as a neo-Stoic. One of the best known of his many works is his *De Constantia*. See *Two Books of Constancie*, tr. Sir John Stradling, ed with an introduction by Rudolf Kirk (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1939).

a resolution does take place, others fight tooth and nail against its possibility. I am inclined to agree with these last, and am led to differ fundamentally from the former first by reason, as I believe, and secondly by the authority of so many eminent men. It remains for me shortly to attempt to supply a proof. I shall do so as briefly as possible, and first of all as follows.

If there is resolution into primary matter, it follows that we are wrong in asserting the essential proposition with regard to primary matter, namely that it is never found pure. Our opponents will hasten to reply: This is said in respect of form. Well, let us grant these sciolists that substantial forms are never found apart from accidental ones.

But this is a minor point, and does not go to the root of the question; we must use stronger arguments.

First then let us see whether we have any of the ancient philosophers on our side. Even as we ask, here comes Aristotle of his own accord to meet us, and ranges himself on our side, together with a chosen band of his commentators. And pray note, my hearers, that it was at Aristotle's own instance and instigation that this battle was begun, and that, I hope, under good auspices. He does in fact himself seem to hint at exactly our view, in *Metaph.* 7, *Text* 8, where he says that quantity is first of all inherent in matter. If anyone refuses to accept this dictum, [99] I shall not hesitate to indict him for heresy, in accordance with the law of all the sages. Moreover, he elsewhere plainly regards quantity as a property of primary matter, which most of his followers also assert; but who would tolerate the forcible separation of a property from its subject, even on the pronouncement of a judge appointed by themselves?

But now, let us come to close grips with the question, and weigh carefully what reason suggests.

The assertion, then, is proved first by the argument that matter has an actual proper entity in consequence of its own proper existence, and therefore is capable of having quantity, at any rate the quantity called indeterminate. There is also the argument sometimes confidently put forward that form is only received into matter through the medium of quantity.

Secondly, if an accident is destroyed, it can only be destroyed in one of the following ways—either by the introduction of a contrary, or by cessation of its term, or by the absence of some other conserving

cause, or, lastly, by the defect of the proper subject in which it inheres. Quantity cannot be destroyed in the first way, since it has no contrary; and although quality has, this must not be substituted here: the second way does not apply, since it is proper to relatives; nor by the absence of a conserving cause, for that which my opponents assign is form. Now accidents are conceived to depend upon form in two ways—in the genus of formal cause, or in that of efficient cause; the first kind of dependence is not immediate, [100] for substantial form does not inform accidents, nor is it conceivable that a cause can have any other function in regard to them in this genus. Therefore it is only mediate, that is to say in so far as matter is dependent upon form, and form in turn on matter. The second kind of dependence is in the genus of efficient cause; but whether accidents are dependent on form or not in this genus is doubtful. But even if we grant that it is so, it still does not follow that when the form perishes the accidents also perish with it, because when that cause fails another similar one succeeds it immediately, which is completely sufficient to maintain precisely the same effect, and that without interruption. Finally, that quantity and other similar accidents are not annihilated by the defect of the proper subject is proved thus—the subject of quantity is either a composite of form or matter; now it is clear that it is not a composite, because an accident which is in a composite attains by its union both matter and form by means of one thing; but quantity cannot by any means attain a rational soul, for this is spiritual and entirely incapable of the formal effect of quantity, that is to say, of quantitative extension. Further, it is sufficiently clear from what has been said that form is not the subject of quantity. It follows therefore that only matter can be the subject of quantity, and so all inference of destruction is excluded in regard to quantity.

As regards the example of a scar commonly adduced [101], I consider it to be a very cogent argument; for no one could so force my credulity as to make me believe that it is quite other in the corpse than what it was just before in the living body, since there is neither reason nor necessity to correct our sense, which is indeed rarely deluded concerning its proper object. I would far rather listen to marvellous stories of ghosts and hobgoblins than to the foolish and futile yappings of these crazy philosophasters about the re-creation *de novo* of these accidents of theirs. Now we know for certain that heat and those other qualities of an animal which are capable of increase and de-

crease are precisely the same at the moment of death, and also after death; why then should these be destroyed when others like them are to be produced? Besides, if they were to be produced afresh they would not last so short a time, for they would not reach their utmost intensity suddenly, but only gradually and little by little. Remember too that it is a very ancient axiom that quantity follows matter and quality form.

I might, indeed I ought, to have dwelt longer on this question. I cannot tell whether I have bored you, but I have certainly bored myself to extinction. It remains for me to deal with my opponents' arguments. May the Muses grant that I may reduce them to primary matter, if that be possible, or rather to nothing at all.

As to their first point, Aristotle's testimony in saying that no sensible subject remains in generation, [102] we reply that this should be understood as applying to the complete and integral subject, that is to say, to the substantial composite, as the ancient and learned author Philoponus bears witness. Secondly, regarding Aristotle's statement that matter is neither what, nor how much, nor of what kind; by this it is not meant that matter has no quantity nor quality, but that it does not include either quantity or quality of itself or in its own essence. Thirdly, Aristotle says that when primary substances are destroyed all accidents are destroyed. We do not deny that this will happen, provided you grant that another may immediately succeed that which was destroyed.

Finally, he says that form is received into bare matter; that is, bare of the substantial form.

Now the fight grows fierce, and victory hangs in the balance, for they renew the battle and attack us as follows: Since matter is pure potentiality, it has no being except that which it gains through the form it has borrowed; hence it has no power of itself to support accidents, unless at the least it is conjoined by nature to form, to which it is indebted for its being. This error they usually amend thus—that primary matter has its own proper being, which may indeed be incomplete in the genus of substance, but as compared with accident may not unreasonably be called absolute being. They object moreover that matter has regard to substantial form as its first act, but to accidents as its second act. I reply that matter has regard to form, first in the order of intention, [103] but not of generation or execution. Our argument now begins to bubble and boil, and our opponents press

harder upon us, as in mortal combat, thus: Every property flows actively from the essence of that of which it is a property; but quantity cannot do so, for this flow is a form of activity, but matter has in itself no activity, being merely passive; therefore, etc., etc. I reply, that the natural combination of matter with quantity can be understood in two ways, first by reason of the passive potentiality alone within its own nature, which demands such an affection: for there is no necessity that every innate property should be attributed to a subject by reason of its active principle; since sometimes the passive suffices, in the way in which many consider that motion is natural to the heavens. Secondly, it can also be understood as being due to its intrinsic active flowing forth, since it contains in itself true and actual being.

But my opponents have not even yet lost all hope of victory; for they are making a second attack, inferring from this that form is combined with matter through the medium of quantity, since it is first inherent in matter. We, on the other hand, absolutely refuse to accept this inference, and in order to maintain our position unimpaired in spite of it, we draw this distinction, that form is combined with matter through the medium of quantity as a disposition or necessary condition, but not at all as a potentiality immediately receptive of form.

Finally, they argue thus: if [104] quantity is inherent in matter alone, it follows that it is ingenerable and incorruptible; which seems to be contradictory, since movement in itself is toward quantity. However, we grant the inference, since in fact quantity is incorruptible as regards its own entity, but as regards its various terms it can begin and cease to be, by the conjunction and division of quantity; nor is motion in itself related to production of quantity, but to its accretion; and it does not exist by virtue of a new quantity coming into existence in nature, but by virtue of one quantity being subjoined to another, and by the quantity which was alien becoming proper to itself.¹²

¹² In this *Exercise*, Milton has been concerned with and has been treating Aristotle's philosophy of matter, which centers about its constituents—primary (or prime) matter and substantial forms. One of the considerations in the topic is change. The proof of the theory of the constituents of matter, known as *hylomorphism*, was drawn from the observations of a change of one substance to another. *Primary matter* is one of the two co-principles of any corporeal being. It is the determinable principle; for, though of itself it is absolutely undetermined, it is capable of receiving any form. *Substantial form* is the determining co-principle

I might bring forward other arguments on both sides, but will refrain, to spare you boredom. At this point, then, it is best for me to beat a retreat. [105]

EXERCISE V: *Partial forms*, etc.

This Prolusion calls for little general comment since it is a companion piece of the preceding one. Taking as his thesis that partial forms do not occur in an animal in addition to the whole, Milton supports it by competent argument, again showing his grasp of the very kind of material which he attacked in Prolusion III and competently employing the rhetorical devices in which he had been

of any corporeal being. It actuates and gives a determinate nature to the being which arises from the conjunction of matter and form. Neither of them, according to Thomism, can exist alone in the real world. When a being exists, constituted of matter and form, it is capable of further minor determinations or modifications, known as *accidents*. The constituted being itself is called *substance*. In explanation of these terms, clarification of which is necessary for an understanding of Milton's remarks, the concrete example of a cat may be cited. A cat is a substance constituted of primary matter and the substantial form "cat-ness." This substance sustains the accidents of blackness or whiteness, lightness or heaviness, strength or weakness, etc. Using this example, we may state Milton's question in this manner. When the cat dies, is the blackness of the corpse the same as the blackness of the living cat was, or is it a numerically different blackness, although, of course, specifically the same? Milton maintains that it is the same numerically and says that famous philosophers agree with him.

On this problem, as well as on many other problems in scholastic philosophy, there was and still is more than one school of thought expressed in the bulky commentaries on Aristotle. On one side such philosophers as St. Thomas, Cajetan, and Capreol were usually (though not always precisely) aligned against such philosophers as Scotus and the famous Spanish Jesuit Suarez (1548-1617), whose *Disputationes Metaphysicae* was widely used in the seventeenth century. For instance, following Aristotle, St. Thomas defended the numerical unity of matter and maintained that matter and form do not exist before they are united in the composite because matter cannot exist without form, and forms have no existence without a material substratum. Scotus, on the other hand, taught that matter could exist without form, by God's power but not by its natural disposition; that is to say, matter possesses an idea in God and in its essence is knowable by the divine intellect. And Suarez, though admitting with St. Thomas that matter was pure potency, still held that it had the act both of essence and of existence: an act of essence because matter is a reality independent of form, and an act of existence because, as a product of creation and the subject of being, matter must possess reality. That Milton had at least a superficial grasp of the point at issue and knew both sides of the question is attested by the fact that both the Thomists and the Suarezians used for their purposes in this problem the comparison of a body before and shortly after death, and that Suarez cited the example of the scar. For specific references, see last note on *Exercise V*.

trained. Inventio is particularly noticeable in an exercise of this type, where Milton has to marshall his arguments. The confirmatio and the refutatio comprise most of the Prolusion after the exordium.

V.

DELIVERED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There are no partial Forms in an Animal in addition to the Whole

THE Romans, masters of the world in ancient times, attained the highest summit of power, which neither the vastness of Assyria ¹ nor the martial prowess of Macedon could reach, and to which the majesty of kings in time to come will never be able to exalt itself. This position they attained, either because Jupiter, feeling the burden of his age and finding it enough for himself to rule over the heavens alone, wished to retire into private life, and therefore entrusted the reins of government over mankind to the Roman people, as being in some sort gods on earth; or because, when he cast his father Saturn down into Italy, he granted him this favour to console him for the loss of heaven, namely that his descendants the Romans should have dominion over the whole extent of land and ocean.

However this may be, he certainly did not allow them to enjoy this privilege without earning it, but only granted it to them after constant wars and prolonged toil; his intention being, I suppose, to prove whether the Romans were the only nation worthy to be the vicegerents of supreme Jove on earth. And so they were compelled to live a life of abstinence and hardship, and to find the new pleasures of peace always cut short by war's alarms and the clash of arms around them. [106] In addition to this, they were under the necessity of providing garrisons, which they had frequently to renew, for the various cities and provinces they had conquered, and of sending nearly all their young men either to distant wars or to their colonies. Moreover the victories they gained were not always bloodless; on the contrary, they often suffered grievous disasters. So for example Brennus,² the

¹ The king of Assyria usually termed himself "king of kings." Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I, 721; *Paradise Regained*, III, 270.

² A leader of the Gauls, Brennus defeated the Romans at the river Allia and occupied Rome in 390 B.C., without opposition. The Romans fled to the capitol;

leader of the Gauls, almost succeeded in destroying the glory of Rome in its early bloom, and the noble city of Carthage came within a little of wresting from Rome the governance of the world³ with which she had been divinely entrusted. Lastly, the Goths and Vandals under their king Alaric, and the Huns and Pannonians under their leaders Attila and Bleda passed in a torrent over the whole of Italy, cruelly plundered the abounding riches of the empire, the accumulated spoils of so many wars, overwhelmed in shameful flight the Romans, who were but now the lords of mankind, and captured the city, captured Rome herself,⁴ by the mere terror of their name. No deed in fact or fable could be more remarkable than this. It is as if victory herself had either fallen in love with them or been panic-stricken by their prowess in arms, so as to be completely at their command.

You have been wondering long enough, my hearers, what can be my reason for enlarging on all this; I will tell you. Whenever I consider and reflect upon these events, I am reminded afresh of the mighty struggle which has been waged to save Truth, and of the universal eagerness and watchfulness with which men are striving to rescue Truth, already tottering and almost overthrown, from the outrages of her foes. [107] Yet we are powerless to check the inroads which the vile horde of errors daily makes upon every branch of learning. Error has indeed, by force or fraud, gained such ascendancy as to be able to impose its own likeness on the snow-white form of Truth, or by I know not what artifice to assume her heavenly similitude. By this device, it seems, it has often deceived even great philosophers, and has laid claim to the honours and reverence which are due to Truth alone. This you will have an opportunity of seeing in the question at issue to-day, in which we find champions of no mean

but, though the Gauls climbed the Tarpeian rock in the night, the noise of geese awakened the Romans and so the capitol was not taken. Milton refers to Brennus again in *History of Britain*, Book I (1670, pp. 23-25). See Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, *A History of Rome* (New York, 1894), pp. 116 ff.; *Dio's Roman History*, tr. Earnest Cary (9 vols., London and New York. Loeb Classical Library, 1914), I, 209; and *Livy*, tr. B. O. Foster, Evan T. Sage, and Alfred C. Schlesinger (13 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1919-24), V, xxxviii ff.

³ See Shuckburgh, pp. 219 ff., and *Dio's Roman History*, I, 421 ff.; II, 233 ff., 269, 391 ff.

⁴ The Gothic invasions of Italy need no comment. By this long disquisition on the early history of Rome Milton evinces his knowledge of and interest in the subject of history. Cf. the long introduction to *Exercise IV* and the attack on error—particularly as it pertains to learning—common to both these Prolusions.

ability engaged, men who might win fair fame, if they would but abandon their present allegiance and serve under the banner of Truth.

So it is now my task to lay Error bare and to strip it of its borrowed plumes, thus reducing it to its native hideousness. To accomplish this the more readily, I think it best to follow in the footsteps of the weightiest authorities; for it is not to be expected that I should add anything of my own—anything, that is, which has escaped the notice and attention of so many men eminent for their learning. Therefore I will set forth briefly so much as is needed to elucidate the subject, and will add one or two arguments to fortify my position like a rampart. Then if there is any opposition or objection to my opinion, I will resolve it as best I may; but I will deal with all this in few words and only touch it, so to speak, with the tips of my wings.

We read that various opinions have been advanced in opposition to the idea of the unicity of form which the more discerning philosophers have always held to exist in one and the same matter. For some hotly assert that in an animal there may be several total forms, [108] and this they maintain each according to his capacity; others roundly declare that though only one total form can be readily received by one and the same matter, yet several partial forms may be. For the moment I will make a truce with the former party, according to the usage of war, while I concentrate the whole strength and force of my attack upon the latter.

In the forefront let me set Aristotle, who is entirely on our side, and who, towards the end of the first book of the *De Anima*, unequivocally lends his support to our assertion.⁵

No long investigation is needed to find a few more arguments to add to this authority. Chrysostom Javello⁶ is the first to come to my

⁵ The reference to *De Anima* is somewhat indefinite. Possibly Milton had in mind the following passage (I, v, 27):

But none the less all the parts of the soul exist in each of the divided portions, and these are homogeneous both with each other and with the whole, not in the sense that they are separated from each other, but because the whole soul is divided (*On the Soul*, tr W. S. Hett [Cambridge and London Loeb Classical Library, 1935], p. 65. Cf pp 64–65, n. a)

⁶ Chrysostom Javelli (Crisostomo Javello) (ca 1471–ca. 1538), a Dominican monk, spent a great part of his life at Bologna as a teacher. Most of his writings are philosophic and convey real Aristotelian ideas F. Cayré, *Patrologie et Histoire de la Théologie* (Paris. Desclée et Cie, 1947), II, 738. What works of Javello were known to Milton it is hard to say. The following could have been available: *Epitome Chrysostomi Javelli Canapiti, Ord. Praedicatorum, In Uni-*

help; from the dung-heap of his rude and unpolished style we may dig out gold and pearls; if anyone is so refined as to despise these, Aesop's fable of the cock ⁷ will fit him very neatly. His argument runs much as follows: The distinction and organisation of dissimilar parts must precede the introduction of the soul, since this is the act not of any body at random, but of a physically organic body; therefore these partial forms must be corrupted immediately before the production of the total form, unless we are to disregard entirely the universally accepted axiom that "the generation of one thing is the corruption of another". The production of these partial forms is not followed by the instantaneous production of others similar to them; for this would be purposeless and at variance with the wisdom of Mother Nature. Secondly, since every form, whether perfect [109] or imperfect, contributes its specific being, it necessarily follows that, as long as that form remains, that object also remains the same, not varied according to its substance; therefore the total form will supervene like an accident, that is to say not by generation but by alteration. It follows moreover that the soul of the whole, whether divisible or indivisible, is not sufficient to inform every part of the living creature fully and perfectly; this no reason can persuade us to grant. It also follows that one substantial form is as it were a proximate and permanent disposition toward another, which is contrary to truth, since every form constitutes an essence complete in the genus of substance. Finally, if there is a plurality of partial forms in every part, of a man for example, from them there will certainly arise one complete form distinct from the rational soul; hence this form will be the form either of an inanimate thing or corporeity, or of a mixture (which in fact is most unlikely to exist in man in addition to the soul); or else it will be a sensitive or vegetative soul. This latter assertion would be absolutely rejected by the more learned among the philosophers. I

versam Aristotelis Philosophiam, tam Naturalem, quam Transnaturalem (Venetiis . . . Hieronymum Scotum, 1567; NYPL) and *Summa S. Thomae Aquinatis, Doctoris Angelici, Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, Universam Sacram Theologiam complectens, in tres partes divisa ad Romanum exemplar diligenter recognita: Cum Commentariis R. D. D. Thomae De Vio Caietani Cardinalis S. Xysti. Nunc vero eruditissima R. F. Chrysostomi Iavelli Commentaria in primam partem primum in lucem prolata, hic adiecimus* (Lugduni, 1581; NYPL).

⁷ This passage refers to the fable of the "Cock and the Pearl." As a schoolboy Milton may have had lessons in Aesop's fables. See Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, p. 111.

will refrain from further proof of this, since it is generally admitted and moreover does not go to the root of the matter.

Again, our opponents bring forward the objection (and this is the crux of the discussion) that when a part of an animal has been cut off it remains in act after the separation, not through the form of the whole, since it is outside the whole, nor through the form [110] recently acquired, since there is no agent, no perceptible action, and no previous alteration; therefore it exists in act through the proper form which it had before, while it still formed a part of the whole. By this argument they consider that they batter down and utterly demolish our position. The reply which is commonly made is perfectly valid, that a form generated *de novo*, since it is very frequent, as pertaining to a corpse and being as it were a way to resolution, certainly requires neither a long time, nor many dispositions, nor ordered alteration to be so generated. Besides, what if some other universal cause were to combine with the previous mixture to induce some kind of form, that there may not be pure and unqualified matter? Moreover, the fact that we can perceive manifold operations in an animal is not due to distinct partial forms but to the preponderance of the total soul, which is of equal importance with the forms distinct in appearance.⁸

⁸ In this Prolusion Milton shows his familiarity with the controversies as to the unicity or plurality of substantial forms and as to the existence of partial forms besides the total form in one and the same animal. All scholastics agreed that an existing being is a union of primary matter and substantial forms. The question at issue here, however, is: Is it necessary that for each distinct characteristic in a being, there be a distinct substantial form, related to the characteristic as cause is to effect? Man is considered to be a corporeal, vegetative, sensitive, rational substance. To explain this variety of characteristics, the so-called Augustinian school demanded a hierarchy of substantial forms as follows:

Since man is a three-dimensional animal in space, his form can be considered from the viewpoint of corporeity.

Since man grows, nourishes himself, reproduces, he can be considered from the viewpoint of the vegetative processes.

Since man has sense knowledge, he can be considered from the viewpoint of sentient life

Since man reasons, he can be considered from the viewpoint of his rationality.

Applying to man his teaching about the unity of substantial form, St. Thomas opposed the view about plurality of forms, maintaining that the higher form always contained within itself the functions of the lower. In a substance, therefore, there was but one substantial form. In man, for example, this is the rational soul which, when united with matter, makes a man, at one and the same time, exist in space and perform all the functions of vegetation, sensation, and thought.

Though Milton is, of course, limiting himself in this *Exercise* to a consideration of animals, he still seems to be, for the most part, on the side of the Angelic Doctor.

In conclusion, a few general remarks about *Exercises IV* and *V* may not be out of order. First, the performance in them is not to be underestimated. Much as Milton may have disliked the duty which he was called upon to perform, he proved himself a competent disputant in good medieval fashion: he presented the several objections to the thesis, bringing out, if only by suggestion, the difficulties involved in the stating of it, he gave a statement of the authority for the thesis, and then he gave his answer, replying to the objections which his opponents might raise. The student may well analyze either of these two Prolusions on the basis of what is known about the medieval disputation form. Cf., e.g., the following description:

"On the first morning, a thesis, picked by the master and announced in advance, was attacked by an audience of masters, bachelors, students, and interested visitors, and defended by the bachelor under the direction of the master. The master, strictly speaking, did not dispute, but controlled the discussion and magisterially resolved it. For, on the next free morning, he himself reduced to order the difficulties that had been raised, countered them with brief arguments from reason and authority, and then embarked on a detailed exposition and proof of his thesis, afterwards meeting the objections that had been advanced against it." (St. Thomas Aquinas, *God and His Works*, ed A G Herbert [2d ed, New York Macmillan, 1936], introduction, p. xiii)

In addition, Milton shows a grasp of the problems involved and uses the scholastic terms accurately, in the sense in which the scholastic philosophers of both his own and our day use them. He is not deliberately confusing the words or their meaning, nor is he (as Masson suggests) being purposefully bewildering. The topics themselves may be bewildering to the layman.

Second, the arguments which Milton advances constitute a repetition of those which the Schoolmen taught. Whether or not one agrees with the thesis which he maintains is beside the point here. What is pertinent is that the exposition is as clear and intelligent as could be expected of a university student of Milton's day.

Third, living when he did, coming from a study of poetry and rhetoric as he did, and having a marked literary bent, Milton may be forgiven his boredom in these *Exercises*. (Cf. what he wrote in Prolusion IV. "Potui quidem, immo ac debui huic rei diutius immorari, ac profecto nescio an vobis, mihi certe ipse maximopere sum taedio.") An anticipatory rebuttal had, however, been provided by Vasquez (1551-1604) when, in the preface to his commentary on the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, he reminded the lovers of rhetoric and eloquence and the devotees of *literae humaniores* that they should not limit themselves to a delight in words but that they should also look into the *nature* of things, even though the explanations were couched in rude language. See John O'Neill, *Cosmology* (London, 1923), pp. 266 ff.

For assistance in resolving the scholastic problems involved in Prolusion IV and Prolusion V, I should like to express my indebtedness to the Reverend Brother Albinus Heffernan, F.S.C., the Reverend William F. Lynch, S.J., the Reverend Gerard P. Minogue, the Reverend Harry Boyle, S.J., and especially to Gabriel M. Liegey of Fordham University, who has generously let me see his material for an unpublished article.

In view of the fact that Aristotle's ideas are pervasive in his works, it is difficult to cite specific references. The following are, however, suggestive and will provide guidance for the student or scholar who wishes to carry the investigation of *Exercise IV* and *Exercise V* further. On actuality and potentiality (regarding

the identity and the relativity of form and matter), see *The Metaphysics*, tr. Hugh Tredennick (London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1939), all of Book IX. See also J. L. Stocks, *Aristotelianism* (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1925), pp. 34 ff., p. 160, n. 12; George Grote, *Aristotle*, ed. Alexander Bain and G. C. Robertson (2d ed., London, 1880), pp. 245, 454, 594 ff., 611; Werner Jaeger, *Aristotle*, tr. Richard Robinson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 382 ff.; and E. Zeller, *Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics*, tr. B. F. C. Costelloe and J. H. Muirhead (2 vols., New York and Bombay, 1897), I, 284 ff., 340 ff. On the four causes of change (material, efficient, formal, and final), see *Metaphysics*, V, ii, 1013^a25–1014^a25; *The Physics*, tr. P. H. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford (2 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1929), II, vii, 198^a14–198^b5; and *Parts of Animals*, tr. A. L. Peck (London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1927), I, i, 639^b10 ff., 640^b5, 641^a25; II, i, 646^a10 ff. Cf. Peck's introduction, pp. 3, 8, 11, 21, 24 ff. See also Grote, *Aristotle*, p. 609. On the three kinds of soul (vegetative, sensitive, and rational), see *Parts of Animals*, I, i, 641^a15 ff.; II, iii, 650^b25; II, vii, 652^b5; III, v, 667^b20; III, x, 672^b15; IV, ii, 676^b25; IV, v, 678^b1; IV, x, 686^b25; IV, xi, 692^a20. Cf. Grote's introduction, pp. 9, 34–39. See also *Generation of Animals*, tr. A. L. Peck (London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1943), I, xviii, 722^b20; I, xix, 726^b20; II, i, 731^b25, 734^a1, 734^b25 ff.; II, ii, 735^a5 ff.; II, iii, 736^a25–737^a15, 737^a25 ff.; II, iv, 738^b20 ff., 739^a10. Cf. Peck's introduction, pp. xxxviii ff., lvii ff. See also *On the Soul*, I, i, 403^a2 ff.; I, v, 409^b20–411^b30; II, i, 432^a15, and *passim*. See also Grote, *Aristotle*, pp. 457–81. St. Thomas Aquinas is, of course, one of the most distinguished commentators on Aristotle and should be consulted freely. On the subject of matter see *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, ed. and annotated by Anton C. Pegis (2 vols., New York: Random House, 1945), I, 76, 4, obj. 2. On accidental causality (generation and corruption of a form), see I, 49, 3; I, 89, 5; I, 16, 8. On substance and accident see I, 3, 6, obj. 1; I, 76, 6. On the soul see I, 75, 4; I, 97, 3; I, 78, 2; I, 79, 1, obj. 2; I, 77, 8, obj. 4; I, 78, 4, obj. 3; I–II, 51, 3. Since Étienne Gilson provides authoritative interpretations of Aquinas' works, cf. the following passages in *Le Thomisme*, in *Études de Philosophie Médiévale* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, J. Vrin, 1944) which are especially pertinent to the topics which Milton discusses: substantial form, matter and form, prime matter, and accidents, pp. 249–50; form giving to matter its actual being, pp. 273 ff.; unicity of substantial form, pp. 274–75. See also Hans Meyer, *The Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, tr. Frederic Eckhoff (St. Louis and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1944), *passim*, and pertinent introductions provided by Richard McKeon, *Introduction to Aristotle* (New York: The Modern Library, 1947). In connection with the topics which Milton discusses in these exercises, one should recall that Bacon too touched upon them in the *Novum Organum*, II, i ff. For comment on Bacon's treatment of form in connection with Aristotle's four causes, see *Francis Bacon: Essays, Advancement of Learning, New Atlantis, and Other Pieces*, ed. R. F. Jones (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1937), pp. xxiii ff., and Fowler, *Novum Organum*, pp. 54 ff.

What edition or editions of Aristotle Milton used, if any, it is difficult to establish. Available in his time were at least the Aldine edition (5 vols., 1495–98), that by Erasmus (1531), and that by Casaubon (1590). See J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1908), II, 98, 104, 131, 208. Milton's two citations to Aristotle are so indefinite as to provide little if any clue—"Metaph. 7. Text, 8" following which he summarizes some of Aristotle's

I would prefer to pass over, by agreement, the other minor objections which are put forward, for they are not vital, and will be more easily countered and more satisfactorily disproved if they chance to be brought forward in the course of the disputation.

Whatever the outcome may be, even if I fail in my cause, the cause itself will never fail. For invincible Truth has within herself strength enough and to spare for her own defence, and has no need of any other help; and though she may seem to us at times to be hard pressed and beaten to the ground, [111] yet she maintains herself ever inviolate and uninjured by the claws of Error, even as the sun, who often shows himself to human eyes obscured and darkened by clouds, but then drawing in his beams and gathering together all his splendour, shines forth again in blazing glory without spot or stain. [112]

ideas (*Exercise IV*); and "toward the end of the first book of *De Anima*" (*Exercise V*). The former, however, furnishes a slight lead. If one considers that the ME meaning of the word "text" (from the Latin *textus*) was "that portion of the contents of a manuscript or printed book, or of a page, which constitutes the original matter" as distinct from the notes, commentaries, etc., and that the 1605 meaning of the word was "the theme or subject on which one speaks" (*OED.*), one may reasonably assume that in his reference to the *Metaphysics*, Milton was citing Book VII, chap. 8, especially because the ideas in the section correspond to those which he was setting forth. Since 1831 editors of Aristotle have, for the most part, adopted the numeration of Bekker, though some give both the old and Bekker's numeration (The Loeb Classical Library gives both, and the present editor, following the Loeb practice, has also done so.) The reference which Milton gives to the *Metaphysics* would be, according to Bekker's method of numeration, 1033^a–1034^a. It is especially interesting to note that Suarez, a Jesuit Schoolman, while discussing the material cause of accidents, cites the same reference to the *Metaphysics* as does Milton regarding the inherence of quantity in matter and that the Latin phrasing of both is similar. Suarez writes, "*Et huic sententiae favet Aristoteles multis in locis, nam 7 Metaph., text. 8, significat quantitatem primo inesse materiae . . .*" (see R. P. Francisci Suarez, S.J., *Opera Omnia* [rev. ed., Paris, 1861], Vigésimus Quintus, p. 471); and Milton writes, "*Qui quidem id ipsum quod nos arbitramur, innuere videtur, Metaph. 7. Text. 8. ubi ait quantitatem primo inesse materiae . . .*" (*Exercise IV*). Attention has already been called, in the notes to *Exercise IV*, to the proof which disputants adduce concerning scars. Cf. with Milton's remarks the following statement regarding the position taken by Suarez:

Suarez is the best exponent of this theory of the possibility of accidents in primordial matter. . . . The facts that gave rise to the first Suarezian objection were drawn from the likeness between the body when alive and shortly after death: a corpse preserves for some time its heat, its flexibility, its colour; and preserves even longer its quantity, its shape, its scars. (O'Neill, *Cosmology*, pp. 134–35.)

EXERCISE VI: *That Sportive Exercises, etc.*

This *Exercise* contains three sections, the oration, the prolusion, and "Lines at a Vacation Exercise," the third of which does not concern us here. The Prolusion as a whole is commonly referred to as "Vacation Exercise" owing to its having been delivered at the conclusion of the summer term. The oration has for its thesis that sportive exercises sometimes do not hinder philosophic studies, which Milton maintains largely by an attack on too close application to study and by citing famous people of the past from various walks of life who were not above engaging in sportiveness from time to time. At the conclusion he apologizes for anything in poor taste which may appear in the prolusion proper, saying that he is departing from his customary decorum because of the demands of the occasion. The apology was in order, for some of the attempts at humor are downright vulgar according to the standards of some modern readers. As a matter of fact, had this part of the *Exercise* never been written or published, the literary world would be none the poorer. It is not genuinely amusing,¹ and its sole value lies in the demonstration it provides of the coarse humor of which Milton was capable and of the valiant effort he made to meet an assignment for which he was most ill-fitted, as he knew he was, that is, to be funny. It is, however, significant as the first example we have of his use of vulgar phraseology and so paves the way for an understanding of the type of language Milton was sometimes later to employ in his scurrilous attacks upon personal adversaries like Salmasius. The *Exercise* as a whole, however, is especially interesting because of the autobiographical notes and is the only one which can be dated with any degree of accuracy. Since Milton tells us that the poetical section of it was written when he was nineteen, and since this was obviously written to accompany the two prose sections, the whole must have been composed in 1628.²

¹ Tillyard is doubtless right in suggesting that the lines of poetry were added from a sense of pride, as if Milton wanted to show what he could do in another genre. Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. xxxii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxv; Masson, I, 252.

VI.

DELIVERED IN THE COLLEGE SUMMER VACATION, BUT IN
THE PRESENCE OF ALMOST THE WHOLE BODY OF
STUDENTS, AS IS CUSTOMARY

(i) THE ORATION

*Sportive Exercises on occasion are not inconsistent with philosophical
Studies*

ON MY return from that city which is the chief of all cities,¹ Members of the University, filled (I had almost said "to repletion") with all the good things which are to be found there in such abundance, I looked forward to enjoying once more a spell of cultured leisure, a mode of life in which, it is my belief, even the souls of the blessed find delight. I fully intended at last to bury myself in learning and to devote myself day and night to the charms of philosophy; for the alternation of toil and pleasure usually has the effect of annihilating the boredom brought about by satiety and of making us the more eager to resume our interrupted tasks. Just as I was warming to my work there came a sudden summons and I was dragged away by the yearly celebration of our ancient custom, and commanded to transfer that zeal, which I had intended to devote to the acquisition of knowledge, to foolery and the invention of new jests—as if the world were not already full of fools, as if that famous Ship of Fools,² as renowned in song as the Argo³ herself, had been wrecked, or finally as if there were not matter enough already to make even Democritus⁴ laugh.

But I ask your pardon, my hearers; for though I have spoken

¹ The reference is doubtless to London.

² *The Ship of Fools* (1509) was an adaptation made by Alexander Barclay of the *Narrenschiff* (1494) by Sebastian Brandt, the theme of which is shipping off fools of all types to the Land of Fools. The English version, adapted to contemporary English life and conditions, satirizes the foibles and evils of the time. Milton speaks properly of the famous ship's being widely celebrated, because Brandt's book, originally written in the dialect of Swabia, became so popular that it was translated into many languages.

³ Argo was the ship on which Jason and his men sailed to Colchis to recover the Golden Fleece.

⁴ See p 225, n. 23. He is sometimes termed the "laughing philosopher" because of his constant practice of laughing at the follies of mankind Cf. Juvenal's reference to him, "perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat." *Satires*, X, 33.

somewhat too freely, the custom which we celebrate to-day is assuredly no foolish one, but on the contrary most commendable, as I intend to make plain forthwith. And if Junius Brutus,⁵ that second founder of Rome and great avenger of the lusts of kings, could bring himself to disguise his almost godlike mind and wonderful natural talents under the semblance of idiocy, there is assuredly no reason why I should be ashamed to play the wise fool for a while, especially at the bidding of him whose duty it is, like the aediles⁶ at Rome, to organise these shows, which are almost a regular custom. I was further strongly induced and persuaded to undertake this office by the new-found friendliness towards me of you who are fellow-students of my own college. For when, some months ago, I was to make an academic oration before you, I felt sure that any effort of mine would have but a cold reception from you, [114] and would find in Aeacus or Minos⁷ a more lenient judge than in any one of you. But quite contrary to my expectation, contrary indeed to any spark of hope I may have entertained, I heard, or rather I myself felt, that my speech was received with quite unusual applause on every hand, even on the part of those who had previously shown me only hostility and dislike,⁸ because of disagreements concerning our studies. A generous way indeed of displaying rivalry, and one worthy of a royal nature! For while friendship itself is often wont to misinterpret what is really free from faults, on this occasion keen and biting enmity was kind enough to construe in a more gentle and lenient spirit than I deserved both

⁵ Lucius Junius Brutus was, according to tradition, the nephew of Tarquinius Superbus. He feigned insanity to escape being put to death by his uncle as his father and brother had been. When the outrage was committed against Lucretia (the incident treated by Shakespeare in "The Rape of Lucrece"), Brutus swore vengeance against and undying hatred to the royal family, led the uprising against the Tarquins, and liberated the city. He was made a consul and was known as father of the Republic. See *Livy*, tr. Foster, I, lix, 1 ff; II, vi, 7 ff; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities*, tr. Earnest Cary (7 vols., Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1939), IV, lxxvii-lxxviii; V, xiv; cf. Plutarch, *Lives*, I, 504 ff; VII, 584.

⁶ The aediles were Roman magistrates who had charge of the care of buildings, baths, and aqueducts and examined weights and measures. There were three different types—the Aediles *Plebei* or *Minores*, the Aediles *Majores*, and the Aediles *Cereales*, the latter two types enjoying greater privileges and pomp on public appearances than did the first-named type.

⁷ Aeacus, king of the island of Oenopia, was so celebrated for his integrity and Minos, king of Crete, for his equity during life that after death they were made judges in the infernal regions.

⁸ This is another of the autobiographical passages. Cf. *Exercise I*.

my mistakes, which may have been many, and my rhetorical failures, which were doubtless not a few. On this one occasion and in this one instance mad fury seemed to become sane, and by this action to free itself from the imputation of lunacy.

I am quite overcome with pride and joy at finding myself surrounded on all sides by such an assembly of learned men; and yet, when I take stock of myself and turning my eyes inward contemplate in my own heart the meagre powers I possess, I blush to myself and a sudden uprush of sadness overwhelms and chokes my rising joy.

But, gentlemen, do not, I beg of you, desert me as I lie here fallen, and stricken by your eyes as by lightning. Let the soft breeze of your goodwill refresh my fainting spirit, [115] as well it can, and warm it into life again; so shall my sickness, thanks to you, be less acute, and the remedy, since it is you who apply it, the more willingly and gladly accepted; so that it would be a true pleasure to me often to faint thus, if I might as often be revived and restored by you. But what matchless power, what marvellous virtue is yours,⁹ which like Achilles' spear,¹⁰ the gift of Vulcan, at once inflicts the wound and heals it! For the rest, let no one wonder that I triumph, as though exalted to heaven, at finding so many men eminent for their learning, the very flower as it were of the University, gathered together here; for I can scarce believe that a greater number flocked of old to Athens to hear those two supreme orators, Demosthenes and Aeschines,¹¹ contending for the crown of eloquence, or that such felicity ever fell to the lot of Hortensius¹² at any declamation of his, or that so great a company of cultured men ever graced a speech of Cicero's. So that with however poor success I perform my task, it will yet be no mean honour to me merely to have opened my lips before so large and crowded an assembly of our most eminent men. And by heaven, I

⁹ The fulsomeness of the praise to which Milton resorts in this passage is worth noting. Cf. Tillyard's comment, p. xxxi.

¹⁰ The reference to the spear of Achilles pertains to Telephus, a king of Mysia, whom Achilles mortally wounded in an encounter when the Greeks landed on the coast of Mysia en route to Troy. The Delphic oracle told Telephus that he could be cured only by the person who had wounded him. Achilles scraped the rust from the point of his spear, applied the rust to the wound, and so effected the cure. See Ovid, *Meta.*, XIII, 171 ff., and Apollodorus, *Epitome*, III, 17-20.

¹¹ Aeschines was a distinguished Athenian orator (fl. ca. 342 B.C.), especially famous for his rivalry with Demosthenes.

¹² Hortensius was a celebrated Roman orator (d. 50 B.C.). Cicero, his friend and successor, speaks encomiastically of his oratorical power and his unusual memory. See *De Oratore*, III, lxi, 228-30.

cannot help flattering myself a little that I am, as I think, far more fortunate than Orpheus¹³ or Amphion;¹⁴ for they did but supply the trained and skilful touch to make the strings give forth their sweet harmony, and the exquisite music was due as much to the instrument itself as to their apt and dexterous handling of it. [116] But if I win any praise here to-day, it will be entirely and truly my own, and the more glorious in proportion as the creations of the intellect are superior to manual skill. Besides, Orpheus and Amphion used to attract an audience consisting only of rocks and wild beasts and trees, and if any human beings came, they were at best but rude and rustic folk; but *I* find the most learned men altogether engrossed in listening to my words and hanging on my lips. Lastly, those rustics and wild beasts used to follow after the stringed music which they already knew well and had often heard before; *you* have been drawn hither and held fast here by expectation alone.

But, Members of the University, I would before all have you know that I have not spoken thus in a spirit of boastfulness. For I only wish that such a stream of honeyed, or rather nectared, eloquence might be granted me, if but for this once, as of old ever steeped and as it were celestially bedewed the great minds of Athens and of Rome; would that I could suck out all the innermost marrow of persuasion, pilfer the notebooks of Mercury himself,¹⁵ and empty all the coffers of wit, that I might produce something worthy of such great expecta-

¹³ Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus (or of Apollo) and the Muse Calliope, was such a masterful performer on the lyre that he charmed all nature: rivers ceased to flow, wild beasts were spellbound, and the mountains moved to listen to his music. See Ovid, *Meta.*, XI, i ff.; Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, iii, 2.

¹⁴ Amphion was taught music and given the lyre by Mercury. So accomplished a musician was he that he is said to have been the inventor of music and to have built the walls of Thebes by playing on the lyre. The fable of his ability to move stones and to raise the walls of Thebes by his playing has been explained on the grounds that his eloquence was sufficiently powerful to persuade a wild and uncivilized people to unite and to build a town which would protect them from the enemy. See Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, v, 5; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, IX, v, 6-9. For both Orpheus and Amphion see Ovid, *The Art of Love*, III, 321 ff.

¹⁵ Mercury not only presided over orators and merchants but also was the god of thieves and pickpockets. He is said to have stolen on the very day he was born, or at least the next day, the oxen of Admetus which Apollo was tending, and subsequently to have taken the quiver and arrows of Apollo, the trident of Neptune, the girdle of Venus, the sword of Mars, the sceptre of Jupiter, and many of the mechanical instruments of Vulcan. See Ovid, *Meta.*, II, 686; *Fasti*, V, 104, 671, 690. See also Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, vi, 3; III, x, 2. Cf. *The Homeric Hymns*, IV, 12 ff., for many details.

tions, so notable a concourse, and so polished and refined an audience. So behold, my hearers, whither my consuming desire and longing to please you drives me and carries me away: all unexpectedly I find myself wafted in an ambition which is, however, a righteous one, and a virtuous sacrilege, if there can be such a thing.

Certainly I do not consider that I need [117] beg and implore the help of the Muses, for I find myself surrounded by men in whom the Muses¹⁶ and the Graces¹⁷ are incarnate, and it seems to me that Helicon¹⁸ and all the other shrines of the Muses have poured forth their nurslings to celebrate this day, so that one might well believe that the laurels of Parnassus¹⁹ pine and fade for lack of them. Therefore it will surely be useless to seek the Muses, the Graces, and the Loves²⁰ in any other spot in all the world than this. If so, Barbarity, Error, Ignorance, and all that tribe which the Muses loathe must needs take flight with all speed at sight of you, and hide themselves in a far distant clime. And then, why should not every barbarous, vulgar, or outworn word or phrase be forthwith banished from my speech, and I myself become straightway eloquent and accomplished, through the working of your influence and secret inspiration?

However that may be, I entreat you, my hearers, not to grudge a little of your time to my frivolities, for even the gods themselves are said often to have laid aside for the moment the cares of the commonwealth of heaven and to have been present as spectators of the wars of puny

¹⁶ See p. 233, n. 43.

¹⁷ The Graces (Charites) were three goddesses, Aglaia, Thalia, and Euphrosyne, daughters of Venus or Eurynome and Jupiter or Bacchus. They were in constant attendance on Venus and presided over kindness, social enjoyments, and elegant arts. The worship accorded them was the same as that given to the nine Muses. They are generally represented as young, beautiful, and modest virgins holding each other by the hand: young, because the remembrance of a kindness received should always be fresh and constant in our minds; virgin, because their purity and innocence should teach us that benevolent acts ought to be done without expectation of the renewal of a former status and that base favors ought not to be accepted; hand-in-hand, because among friends there should be a continuous and unbroken interchange of kind and benevolent acts. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 907-09. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, IV, 267; *Comus*, l. 986.

¹⁸ Helicon, a mountain in Boeotia on the borders of Phocis, was sacred to the Muses, who had a temple there. With it the poets frequently associated the river or springs of Hippocrene.

¹⁹ See p. 243, n. 8.

²⁰ The goddesses of pleasure were devotees of Venus, one of whose surnames was Libentina.

man.²¹ Sometimes, indeed, the stories tell, they did not disdain humble homes,* but accepted the hospitality of the poor and gladly made a meal of beans and herbs.²² So too I beg and beseech you, my kind hearers, to accept what I can offer as in some sort a humble banquet for your delicate and discerning taste. [118]

I am indeed well aware that many sciolists are in the habit of arrogantly and stupidly belittling in others any subject of which they happen to know nothing themselves, as if it were not worth spending trouble upon; so for instance one foolishly rails at Dialectic, because he could never master it; another despises Natural Philosophy, because, to be sure, the fairest of the goddesses, Nature, never so honoured him as to show herself naked to his eyes. But for my part I will not shrink from singing the praises of jests and merriment to the best of my powers, even though I must admit that I have but very slight aptitude for them. I must however first point out that I am to-day to praise mirth in a serious style, which seems an arduous task indeed and far from easy.

Nor are these praises undeserved. For what is more likely to win friendship quickly and retain it long, than a pleasant and gay disposition? while if a man is devoid of wit and humour and elegant pleasantry, hardly anyone will find him agreeable or welcome. But in our own case, Members of the University, if we made it our daily custom to go to sleep and so to speak die in philosophy and grow old among the thorns and brambles of logic, without any relaxation or breathing-space, what, I ask, would the pursuit of philosophy amount to but to prophesying in the cave of Trophonius²³ and following the

* Masson (I, 255) has "not disdaining humble cottages," evidently reading "casas" for "casus," probably rightly. "Casus" (meaning "chance" or "fortune") does not make good sense with "humble." For "humiles . . . casas" cf. "humilis habitare casas" (Virgil, *Eclogue* II, l 29) Milton was probably thinking of the story of the visit of the gods to Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Meta*, VIII, 630 ff.). "To dine off vegetables" was proverbial for a simple meal (see Horace, *Epistles*, I, xvii, 13-14) —P.B.T.

²¹ This could be descriptive of the Trojan War, since such deities as Juno, Neptune, Venus, and Jupiter were concerned over the outcome of it and so not only observed the course of it but also sometimes intervened in the action.

²² At the Roman feast of the Fabaria, beans (*fabae*) were presented as an offering. The festival was in honor of Carna, wife of Janus, and the homeliness of such an offering as beans and green vegetables signified the simplicity of the ancestors of the Romans. Janus had introduced civilization among the wild inhabitants of Italy.

²³ See p. 241, n 3.

over-rigid rule of Cato? ²⁴ Why, the very rustics would say that we live on mustard. Besides, just as those who exercise themselves in wrestling and other sports [119] grow much stronger than others and more ready for all emergencies, even so we usually find that these mental gymnastics strengthen the sinews of the mind and tone up its whole system, and polish and sharpen the intellect, making it versatile and adaptable. But if a man does not desire to be considered cultured and witty, he must not be annoyed if he is called a clown and a boor. There is, too, a certain mean kind of fellow, often enough met with, who, being themselves incapable of wit or gaiety, and conscious of their own dullness and stupidity, always conclude that any witty remark they may hear is made at their expense. It would indeed serve them right if their unreasonable suspicions were to be realised, and if they should find themselves the butt of everyone's witticisms, till they were almost driven to suicide. But such dregs of mankind as these cannot stand in the way of the pleasantries of polite society.

Would you now, gentlemen, have me build up a structure of proof from instances upon this foundation of reason? I can indeed find plenty of such instances. First of all comes Homer, the rising sun or morning star of cultured literature, at whose birth all learning was born also, as his twin. He sometimes withdrew his divine mind from the councils of the gods and the doings in heaven and diverted it to comic subjects, such as that most amusing description of the battle of frogs and mice.²⁵ Moreover Socrates, according to the Pythian Apollo

²⁴ The "too-rigid Cato" to whom Milton refers probably was M. Porcius Cato, famous for the temperance of his diet, the rigor and severity of his behavior as censor, his hostility to all forms of luxury, and his opposition to the introduction of the fine arts into Italy from Greece. He was, in short, so strict in his morals that Virgil made him one of the judges in the infernal regions. He might, however, have been Marcus Cato, great-grandson of the Cato *Censorius*, who, as a follower of the Stoics, was extremely austere in every way; or he could have been the Daun Catoun whom Pertelote cites as an authority in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*—that is, the author of the *Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus ad Filium* (*The Couplets of Dionysius Cato to His Son Concerning Morals*), more commonly known as the *Disticha Moralia*, regular lessons in the construing and memorizing of which Milton doubtless had during his school days. See Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, pp. 110-14.

²⁵ This is Milton's way of saying that Homer left the serious matters of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to write the *Batrachomyomachia*, or *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice*, a mock-heroic poem in Greek in the manner of Homer, describing

the wisest of men, is said often to have bridled his wife's shrewish tongue²⁶ with a jesting word. [120] Besides, we read that the conversation of the ancient philosophers was always sprinkled with witty sayings and enlivened by a pleasant sparkle; and it was certainly this quality above all which conferred an immortal fame upon all the ancient writers of comedies and epigrams,²⁷ whether Greek or Latin. Moreover we are told that Cicero's jokes and witticisms, collected by Tiro,²⁸ filled three volumes. And we are all familiar with that

the battle indicated in the title, its occasion being the drowning of a mouse by a frog. The mice are at first victorious, but aid given to the frogs by crabs results in the eventual defeat of the mice. The details of arming for battle, the elaborate names given to the individual contestants, the observing of and final intervention in the battle by the deities all constitute a parody on the great epics. It is doubtful, however, that Homer composed the poem (the extant version of which consists of a little over three hundred lines), for it is only one of the sportive poems appearing at different times which, since they were in the metre and, in a sense, in the style of Homer's poems, came to be known as Homeric poetry. See Henry Browne, S. J., *Handbook of Homeric Study* (Dublin, 1905), p. 9; F. B. Jevons, *A History of Greek Literature* (New York, 1900), p. 76; and *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, introduction, p. xli. For a translation see Homer, *Batrachomyomachia, Hymns and Epigrams*, tr. George Chapman, introduction by Richard Hooper (2d ed., London, 1888), pp. 1-17.

²⁶ Xanthippe, the wife of Socrates, was notoriously quarrelsome and shrewish. One story which illustrates what Milton had in mind is the following: One day after heaping invectives on her husband's head she also emptied a vessel of dirty water on it; whereupon Socrates remarked, "After thunder there generally falls rain." Gellius refers to a reply which Socrates made to his wife when she asked that they might spend more money for their dinners during the Dionysiac festival, and recounts the answer given to Alcibiades who, after seeing Xanthippe in one of her tantrums, asked Socrates why he did not show her the door. "Because it is by enduring such a person at home that I accustom and train myself to bear more easily away from home the impudence and injustice of other persons." *The Attic Nights*, VIII, xi; I, xvii, 1-4, tr. John C. Rolfe (3 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1927), II, 147; I, 85. Pythian is one of the names given to the oracle of Apollo. Cf. p. 228, n. 31. Plato relates the incident to which Milton refers in *Apology*, 21 A.

²⁷ Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence among the writers of comedy, and Martial and the satirical epigrammatists of the *Greek Anthology* may be cited as illustrative.

²⁸ Tiro (Tyro) was the esteemed and learned freedman friend and secretary of Cicero. He wrote a *Life of Cicero* (not extant) and edited some of his speeches and the letters *Ad Familiares* (including those to himself). Among the letters are to be found some which are light and chatty, though many of the 426 deal with important matters or are formal documents. See Cicero, *The Letters to His Friends*, tr. W. G. Williams (3 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1927), I, ix-x.

sprightly encomium of Folly ²⁹ composed by an author of no small repute, while we have many other diverting essays on comic subjects by famous authors of our own times.

Would you have me cite great generals, kings, and heroes? Take then Pericles, Epaminondas, Agesilaus, and Philip of Macedon, who, if I may speak in Gellius's manner,³⁰ overflowed with humorous and witty sayings,³¹ according to the statements of historians. Take too Laelius, Scipio, Pompey, Julius Caesar and Augustus, all of whom were, according to Cicero,³² pre-eminent among their contemporaries for wit. Would you have yet greater names? Jove himself and the other deities are represented by the poets, who give us the best pictures of the truth, as giving themselves up to merriment at their feasts and carouses. Finally, gentlemen, I invoke the seal of approval set by yourselves, which I consider worth all the rest. For that jests and jollity are far from displeasing to you is proved clearly enough by your coming here in crowds to-day, and [121] to this every one of you seems to nod assent. Nor, I swear, is it to be wondered at that all honest and all eminent men find pleasure in this lively

²⁹ Milton's allusion to Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly* (1509) is interesting because the famous Dutch humanist had supplied the educational philosophy for St. Paul's and has left the earliest first-hand account of the school. Besides, Erasmus' *Colloques* was a textbook at St. Paul's. See Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, pp. 37 ff., 57, 100, 213.

³⁰ Aulus Gellius (fl. ca. 143 A.D.) wrote twenty books of short essays, *Noctes Atticae* (*The Attic Nights*), dealing with everything from language, textual criticism, etymology of Latin words, and Latin drama to anecdotes about famous persons Cf. above, n. 26.

³¹ The historians are Plutarch and Xenophon. One or two quips will serve to illustrate the type of witticism engaged in by the group mentioned by Milton. The story is told of Pericles that when Alcibiades was reputed to have run away to one of his lovers and Ariphron wanted to have him proclaimed dead by the town crier, Pericles would not permit it, remarking: "If he is dead, we shall know it only a day the sooner for the proclamation, whereas, if he is alive, he will, in consequence of it, be as good as dead for the rest of his life." *Plutarch's Lives*, tr. Bernadotte Perrin (11 vols., London and New York. Loeb Classical Library, 1928), IV, 9. For witticisms by Agesilaus and Epaminondas see, e.g., *ibid.*, V, 59, 493.

³² Gaius Julius Caesar Strabo is praised by Cicero for surpassing all his predecessors and contemporaries in gaiety and cleverness of wit. His style is said to have influenced that of the youthful Julius Caesar. See *Brutus*, tr. G. L. Hendrickson (Cambridge and London. Loeb Classical Library, 1939), pp. xlviii, 177, and 177, n. a. In the course of Cicero's long disquisition on the use of wit and humor in all kinds of oratory, Gaius Julius acts as interlocutor. See *De Oratore*, II, liv, 217 ff.

and elegant pleasantry, since it too has a place of honour in the famous Aristotelian classification of virtues,³³ and as in some Pantheon³⁴ shines in splendour like a goddess among her sister deities.

But perhaps there may be some bearded Masters of crabbed and surly nature, who, thinking themselves Catos³⁵ not merely in a small way but on a grand scale, and composing their countenances to a Stoic severity, shake their obstinate heads and uneasily complain that nowadays everything is in confusion and going from bad to worse, and that the newly-created Bachelors, instead of expounding the *Prior Analytics*³⁶ of Aristotle, shamelessly and unseasonably bandy about scurrilous and empty trivialities,³⁷ and that to-day's exercises, which our forbears undoubtedly instituted with the proper and honest purpose of winning some solid gain either of rhetoric or of philosophy,

³³ In the *Ethics* Aristotle maintains that there are two kinds of virtue, moral and intellectual. Chief among the former are temperance, justice, courage, gentleness, liberality, munificence, self-respect, and magnanimity, among the latter, practical judgment, speculative wisdom, and reason. See I, xiii, 20; II, i-vii.

³⁴ The Pantheon was a famous temple in Rome, built by Agrippa and dedicated to all the gods

³⁵ See above, n. 24

³⁶ The *Analytica Priora* (*Prior Analytics*) of Aristotle was one of his six treatises on logic. In this work he explored (for the first time) the science of formal reasoning, basing himself on the syllogism.

³⁷ Masson has an illuminating note on this passage (I, 257, n. 1).

The scurrilities and jokes indulged in by disputants in the public and College Acts had long been a matter of complaint with the Heads and graver seniors of the University. Thus, by a grace of 1608, it was provided that "all scurrility and foolish and improper jesting moving to theatrical laughter" should be banished from disputations at the Commencement, though "graceful witticisms concocted with literate elegance" were to be encouraged in the Philosophical Act, especially in the *prævaricator* [term applied at Cambridge to the orator who made a jocose or satirical speech at Commencement, *OED*]. Again, as late as 1626 . . . it had been decreed that, whereas ridiculous gesticulations, facetious remarks, and jests against the laws and the authorities of the University, were but too common in College and University disputations, all such irreverence should be repressed in future by severe penalties. Milton has evidently these regulations and their promoters in view.

And well he might, in view of what is soon to follow! He might also have kept in mind some of the precepts of his revered Marcus Tullius regarding the proper use of wit and humor.

We . . . suggest that the orator should use ridicule with a care not to let it be too frequent lest it become buffoonery, not ridicule of a smutty nature, lest it be that of low farce, nor pert, lest it be impudent, nor aimed at misfortune, lest it be brutal . . . nor should the wit be inappropriate to his own character . . . or to the occasion, for all these points come under the head of impropriety. He will also avoid far-fetched jests . . . for these are generally frigid. He will spare friends and dignitaries, will avoid rankling insult (*Orator*, tr. H. M. Hubbell [Cambridge and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1939], pp. xxvi, 87-89, 371).

Milton could, and did, justify his performance in the Prolusion proper on the grounds that the occasion demanded it, but he violated practically all of Cicero's injunctions in it—as he was to do in more than one of his later polemics.

have of late been perverted into a show of feeble witticism. But I have an answer to them ready to hand. Let them know, if they do not know already, that when the laws of our Republic of Letters were first laid down, learning had only just penetrated from foreign lands to our country; therefore, since the knowledge of Greek and Latin was exceedingly rare and unusual, it was necessary to strive and struggle toward them with the more intensive study and more unremitting efforts. We however, though [122] inferior to our predecessors in morals, are superior to them in learning, and ought to turn our backs on those studies which offer but little difficulty, and betake ourselves to those to which they too would have turned their attention, had they had leisure to do so. And you are well aware that the earliest law-givers were always wont to issue ordinances rather harder and more severe than men could endure, in order that as men grew less strict and accurate in their observance of them they might hit upon the right mean. Finally, since the circumstances are now entirely different, we must necessarily allow many laws and customs, if not to lapse and fall into disuse, at least to be narrowed in their application and disregarded in some details. But, they say, raising their eyebrows, if such frivolities are to be openly tolerated and approved and to win public praise, every student will straightway turn his attention away from sound and solid learning and devote it to shows and stage frivolity, so that the very training schools of philosophy will send out, instead of learned and prudent men, fools more shameless than buffoons and play-actors.*

For my part, I consider that a man who can be so given up to foolish jests as altogether to neglect for them his serious and really useful work, is incapable of distinguishing himself in either of these spheres: not in that of serious work, for if he were by nature adapted and suited to dealing with serious matters he would not, I am sure, allow himself to be so easily led away from them; nor yet in that of frivolity, because no one can be master of a fine and clever wit who has not first learnt how to behave seriously. [123]

But I am afraid, gentlemen, that I have been spinning out my speech too long. I will not make excuses for this as I might, lest in excusing it I should aggravate my fault. In a moment we shall shake off the fetters of rhetoric and throw ourselves into comic licence. If

*I have made the obvious correction of reading "mimis" for "nimis" which does not make sense.—P.B T.

in the course of this I outgo by a finger's breadth, as they say, my usual custom and the strict rules of modesty, I beg you, gentlemen, to accept this explanation: it is to give you pleasure that I have put off and for the moment laid aside my usual habit, and if anything I may say is loose or licentious, put it down to the suggestion, not of my real mind and character, but of the needs of the moment and the genius of the place.³⁸ And so I entreat at the beginning of my entertainment the favour which actors beg at the end of theirs: give me your laughter and applause.³⁹ [124]

(ii) THE PROLUSION

At a moment when the commonwealth of fools is, as it seems, tottering and on the brink of disaster, I have been made its Dictator, though I know not how I have deserved the honour. Why should the choice fall on me, when that famous leader and commander of all the Sophisters⁴⁰ was an eager candidate for the post, and would have fulfilled its duties valiantly; for that seasoned warrior on a previous occasion boldly led some fifty Sophisters, armed with short staves, across Barnwell Field,⁴¹ and, as a step toward laying siege to the town in the approved military style, destroyed the aqueduct, in order to force the townsfolk to surrender through shortage of water. I am deeply distressed at this hero's recent departure, since his going leaves all us Sophisters not merely headless but beheaded.

I ask you now to imagine, gentlemen, although it is not the first of April,⁴² that we are celebrating the Hilaria⁴³ in honour of the Mother of the Gods, or a festival sacred to the god Laughter. Laugh,

³⁸ See note above Cf. Masson's comment, I, 266.

³⁹ Despite the university statute against "improper jesting moving to theatrical laughter," Milton employs an expression from comedy. Plautus, for instance, customarily had one of his characters end the play with the word *Plaudite* or with a request for applause phrased in some other way.

⁴⁰ "Sophister" was a term applied at Cambridge to a student in his second or third year. *OED*.

⁴¹ Tillyard explains that Barnwell Field was one of two arable plots of land belonging to Cambridge before the Enclosure Acts. Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. 122.

⁴² The first day of April must have had the same connotation in Milton's day as in ours, April Fools' Day being associated with pranks and laughter. For the origin of and the reason for the classical Feast of Fools, see Ovid, *Fasts*, II, 513 ff.

⁴³ Hilaria was the name given to the festivals held at Rome in honor of the mother of the gods.

then, and raise a roar from your saucy lungs, smooth out the wrinkles of your brows, make a long nose if you like, but don't turn it up at anything; let the whole place resound with shouts of mirth, let unbridled hilarity make the tears of merriment flow freely, so that laughter may drain them dry, [125] leaving not a drop to grace the triumph of grief. For my part, if I see anyone not opening his mouth as wide as he should to laugh, I shall say that he is trying to hide teeth which are foul and decayed, and yellow from neglect, or misplaced and projecting, or else that at to-day's feast he has so crammed his belly that he dares not put any extra strain upon it by laughing, for fear that not the Sphinx but his sphincter anus should sing a second part to his mouth's first and accidentally let out some enigmas, which I leave to the doctors instead of to Oedipus to explain. For I should not like the cheerful sound of laughter to be drowned by groans from the posterior in this assembly. I leave it to the doctors, who can loosen the bowels, to loosen up all this. If anyone does not raise his voice loud and clear enough, I shall swear that his breath is so foul and poisonous that the fumes of Etna or Avernus could not be more noisome, or at any rate that he has just been eating onions or leeks so that he dare not open his mouth for fear of making his neighbours choke with his evil-smelling breath. Next, there must be no trace of that dreadful and infernal sound, a hiss, anywhere near this assembly; for if it is heard here to-day, I shall believe that the Furies and Eumenides⁴⁴ are skulking somewhere among you, that their snakes and serpents have found their way into your bosoms, and that the madness of Athamas⁴⁵ has come upon you.

To be sure, gentlemen, I am quite overcome with wonder and admiration at the favour you have shown me, in forcing your way through flame and fire into this place to hear me speak.⁴⁶ For at the

⁴⁴ Furies and Eumenides (see p. 227, n. 28) are actually two names for the same goddesses. Eumenides and Erinyes of Greek derivation may be regarded as euphemisms for Furies (*Furiae*) of Latin derivation.

⁴⁵ Athamas was king of Thebes in Boeotia. Juno, jealous of Ino, the wife of Athamas, sent Tisiphone, one of the Furies, to the house of Athamas; whereupon he was seized by a sudden attack of madness, during which he took Ino to be a lioness and their two sons to be whelps. He killed one of the sons, but Ino fled with the other in her arms—only to throw herself and him from a high rock. Following this tragic episode Athamas was restored to his senses. See Ovid, *Meta.*, IV, 470 ff.; *Fasti*, VI, 489 ff.; and Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, iv, 3.

⁴⁶ This begins a passage containing a number of puns on the names of two college servants. Tillyard has learned that the name of one was Sparks. Whether

very threshold [126] there stands on the one hand our fiery Cerberus ⁴⁷ barking forth smoke to terrify us, laying about him with his blazing staff, and puffing out mouthfuls of glowing embers. On the other hand that burning and all-consuming Furnace of ours belches forth lurid flames and pours out coiling wreaths of smoke, so that it would be as easy to force one's way past him as to traverse the road to Hades, and that against the will of Pluto; and certainly Jason himself encountered no greater danger * in his attempt on the fire-breathing oxen of Mars. But now, gentlemen, you may well believe yourselves to be in heaven, after having passed through purgatory, and come safe and sound out of the fiery furnace by some new miracle. I cannot think of any hero whose valour can fairly be compared with yours; for the renowned Bellerophon showed no greater courage in subduing the fire-vomiting Chimaera,⁴⁸ nor did those valiant champions of King Arthur more easily overcome and destroy the enchantments of the flaming, fiery castle. Hence I feel justified in promising myself a choice and select audience; for if any rubbish has passed through the furnaces and penetrated to this place, I can only say that our porters are mere jack-o'-lanterns, or "foolish fires." ⁴⁹

But how happy and how secure we are and always shall be! For at Rome it was the custom to guard the eternal fire most carefully and scrupulously, to secure the permanence of the empire; but we are

they were brothers of that name or whether the other servant had an equally convenient name like Coles or Furness cannot be determined Tillyard, p. 140.

* The Latin has "minori cum periculo." This does not make sense, and I assume that either Milton or the printer made a simple slip, and read "majori"—P.B.T.

⁴⁷ See p. 221, n. 12 Cf. *Paradise Lost*, II, 665; "L'Allegro," l. 2

⁴⁸ Bellerophon, son of the king of Ephyre, was unjustly accused of trying the virtue of the wife of Proetus, king of Argos, while he was visiting at the court. Unwilling to violate the law of hospitality by punishing Bellerophon himself, Proetus sent him to his father-in-law, Iobates, to dispose of. Iobates sent Bellerophon to conquer the monster chimera (see p. 231, n. 38) in the hope that he would perish in the venture. Supported by Minerva and aided by his winged horse Pegasus, Bellerophon was able, however, to conquer the monster. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 319-25; Apollodorus, *The Library*, II, iii, 1, 2 Cf. *Paradise Lost*, VII, 4 ff.

⁴⁹ The *ignis fatuus* (literally, "foolish fire"), a phosphorescent light seen above marshy places and supposedly caused by spontaneous combustion of gas from decaying animal or vegetable matter, is popularly known as will-o'-the-wisp or jack-o'-lantern. It is interesting to note that in his discussion of the nature of heat, Bacon comments on the *ignis fatuus*, describing its nature and citing examples of circumstances under which it may be seen. See *Novum Organum*, II, Aphorism xxi and Aphorism xiii, item 21.

ourselves guarded by living and watchful fires. Living and watchful, did I say? that expression slipped from my tongue unawares, for now that I come to think of it, they go out at the approach of dusk, and only rekindle in broad daylight. [127] Still there is good hope that our House may shine once more, since none would deny that two of the greatest luminaries of the University preside over our college; yet they would not be more highly honoured anywhere than at Rome, for there Vestal Virgins⁵⁰ would keep them aglow and awake all night long. Or, it may be, these flaming brothers might be initiated into the seraphic order.⁵¹ Lastly, that half-line of Virgil applies exactly to them, "They have the vital force of fire". Indeed I am inclined to believe that Horace referred to these Lights of ours, for the elder of them, as he stands among his wife and children, "shines among them all, like the moon among lesser lights". But I cannot pass over Ovid's egregious error in saying "No creatures do we know which are born of flame."⁵² For we see flitting all around us little Sparks, the offspring of this Spark of ours. If Ovid denies this, he will necessarily be casting aspersions on their mother's good name.

To return to yourselves, gentlemen. That you may not regret having taken so difficult and dangerous a journey, here is a banquet ready prepared for you! Here are tables decked with all the luxury of Persia and loaded with rarest dainties, fit to delight and captivate the palate of a very Apicius.⁵³ For it is said that eight whole boars were set before Antony and Cleopatra at a banquet, but behold, before *you* are set, as a first course, fifty fatted boars which have been pickled in beer for three years, and yet are still so [128] tough that they may well tire out even our dog-teeth. Next, the same number of excellent oxen with magnificent tails, just roasted before the door by our fiery servant; only I am afraid all the juice has gone into the dripping-pan. After them come as many calves' heads, fat and fleshy enough, but with so little brains as not to be enough for seasoning. Then again a

⁵⁰ See Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 69; VI, 295 Cf Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, xxvii; and Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 292; II, 296, 567; V, 744; IX, 259.

⁵¹ The seraphic order was regarded in mediaeval times as the highest of the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy.

⁵² The references are to *Aeneid*, VI, 730; *Epodes*, XV, 1-2; *Fasti*, VI, 292

⁵³ Apicius was a famous Roman glutton. There were really three of the same name famous for their appetites, the second (Apicius Caelus) being the most celebrated, having written a book on the pleasures of eating, *De Arte Coquinaria*. Apicius has been mentioned by both Juvenal (*Satires*, IX, 3) and Martial (*Epigrams*, II, 69). Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, xxx, 66.

hundred kids, more or less, but too lean, I think, from over-indulgence in the pleasures of love. We expected a few rams with fine spreading horns, but our cooks have not yet brought them from the town. If anyone prefers birds, we can provide any number of them, long fattened on dough and flour and grated cheese. First of all, a kind of bird as green in character as in plumage, which, I fancy, must have come from the same part of the world as parrots; as they always fly about in flocks and nest in the same place, they will be served up all on one dish. I would advise you to partake of them sparingly, for besides being rather underdone and lacking in solid nutriment, they are apt to produce a rash in those who eat them, if our epicure is right. Now enjoy your feast with a right good will, for here comes a dish which I can most heartily recommend, namely an enormous turkey, so fat and stout after three years' fattening that one vast dish is scarcely big enough for it, and with such a long and horny beak that it could attack an elephant or a rhinoceros [129] with impunity; but we have had it killed for to-day, just at the right moment since it was beginning to be a danger to young girls and to attack women, like the large apes.

This is followed by some Irish birds (of which I do not know the name but which are very like cranes in their gait and lanky figures), though as a rule they are kept for the last course. This is a novel and rare, rather than wholesome dish, and I would therefore warn you not to taste them, for they are very apt, if our epicure is right, to produce lice. I consider that they are more likely to be useful to grooms, for they are naturally lively, spirited, and prancing, so that if they are given as a clyster to lean horses they make them more lively and fleet than they would be even if they had swallowed a dozen live eels.

You see also several geese, some of this year's hatching and some older; they have good loud voices noisier than the frogs of Aristophanes. You will easily recognise them—in fact it is a wonder that they have not already betrayed themselves by hissing, and perhaps you will hear them in a moment.

We have besides a few eggs, but they are "bad eggs." * Of fruits we have only apples and medlars, and they are gallows-fruit ** and are

* In referring again to the Greek proverb, "From a bad crow a bad egg," Milton uses *κακοῦ κόρακος*, meaning "of a bad crow."—P.B.T.

** The Latin for "gallows-fruit" is "*infelcis arboris*" ("of an evil tree"), a euphemism for the gallows.—P.B.T.

not quite ripe, so that it would be better to hang them up again to ripen in the sun.

You see what we have provided, so I beg you to help yourselves to what you fancy. But I expect you will say that this banquet, like the nocturnal feasts offered by the devil to witches, [130] is cooked without salt,* and I am afraid that you will go away hungrier than you came.

I will now turn to what concerns me more closely. The Romans had their Floralia,⁵⁴ the rustics their Palilia,⁵⁵ the bakers their Fornacalia,⁵⁶ and we too keep the custom of amusing ourselves as Socrates advised, especially at this season when we find ourselves released from cares and business. Now the Inns of Court have their Lords, as they call them, so showing how ambitious they are of rank. But we, gentlemen, in our desire to come as near as may be to paternity,⁵⁷

* The Latin "sal" means both "salt" and "wit." The double meaning occurs several times in this Prolusion. It is impossible to give it in English.—P B T.

⁵⁴ The Floralia, or *Ludi Florales*, games in honor of the goddess Flora, the protectress of flowers and gardens, were held from April 28 to May 3. The festival was a time of general merriment, during which the men bedecked themselves with flowers, the women wore gay dresses, and scenic performances provided entertainment. The sixth day, however, was given over to *venationes*, the hunting of wild animals as a public spectacle.

⁵⁵ The Palilia, a festival in honor of Pales, the goddess of sheepfolds and pastures, was celebrated by the rustics on April 21. Since the Palilia was concerned with the rite of purification of shepherds and flocks, no sacrifices were offered, instead, the ceremony consisted of burning piles of straw, over which the shepherds leaped or through which the flocks were driven. An invocation for prosperity in the next season accompanied the rituals as a matter of course. Purifications of various kinds were made, but only offerings of such things as cheese, wine, and cakes were offered up.

⁵⁶ The Fornacalia were festivals held in honor of Fornax, who was the Roman goddess of the ovens and who presided over the baking of bread. The feast was celebrated in the early part of February. Milton was very likely drawing upon his knowledge of such classical sources as Ovid's *Fasti* for the casual allusions to the Roman festivals he enumerated, since this work is the source of much information about early Roman customs. See IV, 947; V, 185, 277, 329, for Floralia; IV, 721, 783, for Palilia; and II, 527; VI, 314, for Fornacalia.

⁵⁷ Tillyard has an interesting note on this passage. Mrs. Tillyard having translated "*Itaque hospitium Leguleiorum suos habent, quos vocant Dominos, vel hinc indicantes quam sint honoris ambitiosi*" as, "Now the Inns of Court have their lords, as they call them, so showing how ambitious they are of rank," Tillyard explains that Milton was speaking of the names given to the masters of revels (*Domini* at the Inns of Courts and *Patres* at Cambridge) and that as the "Father" in the entertainment being provided, he continued to make jokes about his paternity. Tillyard, pp. 98, 141. Masson also translates the words *hospitium Leguleiorum*

are eager to play in pretence a part which we should not dare really to play unless in secret; even as girls are wont to invent games of weddings and births, striving to catch and hold the shadows of those things for which they long and yearn.

Why this custom should have been neglected last year I cannot imagine, unless it was because those who were to be Fathers had shown such activity in the town that the master of the ceremonies, out of consideration for the labours they had already undergone, voluntarily excused them this duty.

But, I ask, how does it happen that I have so quickly become a Father? Good heavens, what a prodigy this is, more astonishing than any recorded by Pliny! ⁵⁸ Have I slain some serpent and incurred the fate of Tiresias? ⁵⁹ Has some Thessalian witch ⁶⁰ poured magic ointment over me? Or have I been violated by some god, like Caeneus ⁶¹ of old, and won my manhood as the price of my dishonour, that I should be thus suddenly changed from woman into man? [131] Some of late called me "the Lady." ⁶² But why do I seem to them too little

as "Inns of Court" (I, 260) The word "leguleius" in origin was a diminutive (apparently a pejorative) applied to a lawyer who collected petty technicalities with which to harrass his opponent In application, however, the word came to be used in England as a generic term for any kind of lawyer

⁵⁸ This is probably an allusion to Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus, 23-79 A.D.), whose *Naturalis Historia* consisted of thirty-seven books, many of which were published posthumously Many of the statements in it are now, of course, recognized as ill-founded

⁵⁹ According to Greek mythology, Tiresias was changed for a time into a woman because of having killed the female of a pair of snakes The usual story is that when, as a youth, he came upon two serpents in the act of copulation and had struck them with a stick to separate them, he was changed into a girl; and that when, seven years later, he repeated the experience, he recovered his original sex See Ovid, *Meta*, III, 322 ff, and Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, vi, 7.

⁶⁰ The adjective "Thessalian" pertained to anything false (such as a counterfeit coin) and to any perfidious action (such as deceit) The people of Thessaly were reputed to have been extremely superstitious and addicted to the study of magic and incantations.

⁶¹ Caenis was a Thessalian woman who after having been ravished by Neptune obtained the power to change her sex She also changed her name from Caenis to Caeneus Milton uses the latter form See Ovid, *Meta*, XII, 189 ff

⁶² Milton has prepared the way mythologically (see above, nn 59-61) for this autobiographical reference "The Lady of Christ's" seems to have been his nickname at Cambridge. Aubrey writes (*Brief Lives*, II, 67) "His complexion exceeding faire—he was so faire that they called him *the lady of Christ's College*" Anthony à Wood repeats the information. Masson draws the conclusion, therefore, that the nickname resulted from Milton's clear complexion (I, 260-61).

of a man? Have they no regard for Priscian? ⁶³ Do these bungling grammarians attribute to the feminine gender what is proper to the masculine, like this? It is, I suppose, because I have never brought myself to toss off great bumpers like a prize-fighter, ⁶⁴ or because my hand has never grown horny with driving the plough, or because I was never a farm hand at seven or laid myself down full length in the midday sun; or last perhaps because I never showed my virility in the way these brothellers do. But I wish they could leave playing the ass as readily as I the woman.

But see how stupid and ill-advised they are to reproach me with a thing upon which I can most justly pride myself. For Demosthenes himself was said to be too little of a man ⁶⁵ by his rivals and opponents. Hortensius ⁶⁶ also, the most eminent orator after Cicero, was called by Torquatus Dionysia the lyre-player. His reply was, "I would rather be Dionysia indeed than a man without taste, culture, or urbanity, like you, Torquatus." (But indeed as to any such nickname as "Lord" or "Lady" I utterly reject and repudiate it; for, gentlemen, it is only in your courts and on your platforms that I have any ambition to lord it.) Who will forbid me to rejoice at so auspicious and happy an omen, and to exult at sharing a reproach aimed at such great men? In the meantime, as I consider all good and excellent men to be above envy, even so [132] I hold these spiteful fellows to be so far beneath all others that those who revile them are unworthy.* And so I take up my *rôle* of Father and address myself to my sons, of whom I perceive a goodly number, and I see that the jolly rascals acknowledge me as their father by a furtive nod. ⁶⁷

* The text reads "qui maledicant," but Milton probably meant to write "qui maledicantur," "are not even worth reviling."—P.B.T.

⁶³ Priscian was a noted grammarian at Athens. His *Grammar*, written in Latin and consisting of eighteen books, including copious quotations from classical authors, was so famous in the Middle Ages that it survives in more than a thousand manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Milton's "pancratice" comes from "pancratium," a rough contest of mingled boxing and wrestling.

⁶⁵ When, during his career, Demosthenes was forced to retire from Athens, he spent the period of his banishment at Troezen and Aegina, displaying at the time a good deal of effeminacy.

⁶⁶ Hortalsus Quintus Hortensius was a distinguished orator whom even Cicero praised for his oratorical powers and excellent memory (see above, n. 14). Unfortunately, however, he was so affected in his manner that to him was given the name of Dionysia, that of a famous stage dancer and citharist of the time.

⁶⁷ For an explanation of the figurative language from here to the end of the *Exercise*, see Masson, I, 261, n. 1.

Do you ask their names? I should not like my sons to be given the names of various dishes, and to furnish forth a banquet for you, for that would be too like the savagery of Tantalus⁶⁸ and Lycaon;⁶⁹ and I will not give them the names of the parts of the body, lest you should think me the father of so many bits of men instead of whole ones; nor do I fancy calling them after the various kinds of meat, lest in my remarks I should not keep to my mutttons,* as the proverb says. No, I will have them called after the Predicaments⁷⁰ of Aristotle, to indicate the nobility of their birth and the liberality of their habits; and I shall take good care, too, that all of them are promoted to some degree before I die.

As for my jokes, I don't want them to have no bite in them, or you may well say they are hackneyed and stale, and that some wheezy old woman has spat them out. At the same time I do not think that anyone will accuse my jokes of being too biting, unless he has no teeth himself and finds fault with them because they are not like his own. Certainly on this occasion I could wish that my lot were the same as Horace's, and that I were a fishmonger's son,⁷¹ for then I should have just the right amount of salt, and I should send you all off so nicely pickled that you would be as sick of salt water as were those soldiers of ours who lately managed to escape from the island of Ré.⁷²

* "Nec ad vinorum genera eos, nuncupare volupe est, ne quicquid dixero, sit ἀπροσδόνιστον & nihil ad *Bacchum*." The pun on wine and "nothing to do with Bacchus" (*i.e.*, "not on the point") cannot be literally translated.—P B T.

⁶⁸ Tantalus, king of Lydia (or Phrygia), is usually represented by the poets as suffering severe punishment in Hades, the manner and the cause of which vary. Milton seems to have in mind here Tantalus' cruelty in killing his son Pelops. [and serving his limbs to the gods as food.] See below, n. 75.

⁶⁹ Lycaon, a king of Arcadia, was notorious for his cruelties, such as offering human flesh to Zeus to eat and offering up human victims to Pan. See Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 216 ff.

⁷⁰ Milton is referring here to the predicaments, or categories, of Aristotle. He himself will be *Ens*, or Being, the father of them. The ten predicamental conceptions, the highest genera of being, are: substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, action, passion, posture, and habit. They are taken from the various ways in which a predicate may be related to its subject. See *Physics*, I, tr. Wicksteed and Cornford, introduction, pp. l-lv, and *The Categories*, tr. H. P. Cooke (London and Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1938).

⁷¹ Though Horace's father was a freedman and in poor circumstances, there is no evidence that he was a fishmonger.

⁷² The great naval expedition to Ré in 1627, one of the attempts made by Charles I and Buckingham to regain the favor of the people, ended in disaster.

I want to avoid [133] being heavily sententious in my advice to you, my sons, so as not to seem to have taken more pains in educating than in begetting you. Only take care you do not turn prodigal sons, and mind you all keep off Bass, or I will disown you as bastards.⁷³ Any other advice I may have to offer had best be given in our native language; and I will do my utmost to make my meaning plain.

For the rest, I must pray to Neptune, Apollo, Vulcan, and all the artificer-gods,⁷⁴ to strengthen my ribs with wooden supports or to bind them round with iron plates. And I must beseech the goddess Ceres also, who gave Pelops⁷⁵ a shoulder-blade of ivory, to be so good as to repair my sides, which are nearly worn out, in a similar way. It is not surprising that after so much shouting and after begetting so many sons they are rather the worse for wear.

I have "dallied" (in the Neronian sense⁷⁶ of the word) more than long enough over these things. Now I will overleap the University Statutes as if they were the wall of Romulus and run off from Latin into English.⁷⁷ Lend me attentive ears and minds, you whom such things amuse. [134]

It was under Buckingham's command and was designed to aid the Huguenots of La Rochelle against their commander.

⁷³ "Bass" refers to a brand of beer well known in England. The Latin here is "liberique mei ne colant liberum, si me velint patrem" ("let not my children be devotees of wine [Liber, god of wine] if they wish to have me as their father"). Since it is not possible to make a pun on "children" and "wine" corresponding to that on "liberi" and "Liber," the nearest one available has been substituted—P.B.T.

⁷⁴ The allusion to these three gods is appropriate here since, with his trident, Neptune could work all kinds of marvels; Apollo, according to one account, was the son of Vulcan and was credited with inventing a great many things; and Vulcan, who presided over fire, was the patron of all artists who worked in iron and other metals. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 929. See also Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 273 ff.

⁷⁵ Pelops, the son of Tantalus, was murdered by his father in order to try out the divinity of the gods visiting his country by placing on the table before them the limbs of his son. Perceiving the horrible cruelty, all the gods refused to touch the meat except Ceres, whom the recent loss of her daughter Persephone had rendered melancholy and inattentive. See p. 285, n. 68. She ate one of the shoulders. Later, when Jupiter restored Pelops to life, Ceres gave him an ivory shoulder to replace the one which she had eaten. This shoulder had great curative powers. See Ovid, *Meta.*, VI, 401 ff.

⁷⁶ The pun, which cannot be rendered in English, involves a play on the word *mōrari*, meaning "to delay" or "to linger," and *mōrari*, meaning "to play the fool." See Tillyard, p. 142.

⁷⁷ There follows at this point the section in verse, "Lines at a Vacation Exercise."

EXERCISE VII: *Knowledge Makes Men Happier*, etc.

This is by far the finest of the *Prolusions*. The thesis that knowledge makes men happier than ignorance was one to which Milton could personally subscribe and which he was well qualified to support. Masson thinks that the exercise was probably written as the Declamation or as part of the Act required of those about to take the Master's degree.¹ With this idea Tillyard is in accord, adding that its contents indicate that possibly Milton had already begun the Horton period.² If this was the last of the *Exercises*, it would have been composed for delivery before Milton left Cambridge in the summer of 1632. Certainly the scope of the material and the maturity with which it is handled lend plausibility to the assumption. At any rate, it is in marked contrast to the preceding *Prolusion* and shows Milton at his best. Of all the rhetorical devices employed that of *elocutio* particularly warrants notice since the style rises to unusual heights.

It has become almost a commonplace to mention Bacon in connection with this *Prolusion*—and rightly so, in view of Bacon's having written "In Praise of Knowledge" and of Milton's devoting this exercise to a defense of knowledge. The *Advancement of Learning* is, however, the work customarily cited, and Milton certainly seems to have read it carefully. Many parallels may be cited between it and this *Prolusion* and the preceding ones as well. To mention just a few by way of example: the desire to have learning given real dignity and freed from any discredit which might accrue from the ignorance disguised under the zeal and jealousy of divines and the errors of learned men themselves; the mention of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar as soldier-scholar-philosophers; a refutation of the notion that learning makes men slothful in physical activities, weak in body, soft in spirit, and uncouth in manners; an attack on the Schoolmen and their subtleties and fruitless speculations; a disquisition on truth and error and natural history, the use of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar as examples of great generals who indulged in witticisms; a discussion of knowledge *vs.* will; a statement on the beneficence given by learning to both the individual and the state. More specifically, one might mention the criticism of the universities, the Reformation attitude toward anything smacking of medievalism, the allusion to Aesop's cock, and the three types of learning—history, poetry, and philosophy.³

¹ Masson, I, 266.

² Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. xxv. For the relationship between this *Prolusion* and the early poems, see Woodhouse, "Notes on Milton's Early Development," pp. 88 ff.

³ In her stimulating study, *Plato and Milton* (Ithaca. Cornell University Press,

VII.

DELIVERED IN THE COLLEGE CHAPEL IN DEFENCE OF LEARNING AN ORATION

Learning brings more Blessings to Men than Ignorance

ALTHOUGH, gentlemen, nothing could give me greater pleasure and satisfaction than your presence here, than this eager crowd in cap and gown, or than the honourable office of speaker, which I have already once or twice discharged before you gladly enough, I must, to be candid, confess that I scarcely ever undertake these speeches of my own free will; even though my own disposition and the trend of my studies make no impediment. In fact, if the choice had been offered me, I could well have dispensed with this evening's task. For I have learnt from the writings and sayings of wise men that nothing common or mediocre can be tolerated in an orator any more than in a poet, and that he who would be an orator in reality as well as by repute must first acquire a thorough knowl-

1947, pp. 103-04), Irene Samuel sees the influence of Plato's *Symposium* in the glorification of knowledge in this *Exercise*. For a discussion of Milton's connection with the Cambridge Platonists, see pp. 36 ff., and for suggestions regarding possible Platonic influence on the several Prolusions, see pp. 21-23, 107, 140, 141. Some passages in this Prolusion are, however, also strongly reminiscent of Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta*. Although Milton is speaking of knowledge in general, and Cicero of poetry in particular, the resemblance in attitude is worth noting. With the following ideas expressed by Milton, cf. the indicated passages in the *Pro Archia*: that it is possible, though rare, for men unacquainted with learning to be virtuous and upright (VII, 15); that virtue without knowledge is better than knowledge without virtue (VII, 15); that knowledge makes a special contribution to each of the main periods of a man's life (VII, 16); that those who object to doing physical harm to themselves by hard study, injure themselves by indulging to excess in eating and drinking and by expending their energies in debauchery and gambling (VI, 13); and that the desire for fame both in the present and in the future is natural (VI, 14; XI, 26; XII, 30). Cf. also the idea expressed by Milton (*Exercise III*) that service to the state is of great importance with VI, 12; and Milton's notion that the alternation of work and pleasurable, profitable relaxation is advantageous (*Exercise VI*) with VI, 12.

*"Beatiore reddit Homines Ars quam Ignorantia." The word "art" is no longer used in this sense except in a few phrases such as "the liberal arts," "arts and sciences," and the proverb "Ars longa, vita brevis." Therefore another word is here substituted to convey the meaning more exactly, usually "learning."—P.B.T.

edge of all the arts and sciences to form a complete background to his own calling. Since however this is impossible at my age, I would rather endeavour truly to deserve that reputation by long and concentrated study and by the preliminary acquisition of that background, than snatch at a false repute by a premature and hastily acquired eloquence.

Afire and aglow with these plans and notions, I found that there was no more serious hindrance or obstacle than the loss of time caused by these constant interruptions, while nothing better promoted the development and well-being of the mind, contrary to what is the case with the body, than a cultured and liberal leisure. This I believe to be the meaning of Hesiod's ¹ holy sleep and Endymion's nightly meetings with the moon; ² this was the significance of Prometheus' withdrawal, under the guidance of Mercury, to the lofty solitude of the Caucasus, where at last he became the wisest of gods and men, so that his advice was sought by Jupiter himself concerning the marriage of Thetis.³ I can myself call to witness the woods and rivers and the beloved village elms, under whose shade I enjoyed in the summer just passed (if I may tell the secrets of goddesses) such sweet intercourse with the Muses, as I still remember with delight. There I too, amid rural scenes and woodland solitudes, [136] felt that I had enjoyed a season of growth in a life of seclusion.

I might indeed have hoped to find here also the same opportunity for retirement, had not the distressing task of speaking been unseasonably imposed upon me. This so cruelly deprived me of my holy slumbers, so tormented my mind, intent upon other things, and so hindered and hampered me in the hard and arduous pursuit of learning, that I gave up all hope of finding any peace and began sadly to

¹ After speaking of the Muses of Helicon, Hesiod says, "And one day they taught Hesiod glorious song while he was shepherding his lambs under holy Helicon." *Theogony*, ll. 22-23.

² The shepherd Endymion, being loved by the Moon (Diana), was visited by her each night. In "Letter to a Friend," Milton avails himself of this myth to provide an apt simile, "like Endymion with the Moone on Latmus hill." See Propertius, *Elegy* II, 25; Theocritus, *Idyl* III; and Ovid, *Heroides*, XVIII, 63.

³ Cf. p. 239, n. 15, for Prometheus. It was Mercury who took him to Mount Caucasus. Having received the gift of prophecy, Prometheus was consulted by all the gods, even by Jupiter himself, as an infallible oracle. According to one account, he knew the secret about the marriage of Thetis and Peleus, and when he refused to divulge it to Jupiter he was punished by being chained in the Caucasus.

think how far removed I was from that tranquillity which learning had at first promised me, how hard my life was like to be amid this turmoil and agitation, and that all attempts to pursue Learning had best be abandoned. And so, almost beside myself, I rashly determined on singing the praise of Ignorance, since that was not subject to these disturbances, and I proposed as the theme of dispute the question whether Art or Ignorance bestowed greater blessings on its devotees. I know not how it is, but somehow either my destiny or my disposition forbade me to give up my old devotion to the Muses; indeed, blind chance itself seemed of a sudden to be endowed with prudence and foresight and to join in the prohibition. Sooner than I could have expected, Ignorance had found her champion, and the defence of Learning devolved on me. I am delighted thus to have been played with, and am not ashamed to confess that I owe the restoration of my sight to Fortune, who is herself blind. For this she deserves my gratitude. Now I may at any rate be permitted to sing the praises of Learning, from whose embrace I have been torn, and as it were assuage my longing for the absent beloved by speaking of her. This can now hardly be called an interruption, for who [137] would regard it as an interruption when he is called upon to praise or defend the object of his affection, his admiration, and his deepest desire?

But, gentlemen, it is my opinion that the power of eloquence is most manifest when it deals with subjects which rouse no particular enthusiasm. Those which most stir our admiration can hardly be compassed within the bounds of a speech: the very abundance of material is a drawback, and the multiplicity of subjects narrows and confines the swelling stream of eloquence. I am now suffering from this excess of material: that which should be my strength makes me weak, and that which should be my defence makes me defenceless. So I must make my choice, or at least mention only in passing rather than discuss at length the numerous arguments on whose powerful support our cause relies for its defence and security. On this occasion it seems to me that my efforts must be directed entirely to showing how and to what extent Learning and Ignorance respectively promote that happiness which is the aim of every one of us. With this question I shall easily deal in my speech, nor need I be over-anxious about what objections Folly may bring against Knowledge, or Ignorance against Learning. Yet the very ability of Ignorance to raise any objection, to make a speech, or even to open her lips in this great and learned

assembly, she has received as a favour, or rather an alms, from Learning.

It is, I think, a belief familiar and generally accepted that the great Creator of the world, while constituting all else fleeting and perishable, infused into man, besides what was mortal, a certain divine spirit, a part of Himself, [138] as it were, which is immortal, imperishable, and exempt from death and extinction. After wandering about upon the earth for some time, like some heavenly visitant, in holiness and righteousness, this spirit was to take its flight upward to the heaven whence it had come and to return once more to the abode and home which was its birthright. It follows that nothing can be reckoned as a cause of our happiness which does not somehow take into account both that everlasting life and our ordinary life here on earth. This eternal life, as almost everyone admits, is to be found in contemplation alone, by which the mind is uplifted, without the aid of the body, and gathered within itself so that it attains, to its inexpressible joy, a life akin to that of the immortal gods. But without Art ⁴ the mind is fruitless, joyless, and altogether null and void. For who can worthily gaze upon and contemplate the Ideas of things human or divine, unless he possesses a mind trained and ennobled by Learning and study, without which he can know practically nothing of them: for indeed every approach to the happy life seems barred to the man who has no part in Learning. God would indeed seem to have endowed us to no purpose, or even to our distress, with this soul which is capable and indeed insatiably desirous of the highest wisdom, if he had not intended us to strive with all our might toward the lofty understanding of those things, for which he had at our creation instilled so great a longing into the human mind. Survey from every angle the entire aspect of these things and you will perceive that the

⁴ For a discussion of Milton's conception of the soul, see George N. Conklin, *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949), pp. 75-85. But see also Plato, *Phaedo*, especially in view of the fact that Milton mentions the "Ideas of things" in the next paragraph of the Prolusion, has recently referred to the sleeping Endymion, and soon is to speak of the inadequacy of knowledge perceived through the senses—all of which are touched upon in the *Phaedo*. In this connection, cf. also Cicero's remarks about the benevolence of nature, or "divine intelligence," which provides not only the alternation of day and night in order to contribute to the preservation of mankind but has contrived a vast system and has created the world for the sake of those who have the use of reason, not for dumb, irrational creatures. *De Natura Deorum*, II, liii, 132-33; lix, 147.

great Artificer of this mighty fabric established it for His own glory. The more deeply we delve into the wondrous wisdom, [139] the marvellous skill, and the astounding variety of its creation (which we cannot do without the aid of Learning), the greater grows the wonder and awe we feel for its Creator and the louder the praises we offer Him. which we believe and are fully persuaded that He delights to accept. Can we indeed believe, my hearers, that the vast spaces of boundless air are illuminated and adorned with everlasting lights, that these are endowed with such rapidity of motion and pass through such intricate revolutions, merely to serve as a lantern for base and slothful men, and to light the path of the idle and the sluggard here below? Do we perceive no purpose in the luxuriance of fruit and herb beyond the short-lived beauty of verdure? Of a truth, if we are so little able to appraise their value that we make no effort to go beyond the crass perceptions of the senses, we shall show ourselves not merely servile and abject, but ungracious and wicked before the goodness of God; for by our unresponsiveness and grudging spirit He is deprived of much of the glory which is His due, and of the reverence which His mighty power exacts. If then Learning is our guide and leader in the search after happiness, if it is ordained and approved by almighty God, and most conformable to His glory, surely it cannot but bring the greatest blessings upon those who follow after it.

I am well aware, gentlemen, that this contemplation, by which we strive to reach the highest goal, cannot partake of true happiness unless it is conjoined with integrity of life [140] and uprightness of character. I know, too, that many men eminent for learning have been of bad character, and slaves to anger, hatred, and evil passions, while on the other hand many utterly ignorant men have shown themselves righteous and just. What of it? Does it follow that Ignorance is more blessed? By no means. For the truth is, gentlemen, that though the corrupt morals of their country and the evil communications of the illiterate have in some instances lured into wicked courses a few men distinguished for their learning, yet the influence of a single wise and prudent man has often kept loyal to their duty a large number of men who lacked the advantages of Learning. And indeed a single household, even a single individual, endowed with the gifts of Art and Wisdom, may often prove to be a great gift of God, and sufficient to lead a whole state to righteousness. But where no Arts flourish, where all scholarship is banished, there you will find no single trace of a good

man, but savagery and barbarity stalk abroad. As instances of this I adduce no one country, province, or race alone, but Europe itself, forming as it does one fourth of the entire globe. Throughout this continent a few hundred years ago all the noble arts had perished and the Muses had deserted all the universities of the day, over which they had long presided; blind illiteracy had penetrated and entrenched itself everywhere, nothing was heard in the schools but the absurd doctrines of drivelling monks, and that profane and hideous monster, Ignorance, assumed the gown and lorded it on our empty platforms and pulpits and in our deserted professorial chairs. Then Piety went in mourning, [141] and Religion sickened and flagged, so that only after prolonged suffering, and hardly even to this very day,⁵ has she recovered from her grievous wound.

But, gentlemen, it is, I believe, an established maxim of philosophy that the cognisance of every art and science appertains to the Intellect only and that the home and sanctuary of virtue and uprightness is the Will. But all agree that while the human Intellect shines forth as the lord and governor of all the other faculties, it guides and illuminates with its radiance the Will also, which would else be blind, and the Will shines with a borrowed light, even as the moon does. So, even though we grant and willingly concede that Virtue without Learning is more conducive to happiness than Learning without Virtue, yet when these two are once wedded in happy union as they surely ought to be, and often are, then indeed Knowledge raises her head aloft and shows herself far superior, and shining forth takes her seat on high beside the king and governor, Intellect, and gazes upon the doings of the Will below as upon some object lying far beneath her feet; and thereafter for evermore she claims as her right all excellence and splendour and a majesty next to that of God Himself.⁶

⁵ Tillyard's comment on this paragraph is that here Milton "gives a gross travesty (in the Renaissance-Protestant manner) of the conditions of life in the Middle Ages." Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. xxxv. The myth of the "Dark Ages" has long since been exploded, and Milton's anti-Catholic attitude is too well known to need comment. See, for example, *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 7); "After which time the Popes of Rome engrossing what they pleas'd of Politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over their judgements."

⁶ Milton's discussion of intellect *vs.* will is worthy of note, especially since he includes within it a consideration of virtue. The Thomistic position is that, since the will is a desire for the good apprehended in the intellect, it is dependent upon the intellect to make the judgment as to what is good. In that sense, the intellect

Let us now leave these heights to consider our ordinary life, and see what advantages Learning and Ignorance respectively can offer in private and in public life. I will say nothing of the argument that Learning is the fairest ornament of youth, the strong defence of manhood, and the glory and solace of age. [142] Nor will I mention that many men highly honoured in their day, and even some of the greatest men of ancient Rome, after performing many noble deeds and winning great glory by their exploits, turned from the strife and turmoil of ambition to the study of literature as into a port and welcome refuge. Clearly these honoured sages realised that the best part of the life which yet remained to them must be spent to the best advantage. They were first among men; they wished by virtue of these

moves the will by providing it with its end or object. On the other hand, however, the will can move the intellect, because, although it is only one of the several active powers in man, it is the power which has the highest end, good itself; and it can, therefore, cause the intellect, whose end is truth, to think or not think about some truth. The result is that, in a way, they supplement each other—intellect moving the will as end, and the will moving the intellect as agent—since the will is unable to function unless it has a motive provided by the intellect. In short, metaphysically speaking, an act of will is not likely to be made independently of the intellect in view of the fact that a judgment of some kind has to be made by the intellect before the will has sufficient reason to act in one way or another in order to attain one end or another. In placing intellect (and knowledge) above will, Milton was following traditional beliefs. Cf. the following passage from St Thomas Aquinas.

A thing is said to move in two ways. First, as an end, as when we say that the end moves the agent. In this way the intellect moves the will, because the understood good is the object of the will, and moves it as an end. Secondly, a thing is said to move as an agent, as what alters moves what is altered, and what impels moves what is impelled. In this way the will moves the intellect, and all the powers of the soul. . . . Now the object of the will is the good and the end in general, whereas each power is directed to some suitable good proper to it, as sight is directed to the perception of color, and the intellect to the knowledge of truth. Therefore the will as an agent moves all the powers of the soul to their respective acts, except the natural powers of the vegetative part, which are not subject to our choice.

The intellect may be considered in two ways—as apprehensive of universal being and truth, and as a reality and a particular power having a determinate act. In like manner also the will may be considered in two ways—according to the common nature of its object . . . and as a determinate power of the soul having a determinate act. If, therefore, the intellect and will be compared with one another according to the universality of their respective objects, then . . . the intellect is absolutely higher and nobler than the will. If, however, we take the intellect in relation to the common nature of its object and the will as a determinate power, then again the intellect is higher and nobler than the will, because under the notion of being and truth is contained both the will itself, its act, and its object. Therefore the intellect understands the will, its act, and its object just as it understands other species of things, as stone or wood, which are contained in the common notion of being and truth. But if we consider the will in relation to the common nature of its object, which is good, and the intellect as a reality and a special power, then the intellect itself, its act, and its object, which is the true, each of which is some species of good, are contained under the common notion of good. And in this way the will is higher than the intellect, and can move it. (*Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, I, 782–83. Cf. also Gilson, *Le Thomisme*, pp. 340–41.)

arts to be not the last among the gods. They had once striven for glory, and now strove for immortality. Their warfare against the foes of their country had been far other, but now that they were facing death, the greatest enemy of mankind, these were the weapons they took up, these the legions they enrolled, and these the resources from which they derived their strength.⁷

But the chief part of human happiness is derived from the society of one's fellows and the formation of friendships, and it is often asserted that the learned are as a rule hard to please, lacking in courtesy, odd in manner, and seldom gifted with the gracious address that wins men's hearts. I admit that a man who is almost entirely absorbed and immersed in study finds it much easier to converse with gods than with men, either because he habitually associates with the gods but is unaccustomed to human affairs and a stranger among them, or because the mind, expanding through constant meditation on things divine and therefore feeling cramped within the narrow limits of the body, is less expert in the nicer formalities of social life. But if such a man once forms a worthy and congenial friendship, there is none who cultivates it more assiduously. [143] For what can we imagine more delightful and happy than those conversations of learned and wise men, such as those which the divine Plato is said often to have held in the shade of that famous plane-tree,⁸ conversations which all mankind might well have flocked to hear in spell-bound silence? But gross talk and mutual incitement to indulge in luxury and lust is the friendship of ignorance, or rather the ignorance of friendship.

Moreover if this human happiness consists in the honourable and liberal joys of the mind, such a pleasure is to be found in Study and Learning as far surpasses every other. What a thing it is to grasp the nature of the whole firmament and of its stars, all the movements and changes of the atmosphere, whether it strikes terror into ignorant

⁷ Cato the censor serves as an excellent example. Having distinguished himself in war as a young man and having risen to all the honors of the state later, he eventually took up the study of Greek and wrote his famous *Origines*, a historical work. His only complete extant work is *De Re Rustica*, a treatise on farming; but Cicero made him the principal character in his *De Senectute*.

⁸ Socrates and Phaedrus conduct the dialogue reported by Plato in *Phaedrus* under a plane tree on the bank of the Ilissus. This dialogue pertains largely, it scarcely needs to be mentioned, to the topic of love and friendship. In this connection the reader inevitably thinks of the friendship between Milton and Charles Diodati. See Milton's letters to Diodati, below, pp. 322-28, and Donald C. Dorian, *The English Diodatus* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950).

minds by the majestic roll of thunder or by fiery comets, or whether it freezes into snow or hail, or whether again it falls softly and gently in showers of dew; then perfectly to understand the shifting winds and all the exhalations and vapours which earth and sea give forth; next to know the hidden virtues of plants and metals and understand the nature and the feelings, if that may be, of every living creature; next the delicate structure of the human body and the art of keeping it in health; ⁹ and, to crown all, the divine might and power of the soul, and any knowledge we may have gained concerning those beings which we call spirits ¹⁰ and genii ¹¹ and daemons.¹² There is an infinite number of subjects besides these, a great part of which might be learnt in less time than it would take to enumerate them all. So at length, my hearers, [144] when universal learning has once completed its cycle, the spirit of man, no longer confined within this dark prison-house, will reach out far and wide, till it fills the whole world and the space far beyond with the expansion of its divine greatness. Then at last most of the chances and changes of the world will be so quickly perceived that to him who holds this stronghold of wisdom hardly anything can happen in his life which is unforeseen or fortuitous. He will indeed seem to be one whose rule and dominion the stars obey, to whose command earth and sea hearken, and whom winds and tempests serve; to whom, lastly, Mother Nature herself has surrendered, as if indeed some god had abdicated the throne of the world and entrusted its rights, laws, and administration to him as governor.

⁹ Cf. p. 247, n. 17. Milton is advocating again a knowledge of natural science, and is likely expressing again his favor of Bacon and experimental science. For a discussion of the problem which must have been perplexing to Milton, see Willey, *Seventeenth Century Background*, pp. 24-40. The concluding sentences of his chapter on "Bacon and the Rehabilitation of Nature" deserve quoting:

Science was undoubtedly what was most needed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and . . . religion (but not scholasticism) is what is most needed now. And we may gladly grant to the neo-Catholics that St. Thomas had more and a more important kind of humility than Bacon. "To extend more widely the limits of the power and greatness of man" is not the ambition of the humble; and a certain magnificent arrogance, born of the Renaissance, appears in what we know of Bacon's life.

¹⁰ The Lares were Roman gods of inferior power who presided over houses and families or, according to another account, who were spirits of the dead. See Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 616 ff., 634; V, 129-41, and Virgil, *Aeneid*, V, 744; VIII, 543; IX, 259.

¹¹ A Genius was, in the religion of Rome, the indwelling spirit of a man.

¹² A Daemon was a kind of spirit which, according to the ancients, presided over the actions of men by giving advice and by watching over even their most secret intentions.

Besides this, what delight it affords to the mind to take its flight through the history and geography of every nation and to observe the changes in the conditions of kingdoms, races, cities, and peoples, to the increase of wisdom and righteousness. This, my hearers, is to live in every period of the world's history, and to be as it were coeval with time itself. And indeed, while we look to the future for the glory of our name, this will be to extend and stretch our lives backward before our birth, and to wrest from grudging Fate a kind of retrospective immortality. I pass over a pleasure with which none can compare—to be the oracle of many nations, to find one's home regarded as a kind of temple, to be [145] a man whom kings and states invite to come to them, whom men from near and far flock to visit, while to others it is a matter for pride if they have but set eyes on him once. These are the rewards of study, these are the prizes which learning can and often does bestow upon her votaries in private life.

What, then, of public life? It is true that few have been raised to the height of majesty through a reputation for learning, and not many more through a reputation for uprightness. Such men certainly enjoy a kingdom in themselves far more glorious than any earthly dominion; and who can lay claim to a twofold sovereignty without incurring the charge of ambition? I will, however, add this one thing more: that there have hitherto been but two men who have ruled the whole world, as by divine right, and shared an empire over all kings and princes equal to that of the gods themselves; namely Alexander the Great and Augustus, both of whom were students of philosophy.¹³ It is as though Providence had specially singled them out as examples to humanity, to show to what sort of man the helm or reins of government should be entrusted.

But, it may be objected, many nations have won fame by their deeds or their wealth, without owing anything to learning. We know of but few Spartans, for example, who took any interest in liberal education, and the Romans only admitted philosophy within the

¹³ Alexander the Great was a pupil of Aristotle's for four or five years, during which time he deferred to his learned instructor and thereafter respected his teacher's abilities. See J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World* (Boston, 1916), pp. 428–29. Octavius Caesar distinguished himself by his learning; he was a master of the Greek language and wrote, among other things, some tragedies and his memoirs. See *Suetonius*, tr. J. C. Rolfe (2 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1924), II, lxxxv. Cf. *Plutarch's Lives*, tr. Perrin, V, 520; VI, 184, 218; VII, 214, 236 ff.

walls of their city after a long time. But the Spartans found a lawgiver in Lycurgus, who was both a philosopher and so ardent a student of poetry that he was the first to gather together with extreme care the writings of Homer, which were scattered throughout Ionia.¹⁴ The Romans, [146] hardly able to support themselves after the various risings and disturbances which had taken place in the city, sent ambassadors to beg for the Decemviral Laws, also called the Twelve Tables,¹⁵ from Athens, which was at that time foremost in the study of the liberal Arts.

How are we to answer the objection that the Turks of to-day have acquired an extensive dominion over the wealthy kingdoms of Asia in spite of being entirely devoid of culture? For my part, I have certainly never heard of anything in that state which deserves to be regarded as an example to us—if indeed one should dignify with the name of “state” the power which a horde of utter barbarians united by complicity in crime has seized by violence and murder. The provision of the necessities of life, and their maintenance when acquired, we owe not to Art but to Nature; greedy attacks on the property of others, mutual assistance for purposes of plunder, and criminal conspiracy are the outcome of the perversion of Nature. Some kind of justice indeed is exercised in such states, as might be expected; for while the other virtues are easily put to flight, Justice from her throne compels homage, for without her even the most unjust states would soon

¹⁴ The Spartans are, of course, noted chiefly for their physical endurance, military efficiency, and bravery in war. Lycurgus is famous as the lawgiver of Sparta. At one point in his career he traveled like a philosopher, and it is said that we are indebted to him for the preservation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. According to Plutarch, when Lycurgus arrived in Ionia and made the acquaintance there of Homer's poems, he copied and compiled them in order to take them home with him. Although the epics had a small reputation among the Greeks and although a few of them had certain portions of them, “Lycurgus was the very first to make them really known” *Lives*, I, 215.

¹⁵ The plebeians of Rome being dissatisfied with the privileges of the patricians and the rules to which they were subjected and wanting a code of laws for the benefit of the Roman people, three ambassadors were sent to Athens and to the other Grecian states to collect the laws of Solon and other famous Greek legislators. When the ambassadors returned, it was agreed that ten new magistrates, called *decemviri*, should be elected from the senate to formulate the laws. There were ten of these laws in the beginning, but two were subsequently added. This accounts for the two designations: *leges decemvirales* and the *leges duodecim tabularum*. See *Dio's Roman History*, tr. Earnest Cary, I, 169 ff.; Grant Showerman, *Eternal Rome* (New Haven. Yale University Press, 1924), pp 63, 69, 84, 85; and Shuckburgh, pp 107–08.

fall into decay. I must not, however, omit to mention that the Saracens, to whom the Turks are indebted almost for their existence, enlarged their empire as much by the study of liberal culture as by force of arms.

If we go back to antiquity, we shall find that some states owed not merely their laws but their very foundation to culture. The oldest progenitors of every race are said to have wandered through the woods and mountains, seeking their livelihood after the fashion of wild beasts, with head erect but stooping posture. One might well think that they shared everything with the animals, except [147] the dignity of their form; the same caves, the same dens, afforded them shelter from rain and frost. There were then no cities, no marble palaces, no shining altars or temples of the gods; they had no religion to guide them, no laws or law-courts, no bridal torches, no festal dance, no song at the joyful board, no funeral rites, no mourning, hardly even a grave paid honour to the dead. There were no feasts, no games; no sound of music was ever heard: all these refinements were then lacking which idleness now misuses to foster luxury. Then of a sudden the Arts and Sciences breathed their divine breath into the savage breasts of men, and instilling into them the knowledge of themselves, gently drew them to dwell together within the walls of cities. Therefore of a surety cities may well expect to have a long and happy history under the direction of those guides by whom they were first of all founded, then firmly based on laws, and finally fortified by wise counsels.

What now of Ignorance? I perceive, gentlemen, that Ignorance is struck blind and senseless, skulks at a distance, casts about for a way of escape, and complains that life is short and Art long. But if we do but remove two great obstacles to our studies, namely first our bad methods of teaching the Arts, and secondly our lack of enthusiasm, we shall find that, with all deference to Galen¹⁶ or whoever may have

¹⁶ Galen, the famous physician (ca. 130-ca. 200), was an assiduous student of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine, after visiting the most learned seminaries of Greece and Egypt, he settled in Rome. He composed in all about three hundred volumes, which became the store house of learning in physiology, biology, and related sciences, for well over a thousand years. He provided Milton with an outstanding example of a person who, by applying himself diligently, accomplished much. This whole section is revelatory of Milton's early attitude toward learning and study. It was to remain constant. For information on Galen see Josef Lobel, *Medicine* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), pp. 42, 66;

been the author of the saying, quite the contrary is the truth, and that life is long and Art short. There is nothing so excellent and at the same time so exacting as Art, nothing more sluggish and languid than ourselves. We allow ourselves to be outdone by labourers and husbandmen in working after dark and before dawn; [148] they show greater energy in a mean occupation, to gain a miserable livelihood, than we do in the noblest of occupations, to win a life of true happiness. Though we aspire to the highest and best of human conditions we can endure neither hard work nor yet the reproach of idleness; in fact we are ashamed of owning the very character which we hate not to have imputed to us.

But, we object, our health forbids late hours and hard study. It is a shameful admission that we neglect to cultivate our minds out of consideration for our bodies, whose health all should be ready to impair if thereby their minds might gain the more. Yet those who make this excuse are certainly for the most part worthless fellows; for though they disregard every consideration of their time, their talents, and their health, and give themselves up to gluttony, to drinking like whales, and to spending their nights in gaming and debauchery, they never complain that they are any the worse for it. Since, then, it is their constant habit and practice to show eagerness and energy in the pursuit of vice, but listlessness and lethargy where any activity of virtue or intelligence is concerned, they cannot lay the blame on Nature or the shortness of life with any show of truth or justice. But if we were to set ourselves to live modestly and temperately, and to tame the first impulses of headstrong youth by reason and steady devotion to study, keeping the divine vigour of our minds unstained and uncontaminated by any impurity or pollution, we should be astonished to find, gentlemen, looking back over a period of years, how great a distance we had covered and across how wide a sea of learning [149] we had sailed, without a check on our voyage.

This voyage, too, will be much shortened if we know how to select branches of learning that are useful, and what is useful within them. In the first place, how many despicable quibbles there are in grammar and rhetoric! One may hear the teachers of them talking sometimes like savages and sometimes like babies. What about logic? That is

Galen, *On the Natural Faculties*, tr. A. J. Brock (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1916), pp. xv ff.; and "Galen," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XI, 398.

indeed the queen of the Arts, if taught as it should be, but unfortunately how much foolishness there is in reason! Its teachers are not like men at all, but like finches which live on thorns and thistles. "O iron stomachs of the harvesters!"¹⁷ What am I to say of that branch of learning which the Peripatetics call metaphysics? It is not, as the authority of great men would have me believe, an exceedingly rich Art; it is, I say, not an Art at all, but a sinister rock, a Lernian bog of fallacies,¹⁸ devised to cause shipwreck and pestilence. These are the wounds, to which I have already referred, which the ignorance of gownsmen inflicts; and this monkish disease has already infected natural philosophy to a considerable extent; the mathematicians too are afflicted with a longing for the petty triumph of demonstrative rhetoric. If we disregard and curtail all these subjects, which can be of no use to us, as we should, we shall be surprised to find how many whole years we shall save.¹⁹ Jurisprudence in particular suffers much from our confused methods of teaching, and from what is even worse, a jargon which one might well take for some Red Indian dialect, or even no human speech at all. Often, when I have heard our lawyers shouting at each other in this lingo, it has occurred to me to wonder [150] whether men who had neither a human tongue nor human speech could have any human feelings either. I do indeed fear that sacred Justice will pay no attention to us and that she will never understand our complaints and wrongs, as she cannot speak our language.

Therefore, gentlemen, if from our childhood onward we never allow a day to pass by without its lesson and diligent study, if we are wise enough to rule out of every art what is irrelevant, superfluous, or unprofitable, we shall assuredly, before we have attained the age of Alexander the Great, have made ourselves masters of something greater and more glorious than that world of his. And so far from complaining of the shortness of life and the slowness of Art, I think we shall be more likely to weep and wail, as Alexander did, because there are no more worlds for us to conquer.

Ignorance is breathing her last, and you are now watching her final efforts and her dying struggle. She declares that glory is mankind's

¹⁷ The expression comes from Horace, *Epodes*, III, 4.

¹⁸ Lerna, a country of Argolis, had a lake where the Danaides threw the heads of their murdered husbands and where Hercules killed the famous hydra. See Ovid, *Meta.*, I, 597; IX, 69, 74, 130, 192, and Apollodorus, *The Library*, II, v, 2.

¹⁹ The sentiments in this paragraph are the same as we have heard several times in the earlier Prolusions. Cf. similar remarks in *Of Education*.

most powerful incentive, and that whereas a long succession and course of years has bestowed glory on the illustrious men of old, we live under the shadow of the world's old age and decrepitude, and of the impending dissolution of all things,²⁰ so that even if we leave behind us anything deserving of everlasting fame, the scope of our glory is narrowed, since there will be few succeeding generations to remember us. It is therefore to no purpose that we produce so many books and noble monuments of learning, seeing that the approaching conflagration of the world will destroy them all. I do not deny that this may indeed be so; but yet to have no thought of glory when we do well is above all glory.²¹ The ancients could indeed derive no satisfaction [151] from the empty praise of men, seeing that no joy or knowledge of it could reach them when they were dead and gone. But we may hope for an eternal life, which will never allow the memory of the good deeds we performed on earth to perish; in which, if we have done well here, we shall ourselves be present to hear our praise; and in which, according to a wise philosophy held by many, those who have lived temperately and devoted all their time to noble arts, and have thus been of service to mankind, will be rewarded by the bestowal of a wisdom matchless and supreme over all others.

Let the idle now cease to upbraid us with the uncertainties and perplexities of learning, which are indeed the fault not so much of learning as of the frailty of man. It is this consideration, gentlemen, which disproves or mitigates or compensates for Socrates' famous ignorance²² and the Sceptics' ²³ timid suspension of judgment.

²⁰ Milton here is attributing to ignorance the attitude of those on whom medievalism still had a strong hold. He himself would naturally tend toward the Reformation point of view. See Tillyard, *Milton*, p. 26. For comment on the relation between the thought in this section of the Prolusion and in the Latin poem "Naturam non Pati Senium" (1628), see Hughes, *Paradise Regained*, pp. xxix-xxx, and Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," pp. 104-05. The whole topic of decay in nature (made timely by the publication in 1627 of George Hakewill, *An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*) is treated by Victor Harris in *All Coherence Gone* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 159 ff. For its pertinence to Milton's early and later works, see especially pp. 160-63, but *cf.* notes, pp. 205, 206, 220, 221 for citations to the later works. For Bacon's opposition to the idea of decay in nature and for the part which he played in the controversy, see pp. 129 ff.

²¹ This passage suggests the passage in "Lycidas" beginning, "Fame is the spur."

²² This is an allusion to the statement which Socrates made at his trial that, though others boasted that they were acquainted with everything, he himself knew nothing. See Plato, *Apology*, 21 B.

²³ Because of the contradictions presented by the evidence of the senses and

And finally, we may well ask, what is the happiness which Ignorance promises? To enjoy what one possesses, to have no enemies, to be beyond the reach of all care and trouble, to pass one's life in peace and quiet so far as may be—this is but the life of a beast, or of some bird which builds its little nest in the farthest depths of the forest as near to the sky as it can, in security, rears its offspring, flits about in search of sustenance without fear of the fowler, and pours forth its sweet melodies at dawn and dusk. Why should one ask for that divine activity of the mind in addition? Well, if such is the argument, we will offer Ignorance Circe's cup,²⁴ [152] and bid her throw off her human shape, walk no longer erect, and betake her to the beasts.²⁵ To the beasts, did I say? they will surely refuse to receive so infamous a guest, at any rate if they are either endowed with some kind of inferior reasoning power, as many maintain, or guided by some powerful instinct, enabling them to practise the Arts, or something resembling the Arts, among themselves. For Plutarch tells us that in the pursuit of game, dogs show some knowledge of dialectic, and if they chance to come to cross-roads, they obviously make use of a disjunctive syllogism.²⁶ Aristotle points out that the nightingale in some

mental operations, the Sceptics felt that true knowledge of the nature of things is unattainable and that, therefore, dogmatism should be rejected and judgment should be suspended. See Mary M. Patrick, *The Greek Sceptics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), pp. 285 ff., and E. Zeller, *The Stoics*, tr. O. J. Reichel (London, 1870), pp. 492 ff.

²⁴ Circe was famous for her knowledge of magic and venomous herbs. Those who drank her potions were turned into swine. Milton probably drew upon the *Odyssey*, X, 230. But cf. Horace, *Epodes*, XVII, 17 ff and Juvenal, *Satires*, XV, 21.

²⁵ When Prometheus made man in the image of the gods, he gave him an upright stature, so that he raises his face to heaven and gazes on the stars; whereas all other animals turn their faces downward and look at the earth. When ignorance dominates a person, he will be no better than the beasts, for he will not engage in heavenly contemplation. To be sure, as Milton points out in the next paragraph, ignorance is even lower than the beasts. Cf. Cicero's remarks concerning the lavishness of the gifts bestowed upon men:

First, she has raised them from the ground to stand tall and upright, so that they might be able to behold the sky and so gain a knowledge of the gods. For men are sprung from the earth not as its inhabitants and denizens, but to be as it were the spectators of things supernal and heavenly, in the contemplation whereof no other species of animal participates (*De Natura Deorum*, II, lvi, 140, tr. H. Rackham, pp. 257, 259. Cf. man's capacity to observe the heavens, II, lxi, 153.)

²⁶ A disjunctive syllogism is one in which the major premise is disjunctive (that is, involves a choice between two or more things or statements) and the minor affirms or denies one of the alternatives stated in the major. The story Milton mentions may be found in Plutarch, *Morals*, ed. William W. Goodwin (5 vols., Boston, 1870), V, 179–80.

sort instructs her offspring in the principles of music.²⁷ Almost every animal is its own physician, and many of them have given valuable lessons in medicine to man; the Egyptian ibis teaches us the value of purgatives, the hippopotamus that of blood-letting.²⁸ Who can maintain that creatures which so often give us warning of coming wind, rain, floods, or fair weather, know nothing of astronomy? What prudent and strict ethics are shown by those geese which check their dangerous loquacity by holding pebbles in their beaks²⁹ as they fly over Mount Taurus! Our domestic economy owes much to the ants, our commonwealth to the bees, while military science admits its indebtedness to the cranes for the practice of posting sentinels and for the triangular formation in battle.³⁰ The beasts are too wise to admit

²⁷ Aristotle writes in the *Historia Naturalium* (IV, ix, 536^b): ". . . and a mother-nightingale has been observed to give lessons in singing to a young bird." *The Works of Aristotle*, tr and ed. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross (11 vols, Oxford, 1910), IV. Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, tr. H. Rackham (10 vols, London and Cambridge Loeb Classical Library, 1940), X, xlii, 83.

²⁸ Cicero lists several animals which employ curative treatments, among them the ibis which purges itself ("purgando autem alvo se ibes Aegyptiae"). *De Natura Deorum*, II, 1, 126-27. Cf. Milton's remark on the lessons which have been given to medicine by animals and Cicero's saying that the treatments had been discovered only recently, or a few generations before, by physicians. The parallel is so close as to indicate that Milton was relying on Cicero. It is possible, however, that he had Pliny in mind, because it is Pliny, not Cicero, who wrote about the hippopotamus and who also spoke of the contribution which this animal made to the knowledge of medicine. "The hippopotamus stands out as an actual master in one department of medicine, for when its unceasing voracity has caused it to overeat itself it comes ashore to reconnoitre places where rushes have recently been cut, and where it sees an extremely sharp stalk it squeezes its body down on to it and makes a wound in a certain vein in its leg, and by thus letting blood unburdens its body, which would otherwise be liable to disease, and plasters up the wound again with mud." Pliny speaks too of the ibis purging itself and of the discoveries made by animals which have been useful also to man. *Natural History*, VIII, xl-xli, 96-97.

²⁹ Tillyard cites Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse* (1579) as the source for this bit of lore. Tillyard, *Private Correspondence*, p. 143. For the reliance upon birds to give omens see Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, lxiv, 160.

³⁰ Cicero comments on the surprising fact that, "cranes when crossing the seas on the way to warmer climates fly in a triangular formation. With the apex of the triangle they force aside the air in front of them, and then gradually on either side by means of their wings acting as oars the birds' onward flight is sustained, while the base of the triangle formed by the cranes gets the assistance of the wind when it is so to speak astern." *De Natura Deorum*, II, xlix, 125. Pliny speaks of the plunger-birds, who always have two leaders, one of which leads the column and the other brings up the rear. *Natural History*, Volume III, Book X, lxi, 126; and of the cranes, X, xxx, 58, 59. He also writes about the organiza-

Ignorance to their fellowship and society; they will force her to a lower station. [153] What then? To stocks and stones? Why even trees, bushes, and whole woods once tore up their roots and hurried to hear the skilful strains of Orpheus.³¹ Often, too, they were endowed with mysterious powers and uttered divine oracles,³² as for instance did the oaks of Dodona. Rocks, too, show a certain aptitude for learning in that they reply to the sacred words of poets; will not these also reject Ignorance? Therefore, driven lower than any kind of beast, lower than stocks and stones, lower than any natural species, will Ignorance be permitted to find repose in the famous "non-existent" of the Epicureans? ³³ No, not even there; for Ignorance must be something yet worse, yet more vile, yet more wretched, in a word the very depth of degradation.

I come now to you, my clever hearers, for even without any words of mine I see in you not so much arguments on my side as darts which I shall hurl at Ignorance till she is slain. I have sounded the attack,³⁴

tion of work and the prognosticating of the weather by bees (XI, iii, 11-12; x, 20-25); about ants (XI, xxxvi, 108-09); and about animals prognosticating winds, rains, and storms by observing the sky and then giving warning of dangers in advance (VIII, xlii, 102-05).

³¹ See p 269, n. 13, for the power which Orpheus had

³² The extensive grove surrounding Jupiter's temple in Dodona was endowed with the gift of prophecy, and oracles were delivered by the sacred oaks and the doves which inhabited them.

³³ Agreeing essentially with the atomistic theory of Democritus (see p 225, n 23), Epicurus believed that every event had a natural cause (that is, that nothing could come from what does not exist). He further maintained that the highest pleasure, or good, was freedom from all painful want, the enjoyment of the mind, and the sweets of virtue. His chief tenets have been summed up as "Nothing to fear in God. Nothing to feel in Death. Good can be attained. Evil can be endured." See Fuller, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 236 ff.; Burgess, *History of Philosophy*, I, 136 ff.; Freeman, *Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, pp. 286 ff., 326 ff.; and Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, X, i ff

³⁴ The military expression *classicum cecini* is typical of Livy. At this point mention may be made of the frequent use which Milton made of phraseology derived from the classics. Sometimes it consists of merely a word or two, sometimes of several words. One or two examples will suffice to illustrate. *Cucullus* ("cowl," in *Exercise VII*) is a word used by Martial and Juvenal; and *serpentes multiplici et erratice lapsu vites* (in *Exercise I*) is very close to *vitis serpens multiplici lapsu et erratice* in Cicero, *Cato Maior de Senectute*, XV, 51. In these exercises Milton was, of course, merely putting into practice what he had been taught about imitation. "For the boys were constantly urged to take words, phrases, figures of speech and figures of thought, and turns of ideas as well as turns of expressions, from the models they were imitating." Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, p. 154. For the theory of imitation see William G. Crane, *Wit and*

do you rush into battle; put this enemy to flight, drive her from your porticos and walks. If you allow her to exist, you yourselves will be that which you know to be the most wretched thing in the world. This cause is the personal concern of you all. So, if I have perchance spoken at much greater length than is customary in this place, not forgetting that this was demanded by the importance of the subject, you will, I hope, pardon me, my judges, since it is one more proof of the interest I feel in you, of my zeal on your behalf, and of the nights of toil and wakefulness I consented to endure for your sakes. I have done.
[155]

Rhetoric in the Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), pp. 80 ff ; C. S. Baldwin, *Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (New York. Columbia University Press, 1939), pp 39 ff ; H. O. White, *Plagiarism and Imitation during the English Renaissance* (Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 1935), pp. 1 ff.

MILTON'S PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

TRANSLATIONS, PREFACES, AND NOTES BY W. ARTHUR
TURNER AND ALBERTA T. TURNER

Milton permitted publication of only thirty-one of his personal letters, and those perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, because Brabazon Aylmer had failed to obtain permission to publish his state letters. The thin book appeared by Easter term, 1674, under the title *Joannis Miltonii Angli, Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus*; some academic prolusions were added to fill out the volume. To this small number the diligence of scholars has added ten letters by Milton and twenty-eight to him; a great many others known to have existed have not been found. All available letters to and from Milton are being used in the present edition, to be inserted in chronological sequence throughout the various volumes. In the present volume will be found the ten earliest known letters by Milton and four addressed to him, running from 1627 to 1638. For nine of these letters W. R. Parker's copy of the 1674 edition has been used as the basic text; source texts of other letters are indicated in the head-notes.

We have provided new translation for all the Latin and Greek letters. The translation of Robert Fellowes, used in the Symmons edition (1806) and in the Bohn edition (1848), is uneven in quality and weak in difficult passages. John Hall's translation (Philadelphia, 1829) is full of inaccuracies and gaps. Masson's, made for his *Life of Milton*, is in general literal and accurate (thus gaining acceptance for his few inaccuracies and many injustices to Milton's figures of speech); but it is often incoherent, and it is certainly too awkward for the modern ear. Both Fellowes and Masson suffered from a tendency to look for nobility of sentiment. Mrs. Tillyard's translation (1932) is by far the most readable. To the achievement of readability, however, it has sacrificed something of accuracy and fidelity of tone. The Columbia edition (1936, XII) uses Masson's translation of the original thirty-one *Familiar Letters* with new translations of the rest of the correspondence. In the present edition we have hoped to bring the whole body of Milton's correspondence under

uniform practices of translation and to achieve the highest degree of accuracy: accuracy of idea, accuracy of metaphor, and accuracy of tone. Within the narrow tolerances allowed by these specifications, we have tried to render Milton into English which will please the modern reader and might not displease Milton.

The most perplexing problem facing the editor of Milton's letters arises from the fact that the printed dates are not altogether trustworthy, and in many cases we have no manuscript source as a check. The 1674 edition was not carefully printed or corrected. There is half a page of errata for the small volume, but other errors remain. On the title page the form "Miltonii" is probably a misprint, for all other titles beginning with the familiar identification have "Joannis Miltoni Angli." On page 9 the form "spirent" is printed for "spirant," probably a misprint; on page 25 a semicolon between two modifiers of the same noun makes a very difficult reading; on page 26 the word "limen" is printed for "lumen." Most disconcerting are the errors involving numerals. On page 7 the signature, which should be "A4," is printed as "A7"; on page 46 the number of the letter is printed as "12" instead of "19"; the last letter (page 65) has no number, perhaps because it begins with the word "Si," which at a glance resembles "31," the proper number for the letter.

Our faith in the printed number shaken, we also find evidence of careless editing. Although the letters are presented in apparently chronological order, some are evidently in the wrong position. Letter 22 (Milton's order), to Richard Jones at Oxford, begins by saying that Milton had received Jones's last letter after it had lain a fortnight at the house of Jones's mother. But letter 19 (misnumbered 12), also to Jones, had said "Your mother brings you this as she leaves on her way to Ireland"! And there is good evidence that Letter 2 is dated two years too early. Was it carelessly placed before Letter 3 (both to Gill) because Letter 3 begins "In my last letter . . ."? The possibility leads to the further suspicion that the year was not part of the date on Milton's copy and that he supplied it later.

A great deal of the confusion may be the fault of Milton's inconsistency in dating his letters. In the printed edition he tried to achieve uniformity; a typical date is "*Florentiae*, Martii 30. 1639." But Letter 12 has only "*Londino*, Jun. 1652." Letters 11 and 22 have only "*Westmonasterio*." Of these, Letter 11, to Mylius, can be dated by the copy Mylius received; it was dated "2 Jan: 1652" (evidence that Milton or his amanuensis sometimes began the year with January), but bore a cancelled "ultimo Xbris. 1651." Letter 10, in the copy sent to Dati, was dated "Pascatis feriâ tertiâ MDCXLVII"; were others dated by feast days? Letter 23, to a foreigner, was given the Roman date "Idibus

Quintil. 1657." Letters 24 and 25, to Englishmen abroad, were also given a Roman date, "Calend. Sextil. 1657." This confusion may account for the fact that in a letter to Diodati, dated September 2, 1637, Milton speaks of the beginning of autumn as having passed some time before, when autumn officially began twenty days later. It is easy to imagine Milton dating the letter in manuscript "2 IX. 1637." In 1674, what did it mean to him? Was the ninth month November (English style) or September (general European style)? In England the year began March 25 but on the continent it began January 1. Englishmen were confused by the difference, and some of them followed continental practice. For instance, Milton's teacher and friend Alexander Gill counted the year as beginning in January. Should the date have been November? Considering the probability of error, we have not hesitated to suggest that it should have been. We have also changed Milton's numbering and order wherever it seemed justified, always indicating the fact in the notes. Another source of confusion to seventeenth-century Englishmen and to modern editors of their letters was the difference of ten days between English and continental calendars; June 8 in England was June 18 in France. When Milton wrote to a friend on the continent and dated his letter December 18, 1657, whose calendar was he using? At times it is difficult to know.

As literature, however, the letters stand above such technical difficulties. In the Renaissance the familiar letter (not to be confused with the casual note) was a literary form studied and practiced by all cultivated gentlemen, often with an eye to eventual publication. In grammar school Milton, like all other schoolboys of his day, wrote numerous Latin epistles as exercises in rhetoric.¹ He learned to suit style and tone to his purpose and to his relation to the recipient; to arrange his material in the most effective order, or *dispositio*; to write different kinds of letters—persuasive, hortatory, gratulatory, commendatory, and so on; and in all things to look to the ancients for argument and ornament. Always the models of Cicero and Ovid were before him. The young Milton, writing from Cambridge to his former teachers Thomas Young and Alexander Gill, was very close to this tradition. The mature Milton was never far away from it. Most of his letters were written with a nice regard for form. But it is not only as models of a prose form that we appreciate them. The letters are a series of brief glimpses into the private life of one of the greatest English poets. In them we see him bowing to his teachers, confessing lofty ambitions to his friends, scolding his pupils, and talking about his blindness; and, after the Restoration had com-

¹ Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, has a good discussion of the Latin epistle as it was practiced in the Renaissance and useful references for further study.

pleted his worldly disillusionment but confirmed his spiritual strength, assuring an anxious foreigner, "One's country is where it is well with one." Brabazon Aylmer may have printed badly, but he chose well.

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LETTER 1, TO THOMAS YOUNG, 1627 (?)

This letter is number 1 in the 1674 edition. Thomas Young (1587?-1655) was a native of Perthshire and took his M.A. at St. Andrews in 1606. He was in London by 1618 or earlier, assisting in various pulpits and tutoring young John Milton and perhaps other boys. If Milton did not enter St. Paul's School until 1620 (as is commonly supposed), he may have been Milton's first teacher; Elegy IV seems to say that he was. At any rate Milton became very fond of him and was strongly influenced by him. He had strong Puritan (Presbyterian) leanings, and in argument he respected secular authority but relied only on the Bible. Both of these features characterized Milton until the middle 1640's when he diverged toward even greater independence of mind. Young went to Hamburg in 1620 as chaplain to a company of English merchants. He visited England in 1621 and again in 1625. The present letter was probably written to accompany Elegy IV. The verse letter is full of affection and classical allusions—the pupil "showing off" to the old teacher—but is as communicative as the prose letter at least. It implies that Young had been driven out of his homeland for his religion's sake, which is easily possible—other Englishmen migrated as far as America in 1620. But in 1628 Young returned to England, and on March 27 he was presented to the vicarages of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowmarket, where Milton visited him that summer. In 1639 he published his *Dies Dominica*, a work on the uses of the Sabbath. In 1641 he joined the controversy over church government. Bishop Joseph Hall's *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), upholding the divine right of Episcopacy, was opposed by *An Answer to An Humble Remonstrance* (1641) by five authors using the name SMECTYMNUUS. To this work Young contributed the TY and, it was thought, a good share of the authorship. Milton joined the general fray with *Of Reformation*, against Episcopacy, and later in the year openly joined the Smectymnuans with *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence*. (Milton's contributions to the whole controversy are included in the present volume of his prose works.) All the Smectymnuans were nominated to the Westminster Assembly in 1643. In 1644 Young was given the parish of St. James, Duke's Place, and made Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1645 his son Thomas, who had taken his M.A. in 1641, was made a fellow of Jesus; and in 1647 his son Roger, who had matriculated in 1646, was made a scholar. All this must have looked to Milton much like a plurality, an evil he had seen in Episcopacy; at any

rate he had decided that "*New Presbyter* is but *Old Priest* writ Large." He may not have respected his old tutor as he once had. But Young was true to his convictions, and in 1650 he refused to accept the Engagement and was "deprived." He returned to Stowmarket and lived there until his death in 1655. His affectionate parishioners preserved a portrait of him preaching.

SOURCES

Baillie, *Letters* [ed. David Laing] (1841), I, 366; Arthur Barker, "Milton's Schoolmasters," *MLR*, XXXII (October, 1937), 517-36; *DNB*; Masson, I, II; W. R. Parker, "Milton and Thomas Young, 1620-1628," *MLN*, LIII (June, 1938), 399-407; John and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I (4 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1927), IV, 494.

TO THOMAS YOUNG, HIS TEACHER

ALTHOUGH I had inwardly resolved, best of Teachers, to send you a certain short Letter in meter,¹ I nevertheless did not think I had done enough until I had written yet another with an unfettered pen; for the expression of that unparalleled gratitude which your merits justly claim from me was not to be risked in that cramped style, straitened by fixed feet and syllables, but in the free language of Prose, nay rather, if possible, in an Asiatic exuberance² of words—although, in truth, to express sufficiently how much I owe you were a [7] work far greater than my strength, even if I should plunder all the Arguments collected by Aristotle and by that Logician of Paris,³ even if I should exhaust all the springs of eloquence. You complain (as you justly can) that my letters to you are quite few and very short; but I really do not grieve at failing in so delightful and desirable a duty so much as I rejoice and almost exult at holding that position in your friendship which can require frequent letters. So please do not take it amiss that I have not written to you for more than three years,⁴ but in view of your wonderful good nature and sincerity, deign to interpret it leniently. For I call God to witness how much I honor you as a Father, with what singular respect I have always followed you, and how much I have feared to disturb you with my Writings. My primary purpose, no doubt, is that since nothing else

¹ Probably Elegy IV.

² In classical literature the Asiatic and Attic styles represented the extremes of rhetorical ornament on the one hand and of artless simplicity on the other. They are discussed by Cicero in his *Brutus* and *Orator*.

³ Probably Peter Ramus, whose system of logic opposed Aristotle's.

⁴ No letter earlier than the present one survives.

recommends my letters, their rarity may. Next, since my overpowering longing for you always makes me think you near, and speak to you and look at you as though you were present, and so soothe my sorrow (as in love) with a certain vain fancy of your presence, I really fear that as soon as I should contemplate a letter to you, it would suddenly occur to me what a long distance you are from me; and so the pain of your absence, now almost lulled, [8] would reawaken and shatter the sweet dream. The Hebrew Bible,⁵ your very welcome gift, I have long since received. I have written these lines at London among the petty distractions of the city, not, as usual, surrounded by Books. Therefore if anything in this Letter has not measured up to your expectation, it shall be compensated by another more carefully written,⁶ as soon as I have returned to the haunts of the Muses.⁷

London, March 26. 1625 [?].⁸

LETTER 2, TO ALEXANDER GILL, 1628

This letter is number 3 in the 1674 edition. (For change of position see note to Letter 4.) Alexander Gill (1597?–1644?), teacher and friend of Milton, was a son of old Dr. Alexander Gill, high master of St. Paul's School from 1608 until his death in 1635. Young Gill went to St. Paul's, then to Trinity College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1616 and his M.A. in 1619. In 1621, shortly after Milton entered St. Paul's, he returned as under usher. Milton admired him and was fond of him. In 1627, after Milton had left Paul's, Gill received his B.D. from Trinity and was licensed to preach. But in September, 1628, he was hauled out of his schoolroom to be examined before the Star Chamber. In the wine cellar at Trinity he had drunk a health to Felton for killing the Duke of Buckingham, had said that he was sure King James and the Duke were reunited—in Hell—asserting that King Charles had only enough wit to keep a shop. This was no more than many people thought; but Gill was outspoken, and he had written a poem on the subject. The poem was perhaps the incriminating evidence. On November 7 the Star Chamber fined him £3000 and sentenced him to be degraded from the ministry and from his degrees and to stand in the pillory and have both ears cut off. But by the intercession of his father his fine was

⁵ This Bible is not known. Its discovery might date this letter more certainly.

⁶ If Milton wrote again, the letter has not been found.

⁷ Cambridge. He used the same phrase in a letter to Gill in 1628. In the spring of 1626(?), when he was rusticated, he wrote to Diodati (Elegy I) that the place was ill-suited to the Muses.

⁸ Parker, in "Milton and Thomas Young, 1620–1628," has shown that this letter is almost certainly misdated in the 1674 edition and that it must have been written in 1627.

reduced and his punishment remitted later in the month, and by December he was out of prison; in November, 1630, he received a full pardon. At that time he probably became an usher in Thomas Farnaby's school (at least we know that he worked with Farnaby at one time, and his employment for all other periods is pretty well accounted for). In 1632 he published his *Parerga*, his collected poems. Late in the year he lampooned Jonson's *Magick Lady* and was bitten by Jonson's couplets in return. On November 18, 1635, the day after his father's death, he was appointed high master of St. Paul's School. But early in 1640, for reasons not quite clear, he was dismissed from his post. Thereupon he began to take pupils privately in his rooms in Aldersgate Street, where Milton at the same time began to teach his nephews and perhaps a few other boys. In 1643 he was appointed master of Oakham School, Rutlandshire. The appointment of his successor there in 1644 apparently marks his death.

SOURCES

John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, I, 262-66; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1628-1629, 1629-1631, 1639-1640; Eugenia Chifos, *Alexander Gill* (Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1945); Donald L. Clark, "Milton's Schoolmasters. Alexander Gil and His Son Alexander," *HLQ*, IX (February, 1946), 121-47; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714* (4 vols., Oxford, 1891), II, 567; Masson, I, II, Michael F. J. McDonnell, *A History of St Paul's School* (London, 1909), *passim*.

[TO ALEXANDER GILL]

IN MY former Letter ¹ I did not so much answer you, as avoid the duty of answering; and so I silently promised that another letter would soon follow, in which I should reply at somewhat greater length to your most friendly challenge. But even if I had not promised, it must be confessed that this letter is your most rightful due; for I think that each one of your letters cannot be repaid except by two of mine, or if it be reckoned more accurately, not even by a hundred of mine. Included with this letter, behold that project about which I wrote you somewhat more obscurely, a problem on which, when your Letter reached me, I was laboring with great effort, harried

¹ The letter is evidently lost. The reference can hardly be to Letter 4, dated by Milton "Maii 20. 1628," which has always preceded this one heretofore. The date of Letter 4 (numbering as in the present edition) is almost certainly 1630, but there is no reason to question the date of Letter 2. Letter 2 implies that Milton had received Gill's at Cambridge, Letter 4 was sent to London. Letter 2 implies that Milton's last had been very brief; Letter 4 is two-thirds as long as Letter 2. Letter 2 also asks Gill to let Milton see his verses; the letter to which Letter 4 replies had sent verses.

by the shortness of time. [10] For by chance a certain Fellow of our House, who was going to act as Respondent in the Philosophical Disputation at this Academic Assembly, entrusted to my Puerility the Verses ² which annual custom requires to be written on the questions, he himself being long past light-minded nonsense of that kind and more intent on serious things. It is these, printed, that I have sent you, since I knew you to be the keenest judge of Poetry in general and the most honest judge of mine. Now if you will deign to send me yours in turn, there will certainly be no one who will enjoy them more, though there will be, I confess, one who will better appraise their merit. Indeed whenever I remember your almost constant conversations with me ³ (which even in Athens itself, nay in the very Academy,⁴ I long for and need), I think immediately, not without sorrow, of how much benefit my absence has cheated me—me who never left you without a visible increase and growth of Knowledge, quite as if I had been to some Market of Learning. There is really hardly anyone among us, as far as I know, who, almost completely unskilled and unlearned in Philology and Philosophy alike, does not flutter off to Theology unfledged, quite content to touch that also most lightly, learning barely enough for sticking together a short harangue by any method whatever and patching it with worn-out pieces from various sources—a practice carried far enough to make one fear that the priestly [11] Ignorance of a former age may gradually attack our Clergy. And so, finding almost no intellectual companions here, I should longingly look straight to London, did I not consider retiring into a deeply Literary leisure during this summer vacation and hiding as it were in the Cloisters of the Muses.⁵ But since you already do

² The Fellow is not known, but the verses are thought to be "Naturam non Pati Senium," though no printed copies of this sort are known. Commencement in 1628 was on July 1, the day before this letter. This is the first Miltonic writing known to have been put into print. See A. W. Pollard, *The Library*, N.S.X (1909), p. 1.

³ "Equidem quoties recolo apud me tua mecum assidua pene colloquia." Here the "apud me" may possibly mean "at my house."

⁴ In making Cambridge town Athens and the Cambridge University the Academy, Milton was being more complimentary to his alma mater than usual. The Academia, a sacred grove outside of Athens, was where Plato taught, hence the very center of learning.

⁵ As indicated by his next letter to Young, Milton intended to spend at least part of the long vacation at Cambridge.

so every day, I think it almost a crime to interrupt you longer with my noise at present. Farewell.

Cambridge, July 2. 1628.

LETTER 3, TO THOMAS YOUNG, JULY, 1628

This is Letter 4 in the 1674 edition. When he had taken up his duties in Stowmarket in the spring of 1628 Young had evidently invited Milton out for a visit during the vacation. The recent letter to which Milton refers had perhaps renewed the invitation and suggested a specific date. Milton appears to have kept his resolution, mentioned to Gill, of spending the summer in the "Cloisters of the Muses," since he writes from Cambridge more than two weeks after the close of the term.

TO THOMAS YOUNG

AFTER reading your Letter,¹ most excellent Teacher, only this appeared to me superfluous: that you apologized for tardy writing. For although nothing better could come to me than your Letters, how could I or should I hope that you would have so much leisure from serious and more sacred matters that you would always have time to answer me, especially since that is entirely a matter of kindness, not at all of obligation. But that I suspect you of forgetting me, your many recent kindnesses by no means allow; for I do not see why you would forget one so laden with your favors. Having been summoned to your part of the country as soon as Spring should have reached maturity,² I shall come with pleasure, to enjoy the delights of the season and, no less, the delights of your conversation. And I shall withdraw myself a little while from the city din to your Stoa³ of the Icenī,⁴ as if to [12] that most highly celebrated portico

¹ The letter is not extant.

² Apparently "as soon as spring had become summer." The Latin is "simul ac Ver adoleverit." The strict idiomatic translation, "when spring had advanced a little," does not make sense in view of the date of the letter, and there is no other reason for questioning the date. And since Young was not presented to the Stowmarket vicarages until March 27, an invitation so stated would have required Milton to be away from Cambridge in the middle of the term. It seems best to accept "Ver" as a personification and give the usual meaning to "adolelescere."

³ A pun based on the similarity of the Greek "stoa" (porch) to English "stow" (place), the first syllable of Stowmarket.

⁴ The Icenī were ancient inhabitants of that part of Britain.

of Zeno⁵ or to the Tusculan Villa of Cicero,⁶ where you, with modest means but regal spirit, reign placidly in your little field like some Serranus or Curius,⁷ and despising fortune, hold a sort of triumph over wealth itself, ambition, pomp, luxury, and whatever the mass of men admires and is astonished by. Moreover, since you have apologized for the fault of slowness, you will forgive in turn, I hope, this fault of haste; for since I have put off this Letter to the last minute, I have preferred to write a few words, and those somewhat carelessly, than to write nothing. Farewell, Honorable Sir.

Cambridge, July 21. 1628.

LETTER 4, TO ALEXANDER GILL, 1630(?)

This is Familiar Letter 2 in the 1674 edition. The reasons for changing its position appear below under the discussion of the date.

TO ALEXANDER GILL

I RECEIVED your Letter¹ and, what especially delighted me, your really great Verses,² everywhere redolent both of truly Poetical Majesty and Virgilian genius. I knew of course how impossible it would be to call you and your genius away from Poetry and to quench those heaven-sent frenzies and the celestial and sacred fire in your inmost heart,³ since your Being (as Claudian said of himself)

⁵ See above, n. 3. The pun is here extended and given a complimentary turn by the comparison of Young's "Stoa" to the Poikile Stoa at Athens where Zeno lectured (whence his followers took the name Stoics).

⁶ Cicero's villa was at Tusculum, a favorite summer residence of Roman nobles a few miles from Rome.

⁷ Serranus and Curius, both consuls of the third century B.C., were examples of old Roman frugality and strength. Both farmed their hereditary lands with their own hands. Serranus (C. Atilius Regulus) asked to be recalled when he was at the height of his campaign against the Carthaginians because his farm was run down and his family in want. Milton may have been thinking especially of Curius (M. Curius Dentatus). An embassy once approached Curius with costly gifts and found him roasting turnips. He told them he preferred ruling over those who had wealth to having it himself.

¹ The letter is not known.

² See below, n. 6.

³ There is no other evidence for such a resolution as Milton alludes to here, but one can well imagine that after his trouble with the Star Chamber in 1628 Gill would promise himself never to write another verse.

"breathes wholly of Phoebus." ⁴ And so if you have broken your promises to yourself, I here praise your inconstancy, as you call it; I praise your depravity, if such it is. Moreover, that you should have made me judge of so brilliant a Poem, I glory in and account to my honor not less than if the contending Gods of Music themselves had come for my judgment—which they say happened once upon a time to Tmolus, ⁵ [9] native God of the Lydian mountain. I do not really know whether I should congratulate Henry of Nassau more on the capture of the city or on your Verses; ⁶ for I think this victory has brought forth nothing more brilliant nor more distinguished than this short Poem of yours. Indeed, when we hear you sing the successes of the allies on such a sounding and victorious trumpet, how great a bard we shall hope to have, if by chance our own affairs, ⁷ at last more fortunate, may demand your Congratulatory Muses. Farewell Learned Sir, and know that you have my utmost thanks for your Verses.

*London, May 20. 1628[?].*⁸

⁴ *De Raptu Proserpinae*, I, 6. "spirent" is printed for "spirant."

⁵ Tmolus was said to have judged a contest between Apollo and Pan.

⁶ Apparently Hertogenbosch (French *Bois le Duc*, Latin *Sylvam-Ducis*), captured by Frederick-Henry of Nassau in September, 1629. Gill celebrates the event in the poem "In Sylvam-Ducis," an impressive piece of which Gill himself was proud; it appears in his *Parerga* (1632).

⁷ The Latin is "res nostrae." Milton's frequent use of the plural of modesty makes it impossible to tell here whether he means his personal affairs or the affairs of the nation; the context suggests the latter. If he means the affairs of the nation, he would have seen ample room for improvement in both domestic and foreign fields. At home Parliament had been dismissed; Charles, continuing to raise money by his own prerogative, was still unable to make ends meet; Weston, his most trusted adviser, was accused of popery and leaned toward Spain; and Laud directed his ecclesiastical policy. The situation most nearly analogous to Henry of Nassau's, however, and most depressing by contrast, was Charles's futile and vacillating attempt to regain the Palatinate for his brother-in-law, Frederick, from Philip IV of Spain. From May, 1629, to November, 1630, Charles and Philip negotiated, but when a treaty was finally signed on November 5, Gill would have had no occasion to sing a paean of victory, for it merely re-established the position of the two kingdoms before the war.

⁸ Eugenia Chifos has given excellent reasons for supposing that this letter is misdated by two years. The principal reason is that "In Sylvam-Ducis" is almost certainly the poem mentioned, but there is further support. Cf. "Milton's Letter to Gill, May 20, 1628," *MLN*, LXII (January, 1947), 37-39.

LETTER 5, TO A FRIEND, 1633

This letter was not published in the 1674 volume; it was not, like all those in that edition, in Latin. It is preserved in the Trinity College Manuscript and is here transcribed from Wight's facsimile of that manuscript. There are two drafts in the manuscript, the first much revised, the second cleaner but not a fair copy. It is impossible to reproduce in type all the cancellations and revisions in such a way that the reader can see Milton's mind at work, though several attempts have been made. Likewise both drafts of the letter have been published many times, often with all canceled readings of each. We see no value in further repetition; in the end anyone who wishes to study the letter closely must go to a facsimile. We publish here only what seems to us to have been Milton's final intention, putting in brackets the few editorial additions.

William R. Parker has all but proved that the letter was written in 1633, and he has conjectured that it was probably sent to Thomas Young, who might have felt free to urge Milton to enter the ministry without further delay and to whom Milton might have felt obliged to render an account of himself. Certainly Milton never wrote a more revealing letter. At this time he had spent about a year in studious retirement at his father's country house in Horton. He probably had not chosen a profession, but he was fairly certain of two things: he must serve God with whatever talent had been entrusted to him, and he must earn fame through some scholarly endeavor. His earlier intention had been to enter the ministry, and that career was still open to him. But he had doubts about his qualifications for the ministry and perhaps graver doubts about the ministry's suitability to his own temperament. His dislike of the ministerial students at Cambridge was strong in 1628 when he mentioned it to Gill (Letter 2); and he says in *Church-Government* that he could not enter the ministry and "subscribe slave." Yet he felt compelled to action by the parable of the talents; this conviction remained with him and spoke out again in Sonnet XIX and in *Samson*. Privately he hoped that his talent was the gift of poetry and that it would bring him fame. He had spoken hesitatingly of it to Diodati in Elegy VI (1629). By 1637 he blushing confessed to Diodati that he was meditating immortality (Letter 8), and he knew that fame was the spur to raise one toward the goal ("Lycidas"). In this letter his confidence is uncertain but his convictions are clear.

SOURCES

William R. Parker, "Milton's Unknown Friend," *TLS* (May 16, 1936), p. 420; and "Some Problems in the Chronology of Milton's Early Poems," *RES*, XI (July, 1935), 276-83; *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems*, ed. William A. Wright (Cambridge [England], 1899), pp. 6-7.

[TO A FRIEND]

S^r, BESIDES that in sundry other respects I must acknowledge me to proffit by you when ever wee meet, you are often to me, & were yesterday especially, as a good watch man to admonish that the howres of the night passe on (for so I call my life as yet obscure, & unserviceable to mankind) & that the day wth me is at hand wherein Christ comānds all to Labour while there is light.¹ w^{ch} because I am persuaded you doe to no other purpose then out of a true desire that god should be honourd in every one; I therefore thinke my selfe bound though unask't, to give you account, as oft as occasion is, of this my tardie moving; according to the præcept of my conscience, w^{ch} I firmly trust is not wthout god. Yet now I will not streine for any set apologie, but only referre my selfe to what my mynd shall have at any tyme to declare her selfe at her best ease. But if you thinke, as you said, that too much love of Learning is in fault, & that I have given up my selfe to dreame away my Yeares in the armes of studious retirement like Endymion wth the Moone as the tale of Latmus of [*sic*] goes, yet consider that if it were no more but the meere love of Learning, whether it proceed from a principle bad, good, or naturall it could not have held out thus Long against so strong opposition on the other side of every kind, for if it be bad why should not all the fond hopes that forward Youth & Vanitie are fledged with together wth Gaine, pride, & ambition call me forward more powerfully, then a poore regardlesse & unprofitable sin of curiosity should be able to with hold me, wherby a man cutts himselfe off from all action & becomes the most helplesse, pusilanimous & unweapon'd creature in the [world],² the most unfit & unable to doe that w^{ch} all mortals most aspire to [,] either to defend & be usefull to his freinds, or to offend his enimies. Or if it be to be thought an naturall pronenesse there is against y^t a much more potent inclination inbred wth about this tyme of a mans life sollicit most, the desire of house & family of his owne to w^{ch} nothing is esteemed more helpfull then the early entring into credible employment, & nothing more hindering then this affected solitarinesse and though this were anough yet there is to this another act if not of pure, yet of refined nature no lesse available to dissuade prolonged obscurity, a desire of honour & repute, &

¹ John 9:4; 12:35-36.

² MS has "word," but Milton evidently meant "world."

immortall fame seated in the brest of every true scholar w^{ch} all make hast to by the readiest ways of publishing & divulging conceived merits as well those that shall as those that never shall obtaine it,³ nature therefore would præsently worke the more prævalent way if there were nothing but y^e inferiour bent of her selfe to restraine her. Lastly this Love of Learning as it is y^e pursuit of something good, it would sooner follow the more excellent & supreme good knowne & præsentend and so be quickly diverted from the emptie & fantastick chase of shadows & notions to the solid good flowing from due & tymely obedience to that comãd in the gospell set out by the terrible seasing of him that hid the talent.⁴ it is more probable therfore that not the endlesse delight of speculation but this very consideration of that great comãdment does not presse forward as soone as may be to underg[o] but keeps off wth a sacred reverence & religious advisement how best to undergoe [,] not taking thought of beeing late so it give advantage to be more fit, for those that were latest lost nothing when the maister of the vinyard came to give each one his hire.⁵ & heere I am come to a streame head copious enough to disburden it selfe like Nilus at seven mouthes into an ocean, but then I should also run into a reciprocall contradiction of ebbing & flowing at once & doe that w^{ch} I excuse myselfe for not doing [,] preach & not preach. Yet that you may see that I am something suspicio[us] of my selfe, & doe take notice of a certaine belatednesse in me I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts some while since (because they com in not altogether unfitly) ⁶ made up in a Petrarchian stanza. w^{ch} I told you of

after y^e stanza [Sonnet VII]

by this I beleeve you may well repent of having made mention at all of this matter, for if I have not all this while won you to this, I have certainly wearied you to it. this therfore alone may be a sufficient reason for me to keepe me as I am least having thus tired you singly, I should deale worse wth a whole congregation, & spoyle all the patience

³ The page is torn, obliterating the rest of the line, and the first draft suggests nothing to be added to the reading. The passage "and though . . . obtaine it" is written below the main body of the letter and marked for insertion.

⁴ Matthew 25:14-30.

⁵ Matthew 20:1-16.

⁶ Only the second parenthesis is in the MS; we have inserted the opening mark in what seems to be the appropriate place.

of a Parish. for I my selfe doe not only see my owne tediousnesse but now grow offended wth it that has hinderd [me] ⁷ thus long from coming to the last & best period of my letter, & that w^{ch} must now cheifely worke my pardon that I am

Yo^r true & unfained freind.

LETTER 6, TO ALEXANDER GILL, 1634

This is Familiar Letter 5 in the 1674 edition. It is Milton's first letter to Gill since July, 1630(?). For Gill's activities since that time, see headnote to Letter 2.

At the time of the present letter he was probably an usher at Thomas Farnaby's school. Milton had spent over two years in studious retirement at Horton. This letter is the last surviving correspondence between them.

TO ALEXANDER GILL

IF YOU had made me a gift of Gold, either of precious chased vessels or anything of that sort which are admired by Mortals, it were certainly shameful if I did not repay you sometime as far as my means would allow. But when you sent me, day before yesterday, such a truly pleasant and charming set of Hendecasyllabics,¹ by just as much as that is dearer than Gold, by so much you made me more eager to give you some choice thing in return for so delightful a gift. Indeed I had at hand some things of that kind, but I could in no wise think of them as worthy of rivalling yours. I therefore send what [13] is not entirely mine but also the work of that truly divine poet whose Ode I arranged, before daybreak a week ago—almost in bed—according to the rules of Greek Heroic song,² with no set purpose certainly, but only upon a vague impulse. Evidently it was in order that, relying upon this helper, who surpasses you in argument

⁷ Margin torn away, but part of a letter, apparently "m," remains, and "me" fits the sense.

¹ These verses are not known, perhaps they were never published, since Gill's collected poems, *Parerga*, appeared in 1632. According to Anthony à Wood, Gill was accounted one of the best Latin poets in the nation. In describing Gill's hendecasyllabics as "lepidum" (pleasant, charming, witty) Milton may be making a conscious allusion to Catullus 1, a hendecasyllabic poem which begins "*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum*"

² Milton's "Psalm CXIV" is almost certainly the poem here mentioned. It is his only complete poem extant in Greek. He had made an English paraphrase at fifteen.

as you do me in artifice, I might have something which would seem to approach a just return. If anything meets your eye which, in your opinion of my work, is less satisfactory than usual, know that since I left your school³ this is the first and only piece which I have composed in Greek, having turned myself more willingly to Latin and English verses, as you know. For there is a danger that whoever in this age expends study and pains on Greek compositions sings mostly to the deaf. Farewell, and expect me on Monday in London (God willing) among the Booksellers.⁴ In the meantime if, by whatever means friendship can prevail, you can do anything to promote our business with that Doctor, this year's President of the College,⁵ I pray you go to him immediately on my behalf. Again Farewell.

From our Suburban Residence, Decemb. 4. 1634.

LETTER 7, TO CHARLES DIODATI, 1637

This is Familiar Letter 6 in the 1674 edition. Extant correspondence between Milton and Diodati perhaps begins with Diodati's undated Greek letters to Milton. (See Letters I and II below.) In 1629 Diodati sent Milton a verse letter (not extant), and Milton replied with Elegy VI. At some time, probably before 1632, Milton addressed to Diodati Sonnet IV.

Diodati (1609?–1638) was Milton's closest friend through their youth and young manhood. He was the son of Dr. Theodore Diodati, an Italian by

³ The Latin is "ludum vestrum." The plural possessive evidently indicates that Milton was also remembering Gill's father, headmaster of St. Paul's.

⁴ The meeting probably occurred in St. Paul's Churchyard, London, the location of many booksellers of the day.

⁵ Neither the president, the college, nor the business has ever been identified. If we take the words in their probable meanings, however, the possibilities are fairly limited. Evidently the only institutions called "colleges" (*collegium*) which had heads called "presidents" (*praeses*) who were chosen "annually" (*annuum*) were the Royal College of Physicians and Sion College, the corporate body of ministers in London and vicinity. There is no reason to suppose that Gill would have known Simeon Foxe, M.D., president of the College of Physicians in 1634, or that Milton would have had any business with him. But since Gill was a minister (if not a practicing one) he would very likely have known Thomas Worral, D.D., rector of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, president of Sion College in 1634; and certainly Milton could have had business with him. Although Sion College was a recent foundation (1630), by 1634 its library was completed, well stocked, and provided with study rooms. Milton, launched on a long study program, was in constant need of a library nearer than those of Cambridge and Oxford. Or, if Milton had wanted to try the ministry before he rejected it completely, Dr. Worral could have opened the way for him. But since we know of no such experiment, we prefer to think that it was the library which attracted Milton.

birth, and his English wife. Though Charles may have been born outside of London, the family was living in the city by 1617. Milton and Diodati probably met at St. Paul's School, which Milton entered about 1620 and Diodati somewhat earlier. Diodati evidently entered Oxford in 1622, for he matriculated from Trinity College on February 7, 1623, and received the B.A. on December 10, 1625; he received the M.A. on July 8, 1628. In 1629 (the year in which Milton received his B.A. at Cambridge) he was incorporated M.A. at Cambridge. In April, 1630, he matriculated in the Academy of Geneva, where his uncle Giovanni Diodati was a professor of theology; there he remained until September, 1631, and possibly longer. Then, apparently giving up his intention of entering the ministry, he returned to England, and by 1637 had made some progress in the study of medicine—how much or under what guidance we do not know. The following spring Milton left for Italy. That summer Diodati died; he was buried August 27, 1638. In 1640 Milton composed the beautiful Latin elegy, "Epitaphium Damonis."

SOURCES

Donald C. Dorian, "Charles Diodati at Geneva," *PMLA*, LIX (June, 1944), 590; Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, pp. 97-181. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (1891), I, 405; Masson, *Life of Milton*, I (1881), 100 ff. and *passim*; William Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (2d ed., 3 vols., London, 1878), II, 169-70.

TO CHARLES DIODATI

Now at last I plainly see that you are trying to outdo me once in obstinate silence. If so, congratulations; have your little glory; see, I write first. Yet certainly, if ever we should debate the reasons why neither has written to the other for so long, do not doubt that I shall be much more excused than you. Obviously so, since I am naturally slow and lazy to write, as you well know; whereas you on the other hand, whether by nature or by habit, can usually be drawn into this sort of Correspondence with ease. At the same time it is in my favor that your habit of studying permits you to pause frequently, visit friends, write much, and sometimes make a journey. But my temperament allows no delay, no rest, no anxiety—or at least thought—about scarcely anything to distract me, until I attain my object and complete some great period, as it were, of my studies.¹ And wholly for this reason, not another please, has it happened that I

¹ In his self-imposed study schedule at Horton Milton had just finished a cycle on church history and was now working on Greek and Roman history. See Letter 8, p. 327, n. 6.

undertake even courtesies more tardily than you. In returning them however, my Diodati, I am not such a laggard; for I have never committed the crime of letting any Letter of yours go unanswered by another of mine. How is it that you, as I hear, have written Letters to the Bookseller, even oftener to your Brother,² either of whom could conveniently enough, because of nearness, have been responsible for passing letters on to me—had there been any? But what I really complain of is that you, although you promised that you would visit us whenever you left the city, did not keep your promises. If you had once actually thought of these neglected promises, [15] you would not have lacked immediate reason for writing. And so I had all these things to declaim against you, with reason I think; you will see to the answers yourself. But meanwhile, pray, how is everything? Are you quite well? Are there in those parts any fairly learned people with whom you can associate pleasantly and with whom you can talk, as we have been used to talking? When do you return? How long do you plan to linger among those Hyperboreans?³ I should like you to answer these questions one by one. But you must not suppose that it is only now that I have your affairs at heart; for know that at the beginning of autumn I turned aside from a journey to see your brother, with the intention of finding out what you were doing. Again recently, when the news had been brought to me accidentally at London (by I know not whom) that you were in the city, immediately and as if by storm I hurried to your lodging, but “t’was the vision of a shadow,”⁴ for nowhere would you appear. Wherefore, if you conveniently can, fly hither with all speed and settle in some place which may offer brighter hope that somehow we may visit each other at least sometimes. Would that you could be as much my rustic neighbor as you are my urban one, but this as it pleases God. I wish I could say more, both about myself and about my studies, but I should prefer to do it in person. Furthermore, tomorrow we⁵ return to that country

² John Diodati.

³ Milton seems only to mean northerners. Diodati’s location at this time is unknown.

⁴ Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, VIII, 95. In Milton’s copy of Pindar at Harvard, the passage containing these words (p. 430) is underlined.

⁵ Milton’s “we” is often the plural of modesty and means “I.” In this sentence, however, he uses both, and it may be that he was accompanied on his visit to London.

place of ours, and the journey presses so close that I have scarcely been able to throw these words hastily on paper. Farewell.

London, Septemb. [November?] 2. 1637.⁶ [16]

LETTER 8, TO CHARLES DIODATI, 1637

This is Familiar Letter 7 in the 1674 edition. Apparently Diodati had answered Milton's last very promptly and in his usual exuberant manner. His letter, however, is lost.

TO THE SAME

I SEE now why you wish me so many healths, when my other friends in their Letters usually manage to wish me only one: you evidently want me to know that to those mere wishes which were all that you yourself could formerly and others can still offer, there are just now added to your art as well, and the whole mass as it were of medical power.¹ For you bid me be well six hundred times, as well as I wish to be, and so on. Certainly you must have recently been made Health's very steward, you so squander the whole store

⁶ September is evidently the wrong month for this and the next letter. They are apparently in the proper sequence and close together. But this letter refers to the beginning of autumn as if it had passed some time since; autumn actually began twenty days later. The next letter, dated September 23, says that Diodati will have to hurry if he means to take up winter quarters with Milton; winter was three months away. Possibly Milton had dated the letters "2 IX 1637" and "23 IX 1637" when he wrote them (he dated one MS letter "ultimo Xbris. 1651."). Then in 1674 when he (or someone) prepared the letters for the press, he may have taken the numeral to mean the ninth month New Style, or September, instead of Old Style, or November.

¹ It is often said that Diodati "practised physic in Chester," but it seems likely that he was only beginning his medical career, and we do not know where. He did not take an M.D. at Oxford (his own university), Leyden (his father's), or Cambridge; nor was he licensed by the College of Physicians. In this letter Milton seems a little surprised to learn that Diodati has somehow entered the profession; and he asks Diodati to spend the winter with him, so he was not established in practice anywhere. Even later, in "Epitaphium Damonis," Milton says that in Italy he looked forward to the day when he would return and they would lie by a stream while Diodati recited or discussed ("percurres") his herbs. It seems likely that at this time he was studying with another doctor and perhaps practicing very informally in the country—not necessarily Chester. Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, p. 154, suggests that he had studied with his father until the family quarrel.

of salubrity; or rather Health herself must doubtless now be your Parasite, you so act the King and order her to obey. And so I congratulate you and must thank you on two scores, both for your friendship and for your excellent skill. Indeed, since we had agreed upon it, I long expected letters from you; but though I had not yet received any, I did not, believe me, allow my old affection towards you to cool because of such a trifle. On the contrary, I had already suspected that you would use that very same excuse for tardiness which you have used at the beginning of your Letter, and rightly so, considering the intimacy of our friendship. For I do not wish true friendship to be weighed by Letters and Salutations, [17] which may all be false but on either hand to rest and sustain itself upon the deep roots of the soul, and, begun with sincere and blameless motives, even though mutual courtesies cease, to be free for life from suspicion and blame. For fostering such a friendship there is need not so much for writing as for a living remembrance of virtues on both sides. Even if you had not written, that obligation would not necessarily remain unfulfilled. Your worth writes to me instead and inscribes real letters on my inmost consciousness; your candor of character writes, and your love of right; your genius writes too (by no means an ordinary one) and further recommends you to me. Therefore do not try to terrorize me, now that you hold that tyrannical citadel of Medicine, as if you would take back your six hundred healths, withdrawing them little by little, to the last one, should I by chance desert friendship, which God forbid. And so remove that terrible battery which you seem to have trained on me, forbidding me to be sick without your permission. For lest you threaten too much, know that I cannot help loving people like you. For though I do not know what else God may have decreed for me, this certainly is true: He has instilled into me, if into anyone, a vehement love of the beautiful. Not so diligently is Ceres, according to the Fables, said to have sought her daughter Proserpina,² as I seek for this idea of the beautiful, as if for some glorious image, throughout all [18] the shapes and forms of things ("for many are the shapes of things divine");³ day and night I search and follow its lead eagerly

² It will be recalled that after Proserpina's abduction Ceres wandered nine days in search of her before learning the truth. Then she became angry with Zeus, went to earth in disguise, built a temple and gave herself up to grief, and made the earth barren. She was placated by being granted her daughter's company for two-thirds of the year.

³ A sentence used by Euripides at the end of several plays.

as if by certain clear traces. Whence it happens that if I find anywhere one who, despising the warped judgment of the public, dares to feel and speak and be that which the greatest wisdom throughout all ages has taught to be best, I shall cling to him immediately from a kind of necessity. But if I, whether by nature or by my fate, am so equipped that I can by no effort and labor of mine rise to such glory and height of fame, still, I think that neither men nor Gods forbid me to reverence and honor those who have attained that glory or who are successfully aspiring to it. But now I know you wish your curiosity satisfied. You make many anxious inquiries, even about what I am thinking. Listen, Diodati, but in secret, lest I blush; and let me talk to you grandiloquently for a while. You ask what I am thinking of? So help me God, an immortality of fame. What am I doing? Growing my wings and practising flight.⁴ But my Pegasus still raises himself on very tender wings. Let me be wise on my humble level. I shall now tell you seriously what I am planning: to move into some one of the Inns of Court,⁵ wherever there is a pleasant and shady walk; for that dwelling will be more satisfactory, both for companionship, if I wish to remain at home, and as a more suitable headquarters, if I choose to venture forth. Where I am now, as you know, I live in [19] obscurity and cramped quarters. You shall also hear about my studies. By continued reading I have brought the affairs of the Greeks to the time when they ceased to be Greeks. I have been occupied for a long time by the obscure history of the Italians under the Longobards, Franks, and Germans, to the time when liberty was granted them by Rudolph, King of Germany. From there it will be better to read separately about what each State did by its own Effort.⁶ But what about you? How long will you act the son of the family and devote yourself to domes-

⁴ In 1629, in *Elegy VI*, Milton had spoken of epic poetry as a priestly calling and hinted at his ambition to sing of heaven and heroes half divine. He had now spent about five years at Horton in hard study, preparing for a literary career. Only a few months later, in "*Lycidas*," he wrote again (ll. 70-84) of his longing for fame: "Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise . . . To scorn delights, and live laborious days."

⁵ One could live at the Inns of Court without studying law. Young country gentlemen often lived at one of the Inns while awaiting opportunity to enter public life. At this time Milton's brother Christopher was studying law in the Inner Temple.

⁶ For more detailed information on Milton's studies at this time see J. H. Hanford, "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies," *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), 260-65.

tic matters, forgetting urban companionships? For unless this step-motherly warfare⁷ be more hazardous than either the Dacian or Sarmatian,⁸ you must certainly hurry, and at least make your winter quarters with us. Meanwhile, if you conveniently can, please send me Giustiniani, Historian of the Veneti.⁹ On my word I shall see either that he is well cared for until your arrival, or, if you prefer, that he is returned to you shortly. Farewell.

*London, Septemb. [November?] 23. 1637.*¹⁰

LETTER 9, TO BENEDETTO BUONMATTEI, 1638

This is Familiar Letter 8 in the 1674 edition. Benedetto Buonmattei (1581–1647) was one of the brilliant Florentines who made Milton's Italian journey such a joy to remember. Milton probably met him through Jacopo Gaddi, whose practice it was to meet all foreigners in town and invite them to his private club or "academy," the Svogliati, of which Buonmattei was an officer at this time. Buonmattei was a priest, and as a young man he had served the church in Rome, Venice, and Padua. Now, in his fifty-eighth year, he was living in retirement in his native Florence, an eminent member of the Florentine, Apatisti, Della Crusca, and Svogliati academies. He was perhaps the chief authority on the Tuscan tongue. See Masson, I, 773–79.

TO BENEDETTO BUONMATTEI THE FLORENTINE

SINCE you are preparing new Institutes¹ of your native tongue, Benedetto Buonmattei, to which you are about to give the finishing touch, you are both beginning a journey to fame shared by some of the highest intellects, and you have aroused, I see, a hope and an opinion among your [20] fellow Citizens that by your own effort you will easily bring either light, or richness, or at least polish and order to previous works. By what an extraordinary debt

⁷ Donald C. Dorian has discovered that Dr. Diodati did take a second wife, whose name was Abigail, and that his children were estranged from him. The date of the marriage is not known. See *The English Diodati*, p. 167.

⁸ The Dacians and the Sarmatians seem to have no special fame for stepmother trouble. The allusion here seems to be only to fierceness in warfare. They were rebellious and gave the Roman conquerors considerable embarrassment.

⁹ Justinianus Bernardus (or Bernardo Giustiniani), *De Origine Urbis Venetiarum Rebusque ab Ipsa Gestis Historia* (Venice, 1492). An Italian translation appeared in 1545 and again in 1608.

¹⁰ See n. 6 to Letter 7.

¹ Published as *Della Lingua Toscana, Libri Due* (1643).

you will have bound your countrymen they will indeed be ungrateful if they themselves do not perceive. Whoever in a state knows how to form the manners of men wisely, to rule them at home and at war with excellent precepts, him before others do I think especially worthy of all honor. Next to him, however, is the one who tries to fix by precepts and rules the order and pattern of writing and speaking received from a good age of the nation, and in a sense to enclose it within a wall; indeed, in order that no one may overstep it, it ought to be secured by a law all but Romulean.² For if we wish to compare the usefulness of the two men, the one alone is able to effect an upright and holy society of Citizens; the other alone can make it truly noble, and splendid, and brilliant, which is the next thing to be wished. The one provides, I believe, a noble ferocity and intrepid strategy against an enemy invading the boundaries; the other, with a learned censorship of ears and a light-armed guard of good Authors, undertakes to overcome and drive out Barbarism, that filthy civil enemy of character which attacks the spirits of men. Nor is it to be thought unimportant what speech people have, whether pure or corrupted, or how correct their daily use of it, a matter which more than once involved the welfare of Athens.³ [21] Nay more, though it is the opinion of Plato that grave actions and mutations in the Republic are portended by changed custom and style in dressing,⁴ I should rather believe that the down-

² When Romulus was building the wall around Rome, Remus, jealous of Romulus for having been awarded the site, leaped over the wall with a taunt. Romulus struck him dead and threatened like treatment to all others who should leap the wall.

³ We do not know to what, if any, specific historical incidents Milton refers. In view of the context, however, he seems simply to be alluding to the fact that the corruption of the pure Attic dialect paralleled the political decay of the Athenian state. The republic of Athens, like the other Greek states, was highly nationalistic: the privilege of citizenship was so jealously guarded that traces of foreign accent were even used as legal evidence for disenfranchisement (Demosthenes, *Against Eubulides*); and the word "barbarian" (Βάρβαροι) was used as a term of contempt for anyone who spoke another, less cultivated language. By the Age of Pericles Athens had achieved both political and cultural ascendancy. But cultural ascendancy led to more general use of the language, and political ascendancy gave rise to wars; so that by the time of Alexander Athens had been absorbed with the other city states into the empire of Macedonia, and the Attic of Plato, Thucydides, and Demosthenes had been abandoned by such writers as Xenophon and Aristotle in favor of the common language, or Κοινή.

⁴ Here Milton seems to be referring to the *Laws* (VII, 797), in which Plato says that the habits of childhood, especially play but also dress and manners, affect the state. When play is ordered and stable for generations the state will

fall of that City,⁵ and its consequent meanness of affairs, might follow blemish and error in speech. For when speech is partly awkward and pedantic, partly inaccurate and badly pronounced, what does it say but that the souls of the people are slothful and gaping and already prepared for any servility? On the other hand, not once have we heard of an empire or state not flourishing at least moderately as long as it continued to have pride in its Language, and to cultivate it. Therefore, Benedetto, you see clearly that if you would be sure of winning the pleasant and substantial gratitude of your fellow citizens, you need only proceed earnestly to do this service for your Republic. I say these things not because I think you are ignorant of any of them, but because I persuade myself that you are much more intent on what you may do for your country than on what it will, in good right, owe to you. I will now speak of foreigners, for obliging whom, if you want to do that, there is certainly ample occasion. For anyone among them who is by chance more flourishing in wit than the rest, or in pleasing and elegant manners, has the Etruscan Tongue⁶ among his chief delights, yea rather considers it a solid part of his learning, [22] especially if he has imbibed Greek and Latin either not at all or in moderate tincture. Certainly I, who have not merely wet my lips in these Languages but have drunk deeper drafts—as much as anyone of my years, am nevertheless glad to go for a feast to Dante and Petrarch, and to a good many of your other authors. Neither Attic Athens with her bright and clear Ilissus nor old Rome with her bank of the Tiber can hold me so firmly that I do not love to visit often your Arno and those hills of Fiesole.⁷ See now, I pray, whether there was not some providential design which sent you, as your latest guest from the Ocean for these few days, me, such a lover of your Nation that no other, I think, is a greater. You may, for this reason, be better able to remember what I have been at such pains to request of you: that

remain undisturbed, but when novelty is introduced and praised the state too will suffer disturbance. Milton's emphasis on dress, which Plato barely mentions, resembles Montaigne's similar emphasis in his discussion of the same passage from Plato in the essay "Of Sumptuary Laws."

⁵ Athens, presumably.

⁶ Milton may mean merely the Italian language, but he probably means the dialect of Tuscany, regarded as the classical form of Italian.

⁷ The Arno runs through Florence, and Fiesole itself is only three miles away. Milton simply means that the authors of ancient Greece and Rome cannot dull his taste for the Florentines—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Villani, Aretino, Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Machiavelli, and many others.

you would be willing to add to your work, already begun and in large part completed, a little something on right pronunciation ⁸—as much as the work itself will bear, for the sake of us foreigners. For the intention of all previous authorities on your speech seems to have been to satisfy their own people, caring nothing about us. Although in my judgment they would have provided more surely for their own fame and the glory of the Italian speech if they had presented their precepts as if it were the business of all mortals to acquire the language, [23] still, as far as they are concerned, you Italians might seem to have wished to be wise only within the boundary of the Alps. Therefore the praise heretofore tasted by none will be all yours and has kept itself intact and whole for you until this time. And another honor will be no less yours if, in such a crowd of Writers, you do not find it too burdensome to discuss fully each one who, after those well-known Authors in the Florentine tongue, will be able justly to place himself among the next best: who is distinguished in Tragedy, who in Comedy gay and light, who in Epistles or Dialogues witty or grave, who in History noble; and thus it will not be difficult for the willing and studious to select the better of them; and there will be, whenever he wishes to wander more widely afield, a place where he may fix his foot with assurance.⁹ In this matter you will have, among the Ancients, Cicero and Fabius to imitate; ¹⁰ whether any of your own age, however, I do not know. And though (unless my memory fails me) it seems to me that you have already granted my request whenever we mention the matter—such is your courtesy and good disposition, I am unwilling to regard that as an excuse for not making the same request carefully and, so to speak, elegantly. For although your own worth and sincerity award the lowest value and honor to your own works, I hope that my opinion, and their real dignity, may fix the true and accurate value upon them; also it is only fair everywhere that the more easily one grants a request, [24] the less there ought to be lacking in the reward of his compliance. Finally, if you should wonder why, on this subject, I use Latin rather than your Tongue, I do it for

⁸ Buonmatter's book has no such section, but pronunciation is treated fully in appropriate places. *Della Lingua Toscana*, ed. with a life of Buonmattei by Giovanni Battista Casotti (Milan, 1807).

⁹ There is no section on authors.

¹⁰ In *Brutus* Cicero gives a short description of all considerable orators in Greece and Rome up to his time. Quintilian (M. Fabius Quintilianus) gives a brief description of classical writers in *Institutio Oratoria*, X.

this reason, that you may understand that I wish that Tongue clarified for me by your precepts, and to confess my awkwardness and ignorance plainly in Latin. By this method I have hoped to prevail the better with you; and I have also believed that if I brought with me as helper in her daughter's cause that grey and venerable mother from Latium,¹¹ you could deny nothing to her authority and reverence, her Majesty august through so many ages. Farewell.

Florence, Septemb. 10. 1638.¹²

LETTER 10, TO LUKAS HOLSTE, 1639

This is Familiar Letter 9 in the 1674 edition. Lukas Holste (1596–1661) was a native of Hamburg. He was educated at Leyden and traveled to Italy and Sicily. He read widely in the Greek fathers, the Neoplatonists, and Greek geographers. He projected a compilation of all Greek and Latin geographies and went to England in 1622 for the purpose of collecting as many as possible in the libraries. After at least two years there, spent mostly in London and Oxford, he went to Paris where he met Cardinal Francesco Barberini. In 1627 he went to Rome, lived in the palace of the Cardinal, and became a Catholic. He was put in charge of the Barberini Library and made one of the librarians of the Vatican. After the death of Urban VIII (1644), Innocent XI made him Custodian of the Vatican Library. His own literary projects were many and ambitious, and most were never completed; but he was an untiring scholar, collector, and librarian.

The discovery of the manuscript of this letter in the Vatican Library by Joseph McG. Bottkol was announced in the *New York Times* (Weather Postscript ed.), May 18, 1952, p. 50. See Bottkol, "The Holograph of Milton's Letter to Holstenius," *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), pp. 617–27.

SOURCES

Biographie Universelle (Paris, 1811–62); Masson, I, 798; Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, tr. Dom Ernest Graf and E. L. Peeler (37 vols., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1899–1950), XXIX, 440–44.

¹¹ Latium was the home of the ancient Latini and thus the home of Latin, the "Mother" of Italian. Milton's Latin here is "canam; & venerandam è Latio matrem." It is necessary to suppose that the semicolon should be a comma.

¹² Presumably continental style; Milton had been on the continent since about April and must have been using the continental calendar by this time. But since this letter is all we have to mark his arrival in Italy, it would be helpful to know definitely which calendar he was using. If the date is English style, the Italian date would be September 20.

TO LUKAS HOLSTE IN THE VATICAN AT ROME

ALTHOUGH I can remember (and often do) many courteous and cordial favors which I have received in my hasty journey through Italy, still, I do not know whether I can rightly say that I have had greater tokens of kindness from anyone on such short acquaintance than from you. For when I went up to the Vatican to meet you, you received me with greatest kindness, though I was utterly unknown to you, unless perhaps I had been previously mentioned by Alessandro Cherubini.¹ At once courteously admitted to the Library, [25] I was permitted to browse through the invaluable collection of Books, and also the numerous Greek Authors in manuscript annotated by your nightly toil. Some of these, as yet unseen by our generation, seemed as if in readiness for action, like Vergil's

—souls shut deep within a green valley, and about to cross the threshold of the upper world;²

they seemed to demand only the ready hands of the Printer and a delivery into the world. Some, already edited³ by your labor, are be-

¹ Cherubini died at the age of twenty-eight and published little, but he was known as a man of prodigious learning. He was the son of a prominent lawyer in Rome Masson, I, 801.

² *Aeneid*, VI, 679–80. For Virgil's

. . . penitus convalle
virenti inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras

the 1674 edition of Milton's letters has

. . . penitus convalle virenti
Inclusæ animæ, superumque ad limen ituræ.

It is impossible to say whether Milton's "limen" is a misprint or a misquotation; the sense is different from Virgil's, but satisfactory. The other variations are perhaps explainable. Milton's MS -as (at least in surviving specimens of his hand from this period) could have been misread as -ae, though Milton's -æ was distinct from his -ae. It seems more likely, however, that Milton consciously altered the endings. Milton's inflections are impossible in Virgil's sentence, but Virgil's are impossible in Milton's sentence.

³ Milton may have seen several Greek authors already edited by Holste. He had collaborated in editions of Athanasius (Paris, 1627) and Eusebius (Paris, 1628), published a Greek and Latin edition of several works of Porphyry (Rome, 1630), and published some axioms of the later Pythagoreans (Rome, 1638). It is impossible to know what works were ready for the printer. He sent notes on Apollonius Rhodius to Elzevir, who used them in the Holtzlin edition (1644) and published a Latin translation, with notes, of Arrian's *Book of the Chase* (Paris, 1644). But he worked on many things simultaneously and left many annotated manuscripts unpublished at his death. *Biographie Universelle*; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XXIX, 440–43.

ing eagerly received everywhere by the learned; and I am sent forth enriched by your gift of two copies of one of these.⁴ Next, I could not help believing it the result of your mentioning me to Cardinal Francesco Barberini,⁵ that when, a few days later, he gave that public Musical entertainment⁶ with truly Roman magnificence, he himself, waiting at the door, singled me out in so great a throng and, almost seizing me by the hand, welcomed me in an exceedingly honorable manner. When on this account I paid my respects to him the following day, it was again you yourself who gained both access for me and an opportunity to converse—an opportunity which, considering how important the man (though certainly no one of highest rank could be more kindly nor more courteous) and considering the time and place, was really rather ample than scant. I am sure I do not know, Most Learned [26] Holstenius, whether I alone have found you such a friend and host, or whether, remembering that you gave three years' work to Scholarship at Oxford, you want to honor all Englishmen with attentions of that sort. If the latter, you are indeed handsomely paying our—nay partly even your—England for what you learned there; and you deserve equal thanks in the name of each of us privately and of the country publicly. But if the former, if you have distinguished me from the rest and esteemed me enough to want my friendship, I both congratulate myself on your opinion and at the same time consider it due more to your generosity than to my merit. That commission which I understood you to have given me concerning the inspection of a Medicean codex,⁷ I have faithfully referred to

⁴ This book has not been identified.

⁵ Barberini was a nephew of Urban VIII and prime minister of Rome. He was a scholar and a patron of learning and art. The Barberini Library was second only to that of the Vatican (with which it was amalgamated in 1902). His palace was one of the most magnificent of the age, and adjoining it was a theater with a seating capacity of three thousand. Barberini was the unofficial cardinal patron of England and Scotland.

⁶ It has often been thought that Milton heard Leonora Baroni at this entertainment. However, Alessandro Ademollo, in his *I Teatri di Roma nel Secolo Decimosettimo* (Roma, 1888), pp. 25–31, says that the entertainment Milton saw was probably the one held in the Barberini Palace Theater, the main feature of which was Rospigliosi's musical comedy *Chi Soffre Speri*. If so then Milton could not have met Baroni there, either as singer or spectator, because women were barred from the stage, and (except wives of Romans) from the auditorium.

⁷ The word "codex" ordinarily means a manuscript edition of a classical work, usually dated from the fifth to the fifteenth century, preserved in one of the

my friends, who, however, display scant hope of accomplishing the matter at present. In that Library⁸ nothing can be copied except by previous permission, nor may one even bring a pen to the tables. They say, however, that Giovanni Battista Doni⁹ is at Rome; he is expected daily, having been called to Florence to give the public lectureship in Greek literature; and they say that through him you can easily obtain what you wish. Yet it would have given me very great pleasure if so eminently desirable a project could have been at least slightly furthered by my poor efforts, for it is a shame that in so worthy and splendid an undertaking you should not have the help of all men everywhere and their learning and fortunes. Finally, [27] you will have bound me by a new obligation if you extend my most respectful greetings to his Eminence the Cardinal, whose great virtues and zeal for what is right, so ready to further all the Liberal Arts, are always before my eyes—also that gentle and, may I say, humble loftiness of spirit, which alone has taught him to distinguish himself by effacing himself, and about which it can be truly said, as of Ceres in Callimachus, though in a different sense: "Feet to the earth still cling, while the head is touching Olympus."¹⁰ Such humility can prove to most other Princes how alien to and how far different from true magnanimity are their surly arrogance and courtly haughtiness. Nor do I think that while he lives anyone will any longer miss the Estensi, Farnesi, or Medici,¹¹ formerly the patrons of learned men. Farewell, Most Learned Holstenius, and if

libraries of Europe. The Medicean codices comprised one of the groups in the great Florentine collection in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana. We do not know to what specific work Milton refers.

⁸ Masson (I, 823 n) thinks this was the Laurentian Library in Florence.

⁹ Doni was a brilliant scholar, learned in both the humanities and the physical sciences. He asked nothing of the world but knowledge, and he was widely known in the learned world. In 1623 Cardinal Barberini called him to Rome and lodged him in his palace; he pleased both the Pope and the Cardinal by his Latin poetry and his dissertations on the music of the ancient theater. His return to his native Florence was occasioned by deaths in his family which left him responsible for the family estates, but he accepted the lectureships offered him at the same time. *Biographie Universelle*.

¹⁰ Hymn VI, "To Demeter," l. 58.

¹¹ Of these families the Medici had been the greatest patrons of learning. At the time of Milton's visit the patronage of the other families had ceased, and Odoardo Farnese was trying to keep Urban VIII from getting Castro for his relatives the Barberini—a fact which Milton may have known.

there is anyone who highly appreciates yourself and your works, please count me another of his kind, if you think it worthwhile, in whatever part of the world I may be.

*Florence, March 30. 1639.*¹²

LETTERS TO MILTON

LETTER I, CHARLES DIODATI TO MILTON

TRANSLATED BY ROBERT D. MURRY

In British Museum Additional Manuscript 5016 * are two Greek letters from Charles Diodati to Milton, together with an Italian letter from Carolo Dati, a Latin letter from Leo de Aitzema, and a Latin letter from Peter Heimbach. The letters from Diodati have no indication of date or place of writing. The translations are based on photostats.

DIODATI GREETES MILTON CHEERFULLY

THE PRESENT state of the weather seems to be quite jealous of the arrangements we made when lately we parted, for it has been stormy and unsettled for two whole days now. But nevertheless, so much do I desire your company that in my longing I dream of and all but prophesy fair weather and calm, and everything golden for tomorrow, so that we may enjoy our fill of philosophical and learned conversation.¹ Therefore I wished to write you to invite and encourage you, in fear lest you turn your mind to other plans, despairing of sunshine and enjoyment, for the time at least. But be of good cheer, my friend, and stand by the plans we made together, and adopt a festive spirit, gayer than that of today. For tomorrow all will be fair; the air and the sun and the river, and trees and little birds and earth and men will laugh and dance with us as we make holiday—but let this be said with humility. Only do you be ready to set out when called, or even uncalled, to come to me, who long to see you. “For Menelaus, good at the war-cry, came to him unbidden.”² Farewell.

¹² Presumably continental style.

¹ Possibly a verbal reminiscence of the “feasts of reason” in Agathias’ epigram, *Palatine Anthology* 4, 5.

² *Iliad*, II, 408.

LETTER II, CHARLES DIODATI TO MILTON

TRANSLATED BY ROBERT D. MURRY

In this letter Diodati reveals much about both himself and Milton. His estimate of his own nature as habitually carefree and Milton's as habitually serious was confirmed by Milton in a letter to Diodati in 1637. Elegy I, a Latin verse letter to Diodati in the spring of 1626, reveals a strikingly different Milton. He had been "rusticated" from college and was in London, giving himself up to the Muses, reading (and perhaps seeing) plays, and walking in the park to see the beautiful girls.

DIODATI GREETES MILTON

I HAVE no complaint with my present way of life with this one exception, that I lack some noble soul skilled in conversation. Such a person I do miss; but there is abundance of everything else here in the country. For what is lacking when the days are long, the countryside most lovely with flowers, and waving and teeming with leaves, on every branch a nightingale or goldfinch, or some other little bird singing and warbling in rivalry? Where are walks of utmost variety, a table neither scant nor overburdened, and quiet sleep. Could I but add to these a good companion, learned and initiate, I would be happier than the King of Persia.¹ Still there is always something lacking in human affairs, wherefore one must be moderate. But you, extraordinary man, why do you despise the gifts of nature? Why such inexcusable perseverance, bending over books and studies day and night? Live, laugh, enjoy your youth and the hours, and stop reading the serious, the light, and the indolent works of ancient wise men, wearing yourself out the while. I, who in all other things am your inferior, in this one thing, in knowing the proper limit of labor, both seem to myself, and am, your better. Farewell, and be merry, but not in the manner of Sardanapalus² in Soli.

LETTER III, HENRY LAWES TO MILTON [SPRING, 1638]

This letter was found in the *Commonplace Book*, discovered by Alfred J. Horwood and published by the Camden Society in 1877. It is here trans-

¹ The King of Persia here seems to be only a symbol for one who enjoys complete abundance in all things.

² Assyrian king in the seventh century B.C. According to classical historians he was effeminate and voluptuous.

scribed from a photostat of the original in the British Museum, Additional MS 36354.

Henry Lawes (1596–1662) was one of the finest musicians of his age. He was appointed Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1626, and Member of the King's Private Musicke in 1630; in the latter capacity he wrote music for many court masques. He was also much in demand by the poets, who wanted him to set scores to their lyrics, because he wrote for each poem a melody beautiful in itself and yet seeming only to bring out the beauty of the words. When Milton and Lawes met is not certain. Lawes came to London about 1615, and there he might have met Milton's father, an amateur musician himself. It is possible that he performed in Milton's "Arcades" (1633?) and wrote music for it, though none survives. As tutor to the Egerton children, who may have performed in the entertainment, he probably had some connection with the presentation. In 1634 he wrote music for *Comus*, played the part of Thyrsis, and apparently managed the production. It was so successful that in 1637 Lawes had it published. The friendship thus begun continued through the civil wars, though Lawes was utterly devoted to Charles I and Milton sided with Parliament and eventually defended even the regicide. When Milton published his *Poems* (1645), the title page carried the statement that the songs had been set to music by Henry Lawes. In return Milton composed a sonnet (XIII) to Lawes, which appeared as commendatory verse in Lawes's *Choice Psalmes*, 1648. When the collection of songs by the Lawes brothers was published in 1653 as *Ayres and Dialogues*, it carried commendatory verses by Edward and John Phillips, Milton's nephews and former students. Edward said in his poem that he had enjoyed attending musicales given by Lawes—especially watching the "bright dames." It is likely that Milton was intimate with Lawes for many years, and it is regrettable that the present letter is the only known correspondence.

Brief as it is, the letter indicates that Lawes had done Milton a real service. The usual procedure for obtaining a passport was to apply to one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. At this time passports regularly forbade visits to Rome or contact with any representative of the Pope. Milton, of course, wanted to visit Rome; to him Rome was antiquity, not merely the Pope. Whether Milton tried the usual procedure and was refused is not known, but at any rate Lawes managed matters for him. The Lord Warden, Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, was himself a cultured gentleman and patron of the arts and could understand Milton's desire to see Rome.¹

¹ See Willa M. Evans, *Henry Lawes* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1941), pp. 148–50, and *passim*.

HENRY LAWES TO MILTON

[April?, 1638] ¹

S^r I HAVE sent you wth. this A letter from my Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes under his hand & seale, w^{ch} wilbe A sufficient warrant, to Justify yo^r goinge out of the Kings Dominions. if you intend to wryte ² yo^rselfe you canōt have a safer convoy for both, than from Suffolke House, but that I leave to yo^r Owne Consideration & remaine

yo^r
faithfull friend
& servant
Henry Lawes.

[Address:]

. . . any waies Aprooved,³
M^r. John Milton
haste these

LETTER IV, SIR HENRY WOTTON TO MILTON, APRIL, 1638

This letter was first published in the *Poems of Mr. John Milton* (1645), where it appeared just before *Comus* under the heading "The Copy of a Letter Writt'n By Sir Henry Wootton, To the Author, upon the following Poem." The publisher, Humphrey Moseley, was also proud of the letter and

¹ Wotton's letter (see below) dated April 13 was apparently sent just before Milton's departure. Milton would presumably have received his passport at about this time.

² "wryte," so read by both Horwood and Evans, does not make sense; but since no other reading seems possible we are perhaps justified in imagining a background which makes it intelligible. Milton had evidently discussed his plans with Lawes. Lawes may have told Milton that he and his servant (mentioned in the *Second Defence*) could join a party making up to depart from Suffolk House, perhaps on a ship which had some protection, simply by asking permission or formally booking passage. But if Milton had seemed reluctant or uncertain when they spoke of it, Lawes could not take the necessary steps for him. Hence Milton may have understood the sentence thus: "If you intend to write yourself [to thank the Earl for the passport] you cannot have safer convoy for both [yourself and your servant], than from Suffolk House [so you may as well say that you wish to join the company], but that I leave to your own consideration." The lacunae would be no greater than one might expect in a hasty note on a subject perfectly understood by both correspondents.

³ The address is torn before this line and evidently a word is lost, such as "By" or "Per."

in "The Stationer to the Reader" spoke of "*the unparalleled attestation of that renowned Provost of Eaton, Sir Henry Wootton.*" It was reprinted, probably from Milton's book, in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651, and later editions; 1654 in UTSL), collected by Wotton's friend Izaak Walton. It is here reprinted from *The Poems of Mr. John Milton* (1645), published by the Facsimile Text Society in 1927.

Wotton (1568–1639) was nearing the end of a distinguished career when Milton knew him. A true man of the Renaissance, he had entered government service early to serve his queen and to distinguish himself. Under James he had served as ambassador to various continental governments from 1604 to 1623; three periods, including his last service, he spent at Venice. In 1624 he retired from the service to spend his remaining years as Provost of Eton. Though Eton is only a few miles from Horton Milton did not meet him until shortly before he left for Italy, when he perhaps went to him chiefly for directions and letters of introduction. Though he did not exactly follow Wotton's directions or his advice about conduct, Milton proudly related Wotton's kind attentions in his account of the Italian journey in the *Second Defence* (1654).

SOURCES

Masson, I, 737–39, Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (2 vols., Oxford, 1907), I, 220–21, and *passim*.

[SIR HENRY WOTTON TO MILTON]

From the Colledge, this 13. of April, 1638.

SIR,

It was a special favour, when you lately bestowed upon me here, the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer then to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterwards by Mr. H.,¹ I would have been bold in our vulgar phrase to mend my draught (for you left me with an extreme thirst) and to have begged your conversation again, joyntly with your said learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded² together som good Authors of the antient time: Among which, I observed you to have been familiar.

¹ Probably John Hales, former fellow of Merton and now retired to a private fellowship at Eton. He was a very charming and very learned man—Wotton called him his "walking library." Masson, I, 535–37, 738; Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 381 n.

² i.e., "bandied."

Since your going, you have charg'd me with new Obligations, both for a very kinde Letter ³ from you dated the sixth of this Month, and for a dainty peece of entertainment ⁴ which came therewith. Wherin I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Dorique delicacy in your Songs and Odes,⁵ whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our Language: *Ipsa mollities*.⁶ But I must not omit to tell you, that I now onely owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true Artificer. For the work it self, I had view'd som good while before, with singular delight, having receiv'd it from our common Friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late R's Poems,⁷ Printed at Oxford, whereunto it was added (as I now suppose) that the Accessory might help out the Principal, according to the Art of *Stationers*, and to leave the Reader *Con la bocca dolce*.⁸

Now Sir, concerning your travels, wherein I may chalenge a little more priviledge of Discours with you; I suppose you will not blanch ⁹

³ This letter is not known to survive.

⁴ The anonymous edition of *Comus*, published in 1637 by Henry Lawes.

⁵ "Tragical" apparently refers to the dialogue, or dramatic aspect of the masque, and "Dorique" to the pastoral quality of the lyrical aspect. See Masson, I, 738; Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 381 n.

⁶ i.e., "delicacy itself."

⁷ Evidently this refers to Thomas Randolph's *Poems* . . . (Oxford, 1638) though no copy of the *Poems* bound with *Comus* is known. Randolph had died in 1635, and no other book of poems by an "R." is recorded as having been published at Oxford at the appropriate time. Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books* (3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1931), II, 141; Falconer Madan, *The Early Oxford Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), p. 209; Masson, I, 738 n; Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 381-82 n. "Our common friend Mr. R." is more obscure. Masson and Smith suggest John Rous, Oxford Librarian, whom Milton certainly knew by 1647 and whom he may have met in 1635 when he was incorporated M.A. at Oxford. But Humphrey Robinson seems more likely. He had published *Comus* the previous year; as one of the largest London booksellers, he may have stocked Randolph's *Poems* for the London trade, and he probably knew Milton and Wotton, both booklovers. Another possibility is Robert Randolph, editor of his brother's poems, though there is no reason to suppose that either Wotton or Milton knew him. It seems less confusing to have the two "R.'s" refer to brothers than to men with different last names, but the initials may be Milton's tactful suppression of full names written by Wotton. No other person among the known or supposed acquaintances of either Wotton or Milton seems likely.

⁸ "With a sweet taste," perhaps with the connotation of hoping for further delights.

⁹ To let go unnoticed.

Paris in your way; therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few lines to Mr. *M.B.*¹⁰ whom you shall easily find attending the young Lord *S.*¹¹ as his Governour, and you may surely receive from him good directions for the shaping of your farther journey into *Italy*, where he did reside by my choice som time for the King, after mine own recess from *Venice*.

I should think that your best Line will be thorow the whole length of *France* to *Marseilles*, and thence by Sea to *Genoa*, whence the passage into *Tuscany* is as Diurnal as a *Gravesend* Barge: I hasten as you do to *Florence*, or *Siena*, the rather to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety.

At *Siena* I was tabled in the House of one *Alberto Scipioni* an old *Roman* Courtier in dangerous times, having bin Steward to the *Duca di Pagliano*, who with all his Family were strangled, save this onely man that escap'd by foresight of the Tempest: With him I had often much chat of those affairs; Into which he took pleasure to look back from his Native Harbour; and at my departure toward *Rome* (which had been the center of his experience) I had wonn confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry my self securely there, without offence of others, or of mine own conscience. *Signor Arrigo mio* (sayes he) *I pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto* ¹² will go safely over the whole World: Of which *Delphian* Oracle (for so I have found it) your judgement doth need no commentary; and therefore (Sir) I will commit

¹⁰ Michael Branthwaite, who had been with Wotton in Venice and had remained there as pro tem ambassador from Wotton's departure in October, 1623, until December, 1624, when Sir Isaac Wake arrived as regular ambassador. Though Branthwaite was "plain and poor," Wotton regarded him highly. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 382 n., 464-65.

¹¹ James Scudamore, son of John First Viscount Scudamore, ambassador in France, 1635-1639. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 364 n., 382 n. In the *Second Defence* Milton says that Scudamore himself received him courteously, introduced him to Grotius, and on his setting out for Italy gave him letters to the English merchants along the way.

¹² Wotton's own translation of the advice was "My Signor Harry, your thoughts close, and your countenance loose." The motto was a favorite of Wotton, and he had evidently given it to Branthwaite and young Scudamore when they left for Paris. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, II, 364 and n. Milton did not follow the admonition wholeheartedly. In the *Second Defence* he says that he made it a rule in Italy never to start an argument about religion but never to conceal his opinions if another opened the subject. Consequently there was some unpleasantness at Rome and at Naples.

you with it to the best of all securities, Gods dear love, remaining
Your Friend as much at command
as any of longer date
Henry Wootton.

Postscript.

SIR, *I have expresly sent this my Foot-boy to prevent your departure without som acknowledgement from me of the receipt of your obliging Letter, having my self through som busines, I know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad, and diligent to entertain you with Home-Novelties; ¹³ even for som fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.*

¹³ Newsletters.

MILTON'S *COMMONPLACE BOOK*

PREFACE, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES BY RUTH MOHL

MILTON'S *Commonplace Book*—the book in which he recorded or had his amanuenses record notes on his general reading from the Horton period or earlier¹ to about 1665 or even later²—was discovered in 1874 by Alfred J. Horwood while he was examining the manuscripts of Sir Frederick Graham of Netherby Hall, Longtown, Cumberland, for the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Some of the leaves of the manuscript contained entries by Sir Richard Graham, Viscount Preston (1648–1695), elder brother of an ancestor of Sir Frederick Graham. They are easily distinguishable from the other entries³ and must, of course, be omitted from an edition of the *Commonplace Book* as matter wholly extraneous to the manuscript as Milton left it. Lord Preston apparently secured the document from Daniel Skinner, Milton's last amanuensis, who at one time asked to be employed in Lord Preston's service in Paris. Skinner is known, after Milton's death, to have had several of Milton's manuscripts in his possession. He may have presented the *Commonplace Book* to Lord Preston as a bribe toward such employment.⁴ These facts and conjectures may help to explain the appearance of the *Commonplace Book* at Netherby Hall.

¹ The first entries appear in a small, neatly printed hand that is also found in Milton's marginalia to Aratus and Euripides, purchased by Milton in 1631. See Samuel Leigh Sotheby, *Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton* (London, 1861), Plates XIV and XV, and pp. 105 nn., 108 nn.

² Two entries, *CPB*, pp. 197, 249, are in the hand of the amanuensis of the extant manuscript of Book I of *Paradise Lost* (Sotheby, Plate XXV) and may therefore have been made as late as 1667.

³ His handwriting is quite different from the other hands. His entries are also different from Milton's in form and ideas, as well as in reference to editions not used by or not available to Milton. He refers to a 1675 edition of Machiavelli, and in some seventy-five entries he refers to Book II of Bodin, *De Republica*, in the Richard Knolles English translation of 1606, which, according to Horwood, was listed among the books of Lord Preston sold in London in 1696, whereas Milton refers only to Book I in a Latin edition. See below, p. 409.

⁴ Cf. Alfred J. Horwood, ed., *A Common-place Book of John Milton* (CS, n.s. XVI, 1877), intro., pp. xix–xx; also Maurice Kelley, "Daniel Skinner, Lord Preston, and Milton's Commonplace Book," *MLN*, LXIV (1949), 522–25.

The manuscript, originally bound in rough brown sheepskin, probably consisted of 126 leaves, 11¼ by almost 9 inches, with page numbers from 1 to 250 and an unnumbered leaf containing the Index at the end.⁵ The leaves are stained with dampness, but the manuscript was rebound and repaired by Zaehnsdorf in the later nineteenth century, and its spine now bears the imprint "Netherby Library." The leaves forming pages 33-36, 83-98, 207 and 208, 225-28, 231-34, and the lower halves of the first 7 leaves have been cut away; pages 1 and 101 are blank except for the titles "Index Ethicus" on page 1 and "Index Economicus" on page 101. The third Index title page, page 177, "Index Politicus," is filled with five of Milton's notes on *Respublica* and one by Lord Preston. The Index itself, on the unnumbered leaf at the end, is intact and shows that none of the material referred to in it is missing. It may be assumed, therefore, that all the leaves on which Milton's notes were recorded have survived. Milton's entries appear on 71 pages; there are 136 blank pages; and Lord Preston used 15 pages otherwise blank as well as parts of pages already used by Milton or his amanuenses.⁶ Most of Milton's entries are in his own handwriting, but from about 1650, when his sight began to fail, he depended more and more on the help of scribes, and after 1652, the year in which his blindness became complete, all the entries are in the hands of some five or six amanuenses, besides the "Machiavelli scribes," of whom there seem to have been several.⁷

Realizing the importance of the manuscript for literary and biographical purposes, Horwood offered to edit it, and Sir Frederick Graham approved the plan.⁸ The Camden Society in 1876 arranged for the printing of the document, and when it appeared the small volume included a facsimile, or autotype, reproduction of three pages of the original. The three facsimile pages proved the need of a facsimile of the whole; and later in 1876 the Royal Society of Literature had a hundred such copies

⁵ Horwood (1877), intro, pp. ix-x.

⁶ Lord Preston wrote one short note on p. 20, otherwise blank; he filled three-fourths of p. 58, otherwise blank; he wrote one or two notes each on pp. 59, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, otherwise blank; he wrote one note on p. 177, where Milton had written five; three notes on p. 187, where Milton had three; one note on p. 189, after five by Milton; five notes on p. 195, after four by Milton; one note on p. 197, where Milton had three; he filled pp. 199 and 200; he wrote one entry each on pp. 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, otherwise blank; he filled p. 248 except for the first entry; he wrote all but the last entry on p. 249. The blank pages are: 2, 3, 7-8, 9-10, 11, 21-32, 37-52, 54, 56, 60, 62, 63-64, 65-66, 68, 69, 99-100, 102, 103-04, 107-08, 117-46, 147, 149, 152, 153-58, 159, 161-76, 192, 194, 196, 206, 209-18, 219, 222, 223-24, 229, 235-38, 239, 250. The pages used by Milton are indicated in the text following.

⁷ Cf. Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 253-85

⁸ Horwood, *A Common-place Book of John Milton* (1877), intro., pp. xx, xxi.

prepared, making possible a careful study of the manuscript without use of the original. The printed text of the 1876 edition, however, was severely criticized by one of the members of the Camden Society, "a gentleman of great eminence at Cambridge,"⁹ as well as by reviewers, for the numerous errors, particularly in the Greek and Latin entries, and Horwood was obliged to issue a revised edition in 1877. In a postscript to the introduction in the new edition, Horwood noted that some of the so-called errors were Milton's, but he admitted that numerous typographical errors were due to his own careless handwriting and to proof-reading by candlelight, without assistance.¹⁰ The original manuscript, according to the catalogue of the British Museum, was acquired by the Museum in 1900 (MS. Add. 36354).

The third printing of the *Commonplace Book* appeared in 1938 in Volume XVIII of the Columbia University edition of *The Works of John Milton*.¹¹ In this edition readers were given for the first time a translation of the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian entries, as well as the complete text of the original. The Columbia edition also included some "Additions to the Commonplace Book"¹² from what seemed to be a Legal Index, kept by Milton and found in the Columbia Manuscript, a collection of notes, letters, and other material relating to his work as Latin Secretary. Many of the entries in the *Commonplace Book*, even in translation, are far from clear. Without reference to the works from which the entries were made, much of their meaning and significance is lost. In the present translation and edition, therefore, the aim has been to clarify each entry by reference to its source, in the edition used by Milton, whenever possible, and thus to show the significance of Milton's vast general reading to the thought of his other works, both in verse and in prose.

Since Milton was recording material for his own use and not for publication, he abbreviated the names of authors and titles of works, as any present-day note-taker would do, being careful, however, to record accurately in most cases the book, chapter, section, or page number that he would need when referring to his sources later on. About ninety authors are recorded, some of them represented by more than one work. Many of them are obscure and wholly unfamiliar to modern readers. Horwood realized the importance of the manuscript as a means of understanding Milton's other works, and he saw particularly the need of identifying the authors and works that Milton read in order to determine

⁹ Horwood (1877), p. xxi.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

¹¹ Columbia, XVIII, 128-220, 505-09 nn., 654 nn.

¹² *Ibid.*, 221-27, 509-10, nn.

the use to which he put them. Horwood, therefore, began the work of identification but left it far from complete; and he included in his list some of the entries made by Lord Preston.

The work of identification of authors was completed in 1921 by James Holly Hanford in his remarkable and indispensable article, "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies."¹³ In many cases Hanford supplied the exact edition Milton used as indicated by Milton's page numbers;¹⁴ he also suggested, when page numbers were not given, possible editions used by Milton as determined by the books available to him when he took his notes, or as determined by references to sources in his other works.

Since the entries are not in chronological order, it was also necessary, for an understanding of the interrelations of Milton's reading and writing, to establish as nearly as possible the time when each entry was made.¹⁵ Careful study of the manuscript shows that it was Milton's practice to write the heading at the top of the page at the same time that he made the first entry, just under the heading, and also the index citation. This is true of all entries except one on page 197 and one on page 249. Other entries, made at the same time, usually follow immediately, in the same handwriting. Entries made later are not contiguous and may be written in a different hand and with a different kind of pen. Milton's own writing took three forms: the earliest, a small, neat hand, written usually with a fine pen; a later form, larger, plainer, thicker, as if written with a stub pen; the last form, free and natural, with some flourishes, written with a finer pen than the second form. The fact that entries were not made contiguously on the page, as well as the differences in handwriting, produced a kind of "stratification," which helps to determine whether notes were written at one time or at different times. Notes written at the same time usually come to an even margin, and they are less crowded than are notes inserted at a later date in a space somewhat too small for them. Another test is Milton's preference for the Greek letter ϵ before his Italian journey in 1638 and the Italian e after his return.¹⁶ On the basis of such observations, as well

¹³ *PMLA*, XXXVI, 251-314.

¹⁴ *Cf.* Hanford, "Chronology," p. 259, n. 10. Since the identification of editions used was based on examination of copies in the British Museum and Harvard College libraries and since not all the editions used by Milton are in those libraries, identification of some remained incomplete. The use of other libraries for the present edition has supplied most of the remaining identifications, where page numbers make identification possible.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 257 ff. *Cf.* also Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," pp. 133-38, 154-63.

¹⁶ Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 255-56. *Cf.* also Helen Darbishire, "The Chronol-

as on that of his knowledge of editions available and of references to sources in Milton's other works, Hanford arranged his chronology of entries in the *Commonplace Book* and thus provided an "important key to Milton's intellectual activity."

From such a chronology it is possible to determine the order of Milton's interests in his general reading. The entries do not include notes from many sources referred to by Milton in his other works, such as the Bible and the classics, sources which Milton must have been using constantly. Nor do they include notes from all Milton's general reading. They do, however, reveal the kind of background reading Milton was doing in history, biography, philosophy, theology, law, science, military science, and travel literature, particularly in history. He read systematically, "in the method of time," as he tells us in *An Apology against a Pamphlet*.¹⁷ In the Horton period and earlier he was reading and taking notes on the history of Greece and the Greek church, the history of the Western Empire and the Roman Catholic Church through the Middle Ages, and the history of the Italian cities, he was also reading the literature of Greece, Rome, Italy, and England, and he made a few entries from some of it; he also turned his attention to mathematics and music. After his return from Italy, Milton continued his study of the church fathers, especially Lactantius; he read the history of the Reformation; he read English, Scottish, and Irish history; he studied matters concerning English political theory, marriage, and censorship; he read French history and the history of Russia; he continued his reading in the history of music and in the history and literature of Italy. In the third and last period of Milton's note-taking, after his blindness, he continued his reading of Italian history and literature, as shown in his dictated entries from Berni, Boiardo, Machiavelli, Dante, Sigonius, and Costanzo; and he turned again briefly to Greek history, Scottish history, and Biblical exegesis.

The fact that the *Commonplace Book* was so largely the work of the early and middle periods of Milton's life gives it a significance that it would not otherwise have. Though he made frequent entries from about

ogy of Milton's Handwriting," *The Library*, XIV (1933), 229-35. Though Darbishire agrees with Hanford in most of his conclusions, she finds that Milton began to use the Italian *e* before he went to Italy, probably "between November 1637 and April 1638." She bases her conclusions on corrections and revisions of *Lycidas* and *Comus* in the Cambridge Manuscript and on the occasional Italian *e*'s in Clement, Cyprian, Tertullian, and Sulpicius Severus entries in the *Commonplace Book*, made, she believes, before Milton went to Italy in April, 1638. In those entries the two kinds of *e* are mixed, showing Milton "at the very beginning of his deliberate adoption of the Italian *e*."

¹⁷ See below, pp. 889-93.

1631 to 1639, he wrote most of them in the first four years of the middle period, from 1640 to 1644. In the four-year period of freedom from public controversy, between the publication of the last divorce tract in March, 1645, and the writing of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in 1649, he made only occasional entries. He referred to material in the *Commonplace Book* frequently, however, as references in his later works show. In the third period of his note-taking, from 1650 to about 1667, after partial and then complete loss of sight, Milton used several scribes: Amanuensis B, who was pretty certainly not Daniel Skinner, as Horwood supposed, but rather Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, for the two Machiavelli entries on page 197, made from Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, sometime between November, 1651, and February, 1652, or close to those dates;¹⁸ several Machiavelli scribes, number and identities unknown, who made the remaining fifteen entries from the *Discorsi* about the same time as those made by Edward Phillips; Amanuensis C, identified as Jeremie Picard,¹⁹ who, about 1658–1660(?), wrote the second part of the *Christian Doctrine* manuscript, the transcript of the sonnet "Methought I saw my late espoused saint" in the Cambridge Manuscript, and other briefer pieces, and who therefore may have made the Rivet and Augustine entries about the same time; Amanuensis D, who remains unidentified but who has been shown by Horwood and Hanford to have made the transcript of Book I of *Paradise Lost* about 1665(?) and who therefore may have made the Nicetas entry about the same time; Amanuenses A, E, and F, who remain unidentified and whose entry dates are uncertain—A for all but one of the Berni and Boiardo entries, E for a badly written entry from Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, and F for two Costanzo and two Sigonius entries. From some of the headings and marginal references in the *Commonplace Book* it is evident that Milton also kept a Theological Index, but that manuscript has not been found.²⁰

Milton's method of note-taking must have been that of most of his learned predecessors and contemporaries. Bacon kept just such moral, economic (that is, domestic or private), and political indexes as Milton's, according to a plan probably derived from Aristotle.²¹ Like the

¹⁸ Cf. Maurice Kelley, "Milton and Machiavelli's *Discorsi*," *SBUV*, IV (1951–52), 123–27.

¹⁹ Cf. James H. Hanford, "The Rosenbach Milton Documents," *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 290–96; and Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument*, pp. 22–23, p. 40, n. 34, and facsimiles in Appendix A.

²⁰ See below, p. 365, n. 1, for evidence of such an index.

²¹ Horwood, in his introduction to the facsimile of the *Commonplace Book*, 1876, on the unnumbered second page, notes a similar division in Aegidius Ro-

modern note-taker, they chose broad, general headings under which to record their findings from many sources; but unlike modern notes taken on cards for filing, the entries or "commonplaces" on each topic were put together in a book for ready reference when needed. Sometimes, as a result, the entries were crowded, but there they were together, for use in discussion of that topic later on. Many of the books Milton read had marginal references showing the authors' composite notes on the topic under discussion. Stow, for example, cites Holinshed, Speed, Polydor, Matthew Paris, Bede, and almost every earlier historian. It is no wonder, therefore, that Milton's notes are sometimes composites, since his sources themselves suggested such added reading. In entering his note he often paraphrased the passage he read in Latin, French, Italian, or English. Sometimes he quoted exactly, omitting quotation marks, however, so that the present-day reader is not sure which are his words and which are those of his source. The word "inquit" ("he says") before a quotation furnishes an occasional clue, and the symbol &c at the end of a quotation provides another; but they are often lacking. Frequently Milton added a comment of his own, usually at the beginning of his entry but sometimes at the end—a comment that may be confused with material from his source unless one has seen his source. Such comments are usually general in nature, like a topic sentence in a paragraph, and suggest uses to which Milton put his notes in his other works later on. Since he was taking notes for his own use, he made them as brief as possible—sometimes mere reminders as to where to look again. Such brevity also makes them often meaningless unless his sources are consulted.

Heretofore no edition of the *Commonplace Book* has brought together Milton's notes and the material from which he made them. The purpose of the present translation and editing, therefore, is to help the reader to understand the significant background of each entry by reference to the source from which he took it. The edition he used is cited whenever it can be determined, and in almost all cases an edition available to him is used. The search for such editions has been possible only with the help of a number of libraries, and I should like to record here my thanks for the assistance of the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, Columbia University Library, Columbia

manus, *De Regimine Principum*, 1502 edition, Book I, Part I, chap. 2: "In the first book, therefore, is treated the moral or religious; in the second, the domestic; in the third, the political. This order is reasonable and natural." In the *Areopagitica* Milton refers to such a collection of notes as a "topic folio." Bacon, in *The Advancement of Learning*, praises the entry of "commonplaces" as "a matter of great use and essence in studying."

Law Library, Paterno Library, Union Theological Seminary Library, Harvard College Library, Houghton Library of Harvard University, Harvard Divinity School Library, Huntington Library, Princeton University Library, the Library of the University of Paris at the Sorbonne, and the British Museum. It is gratifying to record that many of the editions Milton used are available in American libraries, and I have indicated the location of each, in an abbreviation after each title, so that the reader may refer to them if he so desires. For the list of abbreviations, see page xiv of this volume.

In my translations of the Latin, Greek, Italian, and French entries, as well as in the English entries, I have kept Milton's abbreviations of authors' names and titles of works since the full names and titles appear in the footnotes. I have supplied quotation marks, however, where Milton uses the exact words of his source, as the quickest and easiest way to indicate the line between quotation and paraphrase, or between quotation and original comment, and I have used dots for omissions in quotations. In all entries, to avoid confusion, I have changed Milton's *l.* for *liber* to *Book*, *c.* for *caput* to *Chapter*, and *p.* for *pagina* or *page* to *page*, with brackets, except in the case of *Book*, to indicate additions. In some forty-five places, where Milton wrote as marginal notes the headings for his entries or the sources from which he made them, I have inserted those marginal notes in the text proper. The same practice was followed in the Columbia edition, though not consistently. Since the purpose of this edition is not a reproduction of the manuscript and since Milton himself is not consistent in the placing of headings and references, the plan followed here seems justified. Milton often puts a reference in the margin simply because there is no space elsewhere. He also provides asterisks in several such cases to show exactly where he would have put the note, had there been room for it. The shifting of such marginal notes is indicated in each case in the notes on the entries.

In the notes on the entries the following items are first stated in a brief formula for each: (1) the writer of the entry; (2) the language used in the entry; (3) the approximate date of the entry; (4) the order in which it was entered according to Hanford's "Chronology," where each author's work is numbered to indicate probable order of use. If the writer of the entry, whether Milton or an amanuensis, made any (5) deletions, revisions, or additions, they are next indicated. (6) If a marginal note in the manuscript has been inserted in the text proper, that shift is also indicated. In the first note on each author these data are followed by (7) the author's full name and complete or much fuller title of source than that in the text proper; (8) the edition Milton used, whenever it can be determined; (9) biographical data, whenever they

are helpful concerning the author Milton read; ²² (10) some idea of the contents of the work cited. Such information need not, of course, be repeated for later entries from the same work. The index of authors (below, p. 510) shows which note is first and therefore fullest. In all notes, however, (11) enough material is included from the book Milton was reading, in the form of quotation or summary, to make clear what the entry refers to. All translations in such quotations or summaries are my own. Finally (12) I have indicated some of the more important uses Milton made of his notes in his later works. Limits of space prevent including them all. Nor is it possible to indicate all of them, for such entries as those on King, Tyrant, the State, Subject, Laws are so fundamental to Milton's thought as to pervade all his writing. To cite instances of their use is therefore difficult. Others stand out clearly and are easy to identify.²³

Associated with the *Commonplace Book* are a Latin table of contents and seven pages of legal notes preserved in the Columbia Manuscript. Generally referred to as the *Legal Index*, these were printed for the first time and attributed to Milton in the Columbia Edition. The case for their canonicity, however, is far from conclusive, and they have consequently not been added to the text of the *Commonplace Book*. A discussion and translation of the *Index*, however, will be found in Appendix A of this volume, pp. 954-60.

The determination of the editions used by Milton in making his entries in the *Commonplace Book* presents a number of problems, some fairly simple, some difficult, and some insolvable. Since editions varied widely at times, finding the source of what Milton read, if it can be found, is of obvious importance. In some cases, however, as in the entries from Ariosto, Augustine, Berni, Boccacini, Bodin, Chrysostom, Codinus, Frontinus, Nicephoras Gregoras, Justinian, Lactantius, Lambard, Peter Martyr, Prudentius, Raleigh, Rivet's *Commentarius in Exodus*, Schickhard, Seissel, Sir Thomas Smith, Tassoni, Thomasinus, and Villani, there are no page numbers and no clues as to editor or printer or place of printing or language used in the edition. In such cases one can only determine what editions were available to Milton and use one that is accessible. Occasionally, as I have indicated, the handwriting and the position of the entry on the page help to determine whether an early or late edition was used. In such entries as those in which a clue appears as to the edition used, the problem is somewhat

²² If such biographical matter is easily available in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, no source is indicated. If it is not easily available, the source is named.

²³ Cf. Will T. Hale, ed, *Of Reformation* (New Haven and London, 1916), intro, pp. xlviii-lxi, on Milton's use of sources.

simpler. Even in such cases, however, if similar editions appeared under similar conditions and at about the same time, it is still impossible to tell exactly which one was Milton's source edition. In the entries from Eusebius, Evagrius, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret, whom Milton cites together as if from one source, he notes in five places that he was using a Greek text (written "græc."). His quotations from the Greek in those entries also show that he was using an edition containing a Greek text, such as was published in Paris in 1544, with a Latin text beside the Greek. In the case of Nicetas Acominatus, Leo Afer, and George Buchanan, the search is narrowed down somewhat by Milton's citing a Paris folio edition, a Lyons edition, and an Edinburgh edition, respectively. Milton's reference to a Paris folio, his owning of Nicetas by 1658, the fact that his page numbers fit the Paris folio of 1647, and his reference to Nicetas in *Eikonoklastes* (1649) all help to identify his source edition. In the case of Leo Afer, Milton's page numbers fit the Elzevir edition published in Lyons in 1632. Buchanan's *History* appeared in Edinburgh in 1582. In the case of Tasso and Commynes, Milton helps one to identify the edition by calling Tasso's poem *Il Goffredo* and Commynes' history *Memoires*. Those titles were used only in the earlier editions of those works. The fact that Milton names the editor of Commynes' work, Galliot du Pré of Paris, and also gives page numbers that fit either of the only two editions issued by Galliot du Pré, those of 1552 and 1561, narrows down Milton's source to one or the other. Similarly Milton's citation of the Rigalt edition of Tertullian's *Opera* identifies his source edition as one of the two Rigalt editions, 1634 or 1641, both of which accord with Milton's page numbers and quotations from Tertullian. In the case of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Milton's source is identified by his mention of the editor, Daniello, since there was only one edition of Dante containing a commentary by Bernardino Daniello, that of Venice, 1568. Milton's reference to Bacon's *Discourse of Church Affairs* identifies his source as the London, 1641, pamphlet, *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires*. In at least two cases, Gilles' *Histoire* and Ward's *Animadversions*, Milton's source edition is fixed by the fact that only one edition of each was printed, those of Geneva, 1644, and London, 1639, respectively. Of Selden's *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* and Leunclavius' *Ius Græco-Romanum* only one edition was available in Milton's lifetime, those of London, 1640, and Frankfurt, 1596, respectively. Sinibaldus' *Geneanthropieae* was published only once, Rome, 1642, before 1652, and since Milton made his entry from Sinibaldus about 1643-44, his source edition is determined.

By far the larger number of entries include page numbers, which, as I have indicated, help immeasurably in detecting source editions. The

fact that some works were issued in duplicate or triplicate editions, as in the case of Thuanus' *History*, Stow's *Annales*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie*, Du Chesne's *Historie*, Sigonius' *De Regno Italiae*, Clement of Alexandria's *Opera*, and Angelo di Costanzo's *Historia del Regno di Napoli*, so that Milton's page numbers fit two or three issues, makes it impossible to say which he used. However, in such cases as those of Holinshed, Camden, Chaucer, Gower, Machiavelli, Rivet's *Prælectiones*, Procopius, Sarpi, the *Historia Miscella*, Jovius, Cuspinian, Cedren, Hayward, Jerome Commelin's edition of Bede, Gildas, and William of Malmesbury, and Sir James Ware's edition of Spenser and Campion, Milton's careful indication of page numbers, as well as the probable dates of entries and a knowledge of the editions available, leaves little doubt as to Milton's source editions. When, as in the case of Sleidan's *Commentaries* or Ascham's *Toxophilus*, one has searched a number of editions without finding any agreement between the page numbers of the text and Milton's, one is likely to accept a text that does agree as conclusive evidence. Especially in the case of Sleidan, as I have indicated below (p. 373), is the evidence conclusive, since, in addition to agreement of page numbers, the margins of the New York Public Library copy of the Strassburg, 1555, edition contain what is very possibly Milton's own handwriting. The thorniest problem has been the finding of the edition of Speed's *Historie* used by Milton. On the basis of page references he may have used either the second edition published in 1623 or the second edition published in 1627. The two editions seem to be duplicates. In the notes on Milton's entries I have indicated in some detail the different kinds of evidence for the determination of source editions.

The importance of the *Commonplace Book* to an understanding of Milton and his works cannot be overestimated. It is, indeed, difficult adequately to appraise its full value. In it is revealed Milton the man, the thinker, the scholar, the reformer, the historian, the dictionary-maker, the teacher, the satirist, the dramatist, but chiefly the pamphleteer and the poet. By means of this remarkable manuscript we are able to trace the development of Milton's mind and works in a way in which none of the other great poets can be interpreted.

The study of such a document is a liberal education in itself. For, like the course of studies which Milton recommended in *Of Education*, the range of his own reading was encyclopedic, from the earliest recorded times to the seventeenth century. Like Bacon, Milton took all knowledge to be his province. This Renaissance love of learning was tempered, however, from first to last by a Christian humanism that found that knowl-

edge useful only insofar as it provided a better understanding of life in all its phases and of man's responsibility to live the best possible life by means of that knowledge. An understanding of the fundamental problems of life—moral, religious, domestic, and civil—was the object of Milton's research, and his ardent pursuit of learning took him to the best sources of his day. Names like Thou or Thuanus, Girard, Sigonius, Giovio, Procopius, Sleidan, Sarpi, Cuspinian, Seissel, Villani were names of weight and distinction in Milton's day, and, though unknown to most modern readers, because of their impartiality or firsthand evidence they are still among the best authorities concerning the times and places of which they wrote. Of such writers Milton built his own library,²⁴ and a most impressive collection of calfskin and vellum-bound folios, quartos, and octavos it must have been, judged by the books used for this edition of the *Commonplace Book*. It was the "necessity of having a place to dispose his books in," says Edward Phillips, that caused Milton to move about 1640 to his house in Aldersgate Street.²⁵

From youth Milton apparently believed that "by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life)"²⁶ he could best prepare himself for the writing of both prose and poetry. His chief purpose was to write poetry, but knowledge, "the best and lightsomest possession of the mind," he found could be used to great advantage in prose as well as verse, and the pamphleteering began, as he says, "out of mine own season, when I have neither yet compleated to my minde the full circle of my private studies."²⁷ It was with this plan, then, that Milton accumulated books, read so widely, so carefully, so expertly in so many languages, and recorded from what he read the facts, illustrations, and ideas that would serve his lifelong needs.

The very form of the *Commonplace Book*, that of the standard triple index, moral, domestic, and political, must have influenced Milton's later writing, for, being well grounded in those fields, he wrote, first, his antiprelatical tracts; next, his divorce tracts; and, lastly, his political tracts. In addition, however, with this equipment he was able to produce two histories, the *History of Britain* and *A Brief History of Moscovia*; work on a Latin dictionary; acquire background for an account of his

²⁴ Cf. James Holly Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1946), pp. 386-89, Sotheby, *Ramblings*, pp. 124 ff.; Columbia, XVIII, 557 ff.; Harris Fletcher, "Milton's Private Library—An Additional Title," *PQ*, XXVIII (1949), 72-76.

²⁵ "The Life of Mr. John Milton," *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable, 1932), p. 62.

²⁶ *Church-Government*, below, p. 810.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

religious beliefs as set forth in his *Christian Doctrine* and for his state letters as Latin Secretary of the Commonwealth; and, above all, formulate his plans and ideas for his poetry.

The fact that the *Commonplace Book* is written so largely in Milton's own handwriting is of great importance to the student of Milton. Few great writers have left behind so much authentic handwriting. Like the Cambridge Manuscript, the *Commonplace Book* brings Milton the man and the thinker very close to the reader. The changes in his handwriting shed light, as I have indicated, on the order in which he read the various books cited and thus help to determine the use he made of his reading in his other works. The neat, scholarly hand in most of the entries also supplies many clues as to the authenticity of other works supposed to be by Milton as well as to the books owned by Milton when those works contain marginalia apparently in his hand. Notes on the text following show the use to which such clues can be and have been put.²⁸ The handwriting of the scribes who recorded notes for Milton in the *Commonplace Book* provides similar clues as to the canonicity of other Milton items, even though the identity of all the amanuenses has not been and may never be determined.

The care with which he took his notes reveals the scholarly habits of Milton, habits not usually considered typical of poets. The fact that, after three hundred years, one can still read the very passages from which he made his notes, because of his great accuracy in notation, is both surprising and satisfying. Some ninety authors and 110 works thus become living entities. Milton knew these works thoroughly, not in part, as his notes plainly show, and the passages he cites so accurately serve to reveal the nature of the works as well as the character and mind of Milton. His accuracy in notation also indicates the importance he attached to the *Commonplace Book* as a key to the use of his library. For no matter how brief the notes, with them he could turn to his books, when occasion demanded, and review in more detail the reasons for views and faiths formulated earlier.

Milton's objective, judicial, philosophical approach to most of the material he recorded is further evidence of the scholar; it is evidence of the scholar rather than the controversialist. Uncolored by the attitudes and persuasions of his tracts and other prose, the entries often juxtapose different and even opposite points of view on the same topic, showing that Milton was weighing evidence before drawing his own conclusions. Such diversity of evidence is seen, for example, on page 5, where the good man, though he is said to give the appearance of an indolent and petty mind by one writer, is shown to be worthy of the greatest venera-

²⁸ See below, pp. 369, 373, 381.

tion by two others; on page 16, where the question of suicide is debated; on page 19, where the efficacy of the duel as a means of deciding the truth is challenged and defended; on page 53, where the reading of profane writers is questioned but more fully supported; on page 55, where intellectual curiosity is weighed in the balance; on page 177, where Camden and Jacques de Thou express contrary views on separation of church and state; on page 187, where the causes of creating kings are considered; or on page 191, where the nature of true nobility and the origins of classes are illustrated. And so one could go on through the entries, finding sources expressing opinions both pro and con. In this connection it is interesting to note that Milton's proverbial disesteem for women is disproved in a number of entries concerning such admirable women as Queen Elizabeth,²⁹ Tasso's heroine Sophronia,³⁰ Lady Scroope,³¹ the wife of Edward I,³² Queen Martia,³³ and the Countess of Arundel.³⁴ Some of these entries are also juxtaposed to less complimentary ones,³⁵ as if to disprove the contentions of those writers who would discredit women altogether.

Undoubtedly some of the entries were made as corroboration of beliefs which Milton already held. Such entries, together with his original comments on what he read, reveal the character of the man and his ideas almost as fully as do his other works. It is in these entries that one finds corroborated many of Milton's fundamental ideas and ideals, the ideas and ideals of a well-informed, judicious liberal, as shown in his original works from "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" to *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*. The love of virtue, the hatred of evil, the realization of the constant proximity and conflict of good and evil; the defense of learning, music, poetry, drama; the hatred of tyranny and extortion; the love of sound law, justice, and true liberty; the liberal views concerning marriage and divorce; the scorn for corruption in the church; the firm faith in the principles underlying the Reformation; the growing preference for a republican form of government; the belief in the necessity for adaptation of education to the needs and nature of the individual; the realization of the dangers of censorship and of forcing men's consciences in a state church; the denunciation of wars of aggression and the approval of military discipline for self-defense—all these ideas, so familiar to the reader of Milton, are foreshadowed in the *Com-*

²⁹ *CPB*, pp. 181, 186, 220, 242.

³⁰ *CPB*, p. 71.

³¹ *CPB*, p. 74.

³² *CPB*, p. 109.

³³ *CPB*, p. 179.

³⁴ *CPB*, p. 221.

³⁵ *Cf. CPB*, pp. 14, 15, 106, 188, 191, 198.

monplace Book. Such views Milton found defended in the records of human experience throughout sixteen centuries, and so thoroughly did he assimilate them that they became entirely his own, transfused into a power no longer recognizable as a scholar's notes on the instances or examples supplied by many others. Nevertheless it was in large measure through the inspiration of such notes that Milton was able to turn scholarship into great art and thus to transcend his own time and depict the cosmos and eternity.

Most important of all, however, is the fact that the *Commonplace Book* reveals Milton's essential oneness of purpose and the continuity of thought that make his prose, poetry, and drama so unmistakably his. His aim in this "curious Search into Knowledge, the grand Affair perpetually of his Life,"⁸⁶ was truth. Armed with truth, he might serve England, all mankind, and God, in whose sight alone true fame was to be found. From the time when, as a Cambridge undergraduate, he exulted in the pleasure of the mind "to take its flight through the history and geography of every nation and to observe the changes in . . . races, cities, and peoples, to the increase of wisdom,"⁸⁷ to the days when Berni's and Machiavelli's theme of the stewardship of kings became a part of Book III of *Paradise Regained* or Selden's title became a line in *Samson Agonistes*: "Against the law of nature, law of nations," Milton was constantly aware of his indebtedness to the experience of others, who, like himself, recorded the results of their efforts to find truth, and who thereby made possible the continuity of human thought. Nor has anyone more eloquently voiced man's indebtedness for the "pretious life-blood" stored up in books than did Milton in *Areopagitica* and elsewhere. No one knew better than Milton that "When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him," but only after "he searches, meditates, is industrious" in the "deep mines of knowledge." No one prized more thoroughly the truth recorded in books, which, like a "streaming fountain," gives human life its meaning and provides a basis for the solution of the problems of one's own day. No wonder, therefore, that he wrote with such eloquence and authority, supported by the testimony of a cloud of witnesses before him. Many of the ideas he expressed he found in books centuries old, and he was sometimes surprised that they should create such a stir among his contemporaries.

Since Milton's record of indebtedness, in phrase, sentence, or idea, is to be found everywhere in his works, and since in the notes on the *Com-*

⁸⁶ Edward Phillips, "The Life of Mr. John Milton," *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Darbishire, p. 68

⁸⁷ Prolusion VII, above, p. 297.

monplace Book such indebtedness, in order of time, is indicated wherever possible, it will be unnecessary here to record examples. The fact remains that almost every entry was put to use in some form or other in his works. Though he read many other works not mentioned in the *Commonplace Book*, without the aid of the books on which he carefully took notes there would be no Milton as we know him. Largely with their help he became, as he wished to be, the bold champion of truth, "coeval with time itself."⁸⁸

In editing the *Commonplace Book*, I have had invaluable assistance from a number of persons. I should like to express my great appreciation for the help of Merritt Y. Hughes and Mrs. Hughes, who supplied all the material for the Girard entries from the British Museum as well as numerous details concerning other editions to be found in the British Museum and not in America. I am indebted to Lowell W. Coolidge for checking details in the Huntington Library copy of the second 1627 edition of Speed's *Historie*. For page numbers of Milton's *Observations on the Articles of Peace* (1649, British Museum copy), I am indebted to Mary E. Giffin. For the material on Rivet's *Commentarius in Caput I Exodi* I am indebted to Maurice Kelley. For his expert assistance with the Greek text of *Ecclesiasticae Historiae Autores* I am indebted to William Alfred. To James Holly Hanford, Maurice Kelley, and J. Milton French I am deeply grateful for their careful reading of all or parts of my manuscript and for their very helpful suggestions as to its improvement. Maurice Kelley's knowledge of Milton's handwriting, his notes on the manuscript of the *Commonplace Book*, and his careful checking of my manuscript in its various revisions were indispensable aids to this edition.

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⁸⁸ Prolusion VII, above, p. 297.

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Papa subditus iura-
 Subditus vide regis. Bile de Iohanna et S. S. h. one
 Dapa Gregorius Italos juramento, quo Leonis f. sauro obligant, excludit Sigon: reg. Ital.
 1.3. p. 63. Regium Chilpenco propter ignaviam abrogat Zacharias Papa Francis sacra-
 mentum. Chaligione soluti. Sigon: reg. Ital: 1.3. p. 74.

Ordines Belgii imperium Philippo abrogant, scripto etiam edito Hage, eius obedi-
 entiam renuntiare pro vineis fuentibus. 1. 74. p. 513.

England a free nation not only at home but from all clava whatsoever. from pope
 see Holinshed. 161, et 344. from Emperor as appears by meeting
 the emperor Sigismund with drawn sword. Hen. 5. spread p. 646

Parliament by three estates church men. Lords Commons first convoked by Charles Mar-

The commons of France give instructions to their knights & burgesses for when Bodin who
 served for the country of Vermandois in the great Parliament at Blois 1576
 had spoken something disrespectful to the Countess they suborned some of that Coun-
 tress's servants to accuse him for going against their instructions. Thuanus hist. 1. 53. p. 179.

Gray that the lives and goods of the subjects are in the hands of the King and that
 disposition is an abuse against Ro. 2. in Paul. a thing he said to be most
 tyrannous and unparliamentary. Holinshed. 503.

Milton's *Commonplace* *Book*

[P.] 1

ETHICAL INDEX

[P.] 4

MORAL EVIL

In moral evil much good can be mixed and that with remarkable cunning. "No one combines poison with gall, and with hellebore, but with savory sauces and delicacies. . . . So the devil steeps whatever deadly dish he prepares in God's dearest . . . benefits," &c. Tertullian: *de spectaculis* p[age] 102 edit. Rigalt: ¹

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 23. See above, p 351, for the meaning of the preceding formula. In this entry "conditis" ("savory") is badly blotted and rewritten in the left margin] The first statement in this entry is Milton's. Except for the omission of a clause after "delicacies," the omission of a second adjective before "benefits," and the writing of "dei" instead of "Dei," the entry is an exact quotation from Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* (*Of Public Shows*). Milton's page reference fits both the first Nicolaus Rigaltius edition of the *Opera* of Tertullian (Paris, 1634; SOR) and also the Paris, 1641, Rigaltius edition of the *Opera* (UTSL), which is evidently a duplicate edition. Since there is little doubt that Milton read Tertullian before 1638, he probably used the first edition of 1634. The numerous extant works of Tertullian (ca. 155-ca. 222 A.D.) consist of (1) defenses of Christianity against Judaism and paganism, (2) refutations of heresies, and (3) practical treatises on morality and church discipline. The *De Spectaculis* is among the first group of writings. In it he vigorously protests against the public shows so much in demand in pagan Rome and particularly against the participation of Christians in such games and plays. "Will you not therefore flee these abodes of the enemies of Christ, where the very air is defiled with evil voices?" asks Tertullian. It is customary, he adds, to surround such shows with certain pleasing and honest devices, for by such means the unwary are attracted. Milton's quotation follows. The idea expressed is fundamental to Milton's thinking in all his works. Cf. *Comus*, ll. 592-94: "But evil on itself shall back recoil, And mix no more with goodness"; *Church-Government*, below, p. 818: "Libidinous and ignorant Poetasters . . . doe for the most part lap up vitious principles in sweet pills to be swallow'd down"; *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 12: "Good and

Why does God permit evil? So that the account can stand correct with goodness. For the good is made known, is made clear, and is exercised by evil. As Lactantius says, Book 5. c[hapter] 7,² that reason and intelligence may have the opportunity to exercise themselves by choosing the things that are good, by fleeing from the things that are evil. lactan de ira dei. c[hapter] 13.³ however much these things fail to satisfy.⁴

[P.] 5

OF THE GOOD MAN

Why men who are good, and otherwise distinguished, give the appearance of unusually indolent and petty minds and at first glance seem to be of no worth. Lactantius replies that they have that with

evil . . . grow up together almost inseparably"; *Paradise Regained*, I, 432-33: "That hath been thy craft, By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies."

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 32] Milton paraphrases statements made by Lactantius Firmianus (ca. 260-ca. 340) in his chief work, the *Libri Septem Divinarum Institutionum Adversus Gentes* (*Seven Books on Divine Ordinances Concerning Mankind*), in the treatise *De Ira Dei* (*Of the Wrath of God*). Since Milton gives no page numbers, his edition cannot be determined. The edition which I shall cite is the *Opera* (Lyons, 1548; NYPL). The *Seven Books on Divine Ordinances* have separate headings "Of False Religion," "Of the Origin of Error," "Of False Wisdom," "Of True Wisdom," "Of Justice," "Of True Reverence," "Of the Good Life." This entry from Lactantius (*Opera*, pp 376-78) is from the book "Of Justice," where Lactantius says, "Now it is enough to point this out briefly: either virtue cannot be recognized unless it has opposing vices, or it is not perfected unless it is exercised by its opposite. For God wished this difference to be between good and evil, that we should know good from evil, also evil from good; nor can the reason for the one be recognized if the other is removed." The idea is fundamental in Milton's thinking. Cf. *Church-Government*, below, p. 795. "For if there were no opposition where were the triall of an unfamed goodnesse and magnanmity?"; *An Apology*, below, p. 898: "Doth he [Christ] not illustrate best things by things most evill?"; *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 12: "That which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary."; *Christian Doctrine*, I, x: "For it is by evl that virtue is chiefly exercised." See Kathleen Hartwell, *Lactantius and Milton* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), for discussion of Lactantius' influence, particularly on the antiprelatical tracts and *Areopagitica*.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 30 and 32] Lactantius' treatise *Of the Wrath of God* is an attack on Epicurean philosophy. Chapter 13 of the *Opera* (Lyons, 1548, pp. 641-46) is headed: "Of the Pleasure and Practice of the World and the Times." It enumerates all the things that God has given man to enjoy and compares the use of reason and intelligence made by the Stoics and Epicureans in their differing views on the enjoyment of life. The idea that "reason is but choosing" (*Areopagitica*, 1644, p. 17) and "reason also is choice" (*Paradise Lost*, III, 108) is also fundamental to Milton's thinking.

⁴ This is apparently Milton's own comment. It is not from Lactantius.

which they can daily exercise the greatest virtue, namely, patience. Book 6. c[hapter] 18.¹

A good man by some reckoning seems to surpass even the angels, to the extent that, enclosed in a weak and earthly body and always struggling with his passions, he nevertheless aspires to lead a life like that of the inhabitants of heaven. Homil in Gen. 12. near the end.²

The greatest veneration is accorded to a good man by a people even in a state of fury. "In order to show that true virtue is safe in any great danger and even amid the fury of enemies," in the bloody Sicilian Vespers, "from the great multitude who were killed, by universal consent of all the Sicilians a very noble Provençal knight called Guglielmo Porcelletto was saved because of his great virtue and kindness, which were known to all the people of that island." Angelo. di. Costanzo Hist: di Napoli Book 2, p[age] 38.³

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 32. Milton began to write "Cur boni," deleted "bo," and then wrote "viri."] Lactantius' defense of the good man is found in the *Seven Books on Divine Ordinances Concerning Mankind* (Lyons, 1548). Book VI is "Of True Reverence," and Chapter 18 (pp. 494-500) has the heading: "On Certain Commands of God, and Patience." There (p. 496) Lactantius says: "It happens that a good man has had small value put upon him by all, and because it will be thought that he is not able to defend himself, he will be regarded as sluggish and indolent." On the following page, however, Lactantius adds: "And great is the respect for patience, which the wise man took to himself from the good man." Milton paraphrases the two ideas.

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 90] This note is from John Chrysostom, *Homiliae LXVII in Caput Geneseos* (*Sixty-Seven Homilies on the Book of Genesis*). I have used the five-volume edition of the *Opera* (Venice, 1549; HLH). The Twelfth Homily (pp. 16-17) concludes with the ideas which Milton paraphrases "Since by His substance we are enclosed, rather than by the body, we can contend with spiritual virtues, Divine Grace aiding us; and, though walking about in the earth, we can live as in Heaven and do nothing less than the inhabitants of Heaven, and in a certain sense something more. And why so? I say so for this reason: has not he who was found corruptible, enclosed in this corruptible body . . . and frail because of corporal necessities, preserved an uncorrupted and inviolate nobility of spirit?" Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople (345-407), was the most famous of the Greek church fathers. Milton adapts the idea expressed here in *Paradise Lost* in Raphael's explanation of God's plan to replace the fallen angels with worthy mortals.

³ [Amanuensis F, Latin comment, Italian quotation, after ca. 1650, 109. The page number in this entry, no longer legible because of the broken edge of the manuscript, was supplied by Horwood.] Angelo di Costanzo's *Historia del Regno di Napoli* (*History of the Kingdom of Naples*) was published in its final form at Aquila by Giuseppe Caccio in 1581 (HCL) and again in 1582. Milton's page 38 fits those editions. This note, which is a quotation with a few changes in spelling

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OF VIRTUE

Whatever seems pleasing at first view must not immediately be called virtue. Thus Philip, husband of Queen Mary, did not venture to do away with Elizabeth, not so much because he was pious and kind as is generally believed, although of a mild disposition, but because he foresaw then that it would come about that if Mary of Scotland, who was betrothed to a Frenchman, should succeed to the throne, the realm of Britain would be added to France, according to Camden. Elizab. fol.[leaf] 13.¹

[P.] 12 AVARICE. SEE OF CHURCH PROPERTY ¹

and punctuation, refers to the uprising, on Easter Tuesday, 1282, of the Sicilians against the oppressive government of Charles I of Anjou. Angelo di Costanzo (1507-91), Neapolitan historian and poet, devoted thirty years to the writing of his history of Naples and nine years more to revision before it took its final form in 1581. It remains one of the best histories of Naples. The lateness of Milton's two entries from Costanzo shows his return to Italian history in the last period of his life.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Milton's entry begins with his own general comment, followed by an example from William Camden, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, Regnante Elizabetha ad Annum Salutis 1589* (*Annals of England and Ireland in the Reign of Elizabeth to the Year of Our Deliverance 1589*) (1615). His page references to Camden throughout the *Commonplace Book* fit this edition. A second part of the *Annales* appeared in Leyden in 1625 and in London in 1627, and the fact that seven of Milton's fifteen entries from Camden have "Vol. 2" in them shows that he must have used the edition in which the "Tomus Alter" or Second Part was added. The 1615 edition (NYPL), which I have used, has that Second Part, dated 1627, bound with the First Part, dated 1615. Milton's page numbers fit both parts. A part of the passage which Milton paraphrases is as follows: "For they [the Spaniards] had foreseen that, if Elizabeth were done away with, through Mary Queen of Scots, next in line to the throne of England, and already betrothed to the Dauphin of France, the realms of England, Ireland, and Scotland could be joined to the French rule."

¹ One of the six cross references in the *Commonplace Book* to a "Theological Index" (see p. 197 of *Commonplace Book*, this edition; hereafter cited as *CPB*) or "Another Index" (see *CPB*, p. 221), a collection of notes which Milton kept on matters of religion. That collection has never been found, but the nature of the index is shown in the following headings in the *CPB*, one of which includes a page reference.

De Bonis Ecclesiasticis . . .	pp. 12, 112
De Idolatria	pp. 183, 246
De Conciliis	p. 183
De Religione non Cogenda . . .	p. 197
Papa [P.] 42	p. 221
Ecclesia	pp. 244, 246

Milton's cross reference "See Of Church Property" was apparently made at a later date than the heading. It has only Italian *e*'s, whereas the entry, made presumably at the same time as the heading, has only Greek *e*'s.

The avarice of the clergy Dante's *Inferno* openly censures. Cant: 7.²

"Mango,³ . . . Emperor of the Tartars, . . . through the teachings of the King of Armenia was baptized and sent Alooon, his brother, with a very great army, . . . to conquer the Holy Land; . . . he defeated the Caliph of Baldac⁴ . . ." who was captured and imprisoned in a tower "where he had stored great treasure, . . . and because of avarice he had not been willing to hire knights for his defense." The former [Alooon] starved him to death by saying that it would be fitting that he should live by his treasure, and "feed upon it without getting any other food." Gian. Villani. Book 6. c[hapter] 61.⁵

² [Milton, Latin, 1635-1638(?), 12] Milton's reading of Dante was done in the Venice, 1568, edition, *Dante con l'espositione di M. Bernardino Daniello* (CUL). This is shown by Milton's reference in a later entry (CPB, p. 160) to Daniello's commentary, which appears in no other edition. In the *Inferno*, Canto VII, the avaricious are described as eternally rolling large weights against other weights rolled by the prodigal sinners. Many of the avaricious, says Dante, were once high dignitaries of the church. Bernardino Daniello (d. 1565) is chiefly remembered for his criticism in his *Poetica* (Venice, 1536) and for his editions of Petrarch (Venice, 1541 and 1549) and of Dante (Venice, 1568).

Though the time at which Milton first read the Italian poets is uncertain, he was no doubt reading Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto in the Horton period. See Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," pp. 119-22, 137. In a letter from Florence, Epistle VIII, dated September 10, 1638, Milton says he has been feasting on Dante. In *Of Reformation*, Book I, he refers to Canto XIX of the *Inferno* concerning the avarice of the bishops, caused by Constantine's gift. In *An Apology* he praises the "sublime and pure thoughts" of Dante and Petrarch. Cf. Oscar Kuhns, "Dante's Influence on Milton," *MLN*, XIII (January, 1898), 1-11. For a comparison of Dante's hell and Milton's, see E. E. Kellett, "Milton and Dante," *Reconsiderations*, Cambridge, [Eng.]. The University Press, 1928.

³ Mangou, or Moengke Khan, fourth grand-khan of the Mongols (1207-ca. 1259), was noted for his conquests in China and Persia and for his cruelty. Nevertheless, after his conversion he favored Christian priests above Moslem and Buddhist priests. See Ferdinand Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1853-70).

⁴ The title of "caliph," meaning "successor," was given to successors of Mohammed, both as temporal and spiritual rulers, and was formerly taken by the sultans of Turkey. Milton omits Villani's phrase "el papa de saracini" ("the Pope of the Saracens") after the "Caliph of Baldac" and also the fact that Baldac was once called Babylon.

⁵ [Milton, Italian, 1643-1645(?), 95. After "Mango" Milton deleted two words, "nepote del," from the Villani quotation.] Milton quotes this entry, with the omissions indicated, from the *Croniche Di Messer Giovanni Villani Cittadino Fiorentino*, a chronicle of Florence covering, as the rest of his long title tells, events "from the beginning of the world down to the time of the author." Giovanni Villani (ca. 1275-1348) held important offices in Florence. Because

On Martin IV ⁶ see Of Church Property.⁷

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GLUTTONY

Tertullian fitly calls "gluttony a man-slayer," and says that "it must be punished by . . . the penalties of fasting, even if God had commanded no fastings," because our first parent sank into it. *de jejuniis*. p[age] 703. edit: Rigalt: ¹

the Englishmen said to have learnt thire gourmandizing of Hardiknute the Danish K. Holinsh. in his life.² noted also of immoderat

of his first-hand knowledge of affairs, his *Croniche* is full of information about the constitution, customs, industries, and arts of Florence, as well as information about all Europe in his day. He is called "the greatest chronicler who has written in Italian" Since Milton gives no page number, it is impossible to tell which edition he used. I have used the Venice, 1537, edition (NYPL), in which Milton's quotation about Mangou appears on pp. 53-54 The date of his reading of Villani is uncertain. He has no later references to Villani.

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1643-1645(?), 12(?)] See Hanford, "Chronology," p 312, n. 169] Though Milton gives no source for this entry, he read about Martin IV, pope from 1281 to 1285, in Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto XXIV, ll. 20-24, where he is found among the gluttonous: "And that visage, shrivelled more than the others, held Holy Church within its arms: from Tours sprang he, and by fasting purges the eels of Bolsena and the sweet wine" Milton also found a full account of the pontificate of Martin IV in Villani, *Croniche* (Venice, 1537), pp 77-87. Martin IV was the French pope whose name is synonymous with taxcollector, for both as papal legate and as pope he was assiduous in collection of tithes for the Curia. As pope he instituted a huge system of collection all over Europe for tithes for the crusades, and even the poorest were taxed, with pressures exerted by civil courts as well as ecclesiastical. The money was used to aid Charles of Anjou in his wars, and no aid was given to the Holy Land during Martin's pontificate. Cf. Horace K. Mann and Johannes Hollsteiner, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages* (18 vols., London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1932), XVI, 167-356.

⁷ A cross reference to Milton's undiscovered Theological Index.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 24] In Tertullian's treatise *De Jejuniis* (*Opera*, 1634, p. 703) Milton read the following: "Therefore I consider gluttony a man-slayer from the beginning, that must be punished by the torments and penalties of fasting, even if God had commanded no fastings; nevertheless in showing whence Adam fell, He who pointed out the offense left me the remedies that must be understood for the offense." Milton omits the word "torments."

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] All Milton's references to Raphael Holinshed fit the three-volume folio edition of his *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1587; CUL). The plan of the work, however, is a bit complicated and must be noted for ease in finding his entries. The three volumes are bound in two. The first of the two contains: Volume I, "A Description and Historie of England to William I," and Volume II, "A Description and Historie of Ireland and Scotland." The second of the two volumes contains: Volume III, "The Historie of England from William I on." After telling of King Hardiknute's death in 1042, as he sat at the table in a great feast at Lambeth, Holinshed adds

feasting by Jovius. hist. Book 11. [page] 180 ³

the Indians in Summatra great gluttons renew thire stomach
by chewing an hearb calld Arecca betula. Purchas tom. [vol.] 1.
132.⁴

(I, 185). "It hath beene commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessive gourmandizing & unmeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinckes." The fact that Milton included "Hardiknute dying in his cups an example to riot" among his "Outlines for British Tragedies" in the Trinity College manuscript, ascribed by Masson to 1639-1640, shows Milton's interest in Holinshed's account. See also *History of Britain*, Book VI (1670, p. 278).

³ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 48] Milton's page references to Jovius, *Historia Sui Temporis*, fit the folio edition of *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis Opera quotquot Extant Omnia* (2 vols., Basle, 1578; CUL and PUL), a source edition not identified in Hanford's "Chronology." In Jovius, *Historia* (Basle, 1578), Book XI, p. 180 (the Columbia edition of Milton's *Works* is confusing at this point in its indication of Book XI, since its numerals look like capitals and suggest Book II instead of Book XI), Jovius, better known as Bishop Paolo Giovio (1483-1553), says concerning the English: "All the people indeed are above other people fond of feasts. For these, in the form of varied and choice banquets, with musicians and jesters interspersed, they draw out often to many hours; and then after prolonged dances they indulge in the love of women." Milton refers to Jovius in his preface to the *Brief History of Moscovia*, where he says that Jovius probably limited himself to description of Britain and Moscovia lest he include too much and make mistakes. Milton says "I had much the advantage of Jovius concerning Moscovia."

⁴ Milton, English 1642-1644(?), 62] Though Milton gives no page number in this entry, his two page numbers in *CPB*, p. 57, fit the first edition of Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells, by Englishmen and Others* (1625, NYPL), a compilation in five parts of accounts of exploration by the English vicar and later rector Samuel Purchas (ca. 1577-1626). Since within each part there are a number of books, confusion is likely to result in indicating the location of a note; and in this first entry from Purchas Milton must have been puzzled, for he omitted the volume or part number altogether. The citation, however, may be found by reference to the index of Volume I, where the *Arecca Betula* is listed correctly as being on p. 122. Milton gives p. 132 as the result of a printer's error, for p. 132 follows p. 121. The paragraph on the betel nut is part of a description of the court of Sultan Aladin, King of Achien in Sumatra: "He doth nothing all the day but eate and drinke, from morning to night there is no end of banquetting: and when his belly is readie to breake, then hee eateth *Arecca Betula*, which is a fruit like a Nutmeg. . . . By this meanes getting againe his stomacke, he goeth with a fresh courage to eating." Most of Milton's references to Purchas are in marginal notes in his *Brief History of Moscovia*. *Paradise Lost*, IV, 282, which says that Paradise is far from Mount Amara, "by Nilus head," suggests Milton's readings in Purchas, as do many of his names of remote places. For a study of Milton's sources in his *Brief History of Moscovia*, see Robert R. Cawley, *Milton's Literary Craftsmanship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), pp. 3-40.

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OF LUST

Lust for boys or men. "What can be sacred to those who would debase the age that is weak and in need of protection, so that it is destroyed and defiled through their own lust?" Lactant. Book 6. c[hapter] 23.¹

In our legends King Mempricius is marked with the sin of sodomy ²

Lechery. Boniface says, in that excellent letter to Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, that a people born of lechery and unlawful union will be sluggish and very destructive of the fatherland. Malmesbur. Book 1.³

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 32. Milton's heading, "Lust for boys or men," is a marginal note in Greek.] Milton's entry is quoted exactly from Lactantius, *Seven Books on Divine Ordinances*, except for the change of the verb "sus-traverint" in Lactantius to "prostraverint" in Milton's entry, without change of meaning. It is possible that Milton's edition contained the latter verb. In the Lyons, 1548, edition of the *Opera*, Book VI, chap. 23 (pp. 510-16), has the heading, "Concerning the pleasure of touch and lust and marriage and contentment," and Milton's quotation is found on p. 511. Cf. *Comus*, ll. 706-55; *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 410-19; *Paradise Lost*, VIII, 579 ff.: "But if the sense of touch whereby mankind Is propagated seem such dear delight Beyond all other, think the same voutsaf't To Cattel and each Beast."

² [Milton, Latin, contemporary with or later than the first entry on this page] Milton obviously cites this example from memory and hence gives no source. Hanford ("Chronology," p. 312, n. 169) located one source of the story in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Book II, chap. 6, where Mempricius, or Menpricius as Geoffrey spells it, is identified as a great-grandson of Lochrine, who, having deserted his wife, "he gave himself to the pleasures of sodomy, preferring unnatural love to natural." Milton read Geoffrey in the Horton period (Hanford, "Chronology," p. 265), probably in Jerome Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliae, Scotiae, Vicinarumque Insularum ac Regionum, Scriptores Vetustiores* (*Older Writers on British History, That Is, of England, Scotland, and the Neighboring Islands and Regions*) (Heidelberg, 1587; NYPL and HLH), a collection of seven histories, of which Geoffrey's is first and among which are Bede's and Gildas', cited in later entries in *CPB*, pp. 57, 114, 195. Milton's references to Gildas fit the Heidelberg edition. The copy of that edition in the Houghton Library has been identified by J. Milton French as Milton's own copy, "Milton's Annotated Copy of Gildas," *HSNPL*, XX (1938), 75-80. The handwriting in the marginalia is Milton's, and the material in them parallels passages in Milton, *History of Britain*. Milton's treatment of Mempricius in *History of Britain*, Book I, mentions his "unnaturall lust." Jerome Commelin (d. 1597), printer and humanist, was born at Douai, France, embraced Protestantism, took refuge in Geneva, where he became a printer. Later he was appointed curator of the library of Elector Frederick of the County Palatine. (See *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Paris, n.d.)

³ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 35. Milton's heading, "Lechery," is a marginal note in Latin.] Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622), warden of Merton College, Oxford, edited and published the *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam Praecipui*,

See in Thuanus the examples of two Belgian virgins excellently avenging the dishonor done them. hist. Book 66. p[ages] 267. 268.⁴

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CHASTITY

The nun Ebba cut off her nose and lips and urged the other sisters to do the same thing so that, frustrated in this way, the Danes would make no attempt against their virtue. Sto. from flor. Hist. p[age] 78.¹

ex Vetustissimis Codicibus Manuscriptis Nunc Primum in Lucem Editi (The Chief Writers of English History after Bede, Now for the First Time Brought to Light from the Oldest Manuscript Books) (1596), a collection of five histories, of which *Wilhelmi Monachi Malmesburiensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque* (Five Books Concerning the Deeds of the Kings of England by William, Monk of Malmesbury) is first. The name of the editor is not on the title page but is signed to a dedicatory letter to Queen Elizabeth, saying that the Italian Polydor's history of Britain is not reliable and that he, Savile, proposes to present English historians. Milton's page references agree with those of Savile's folio of 1596 (HLH) and also with a reprint made in Frankfurt, 1601. Of Boniface's letter to Ethelbald, warning him of the dangers to any people in lust and adultery, Milton paraphrases the following (p. 15): "Note this also if the people of England . . . having scorned lawful marriages, give themselves up to adultery, from such intercourse a race will be born that is sluggish and scornful of God and that will destroy the fatherland with its vile customs." Though Savile wrote "ignava" for "sluggish," Milton, changing the case, wrote "ignovam," and the Columbia edition so prints it. It should, of course, be "ignavam." Cf *History of Britam*, Book IV (1670, p. 171) "*Kelred the Mercian* . . . expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Ments* [Mainz], an English man, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of kin, who succeeded him."

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52. In this entry Milton wrote "66" heavily (for the number of the book) over what may have been "65." It is impossible to see what was beneath.] Jacques Auguste de Thou (Latinized Thuanus) (1553-1617), French historian, spent his whole mature life writing his *Historia Sui Temporis* (History of His Own Time), which was published in its final form in 1620, three years after his death. Milton used either the Geneva edition of 1620, five volumes bound in three huge folios, or the Geneva, 1626, edition (HCL), which must be a reprint of the 1620. Milton's page references fit both editions. Milton's entry refers to the narrative (in III, 267-68) of the two young women, one the beautiful daughter of a well-to-do Belgian farmer and the other the daughter of a Belgian advocate, both of whom killed the officers who dishonored them, though with quite different results. The first was violated by a French tribune, quartered in her father's house. She plunged a dagger into his heart and was beaten to death by his soldiers, who in turn were slain by the enraged villagers. The second successfully avoided violation by mortally wounding the Spanish centurion who attempted to dishonor her and who, on his death bed, asked that she marry him so that all his wealth and titles would be hers. The year was 1578, during the occupation of the Low Countries by Spain.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641, 36] Stow's *Annales, or Generall Chronicle of*

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DEATH SELF-INFLICTED

Dante's *Inferno* most skillfully describes the punishment of those people among the inhabitants of the infernal regions. cant: 13.¹

whether lawfull, disputed with exquisite reasoning. S^r Philip Sid. Arcad. Book 4. [page] 419 &c.²

England first appeared in London in 1580, and succeeding editions appeared in 1592, 1601, 1605, 1615, 1618, 1631, each with additions. Milton's page references fit the folio edition of 1615 (NYPL) and the duplicate edition of 1631 (NYPL). John Stow (ca. 1525–1605), son of a poor London tailor, early became interested in history. His *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* was often reprinted in his lifetime. In 1567 he printed for the first time a work called *Flores Historiarum*, a Latin chronicle of English history from Creation to 1326, compiled by various persons. Milton's entry from Stow adds. "Sto. ex flor Hist." because Stow's English text carries in its margin: "*Flores Historiar.* Chastity before beautie preferred, a rare example." Stow says (*Annales*, 1615, p. 78): "An. 870 [in the year 870] Saint *Ebbe* Abbess of Coldingham vi miles North from Berwike, cut off her nose & upperlip, & perswaded all her sisters to do y^e like that they being odible to the Danes, might the better keepe their Virginitie, in despite whereof y^e Danes burned the Abbey, & the Nuns therein." Milton does not refer to Stow in his later works, nor to Saint Ebba, but Stow was no doubt one of the chief sources of his knowledge of English history, as shown in *Of Reformation* (1641) and later.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635–1638, 12] Milton's comment refers to Dante's description (*Dante*, ed. Daniello, Venice, 1568, pp. 85–92), beginning (l. 37): "Uomini fummo, ed or sem fatti sterpi" ("Men we were, and now are turned to trees"). These trees are stunted; they have withered leaves and branches. They produce not fruit but poison. Harpies sit in their branches, wailing and devouring them. Samson urges against suicide in *Samson Agonistes*, l. 505; Adam condemns it, *Paradise Lost*, X, 1016; Milton denounces it, *Christian Doctrine*, I, viii.

² [Milton, English, 1641–1642(?), 85. The Italian *e*'s in this entry indicate it was made in 1639 or later. Hanford writes ("Chronology," pp. 278–79, n. 133) that all the Sidney entries "evidently belong later than Group II entries" (those from Holinshed, Camden, Speed, and others, which were well advanced when Milton wrote *Of Reformation* in 1641). Milton's page references to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* "fit the edition of 1621, also the duplicates of 1623 and 1638," as Hanford pointed out. I find that they also fit the London, 1633, edition (NYPL). Milton's entry refers to the discussion Philoclea and her lover Pyrocles have concerning suicide. Philoclea argues against it (*Arcadia*, 1633, Book IV, p. 419): "The killing of ones self is but a false colour of true courage, proceeding rather of a feare of a further evill, either of torment or shame." The "dispute," as Milton indicates, continues on the following pages. Milton read Spenser and Sidney and other Elizabethans in the Horton period and earlier (cf. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," pp. 131 ff.), and much of the Renaissance atmosphere in "Arcades," *Comus*, and *Paradise Lost* derives from such youthful reading. Though Sidney's *Arcadia* is called a "vain, amatorious poem" in *Eikonoklastes*, (1649, p. 12), the Arcadian shepherds in "Arcades" and *Comus* might have stepped out of Sidney's romance.

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DRUNKENNESS

King Edgars law against drunkennesse Stow. p[age] 85.¹ w^{ch} Englishmen are said to have learn't of the Danes in his days. Holinshed. Book 6. c[hapter] 23.²

of Healths S^r Phil. Sidney. "That barbarous opinion beeing generally among them to think with vice to doe honour, and with activity in beastlines to shew abundance of love made most of them seek to shew y^e depth of thir affection, in y^e depth of thir draught." Arcad. Book 2. p[age] 201.³

The habit of drunkenness produces intoxication of the mind even without wine. Thuanus points this out concerning Albert of Brandenburg in these words: "It was clearly proved of him that, once his sanity of mind had been injured and had been rendered savage, drunkenness necessarily had cruelty as its companion; for when, in his usual state of intoxication, he had grown accustomed by long use to losing self-control, it came to pass that, through his customary madness, cruelty prevailed in him even without wine." Hist. Book 12. p[age] 358.⁴

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] King Edgar, known as the Peaceful King, ruled England from 959 to 975. With the aid of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, he sought to raise the standard of morality and knowledge. His law against drunkenness Stow's *Annales* record in part as follows (1615, p. 85): "The Danes and all other people in England, used the vice of great drinking. The king therefore by counsell of *Dunstane* put downe manie alehouses, and would suffer but one in a village or towne, except it were a great Borough hee ordayned certaine cups with pins or nailes, and made a lawe, that whosoever dranke past that marke at one draught, should forfeite a certaine payne." Cf. *History of Britain*, Book V (1670, pp. 234-40), for Milton's life of Edgar.

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] In Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, I, 159), Milton read the following: "Whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conversation with them learned the same vice." Cf. *History of Britain*, Book V, on Britons' learning drunkenness from the Danes.

³ [Milton, English, 1641-1642(?), 85] This passage Milton quotes accurately from the *Arcadia* as shown in the 1633 edition (Book II, p. 201), except for three slight changes in punctuation and the writing of "and" for "&." Clinias, wounded in a drunken riot among Basilius' subjects, explains how drinking loosened tongues and stirred tempers. Cf. *Brief History of Moscovia*, Book I, where friendship among the Russians is shown by drinking.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51] Milton's entry begins with his own generalization, followed by a direct quotation from Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626) The Albert of Brandenburg nearest Thuanus' time was Albert III (1414-1486), one of the electors of the Holy Roman Empire and as great a power in North Germany as the County Palatine of the Rhine was in the South.

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OF COURAGE

A man's courage depends, not upon his body, but upon his reason, which is man's strongest protection and defense. This is clear from the fact that a man by this single support of reason has dominion over all the animals, even the strongest, and is able to hurt them if it pleases him to do so. Lactant. de opif. dei. c[hapter] 3.¹

See the siege of Magdeburg in Sleidan. Book 20. &c. You will find an example of Christian faith and courage.²

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1640(?), 31] The *De Opificio Dei, sive De Formatione Hominis* (Of God's Creation, or Of the Creation of Man), by Lactantius (*Opera*, Lyons, 1548, pp 670-716), is a treatise on how well God has provided for man in the physical and mental traits he possesses. Milton's entry ably sums up the main idea in Chapter 3 (pp 676-80), which has the heading: "Of the nature of animals and man." Of reason Lactantius says: "Nothing greater or better could have been given by God." When Adam, in *Paradise Lost*, VIII, 369 ff., is put in charge of the animals, he is told that they, too, "reason not contemptibly." He asks, however, for human fellowship, "fit to participate All rational delight, wherein the brute Cannot be human consort."

² [Milton, Latin, 1640-41(?), 46] The courage of the people of Magdeburg was that of the Protestant capitol of Saxony, battling for its very existence in the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An important member of the Hanseatic League, it embraced Protestantism in 1524. In 1550, when it was about to be stormed, the senate, seeing the people carrying on their daily tasks in the fields and in the town, implored them for faith and the means to defend the city, and, as Sleidan says, "Nor do they refuse any danger or expense in the battle." Farmers and citizens went out in the night with the soldiers and horsemen and drew up their battle line in full view of the enemy. Because of their great courage (Book XXIII, p. 401) "The people of Magdeburg, thus freed beyond the expectation of many people, attained a reputation of greatest glory among other nations because almost alone they had, by their example, taught throughout Germany what steadfastness can do."

The vivid account of the courage of the people of Magdeburg is recorded in Books XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII of the commentaries on the state of religion and empire under Charles V by Johannes Sleidan, of which Milton used the first edition, published in Strassburg in 1555 by Vuendelinus Rihelius and called *Ioan. Sleidani Commentarii de Statu Religionis et Reipublicae, Carolo Quinto, Caesare* (NYPL). All Milton's page references fit that edition. They do not fit the second edition of 1559 (NYPL) or any other edition in the British Museum or Harvard College Library. See Hanford, "Chronology," p. 271, n. 65. Marginal notes in the 1555 edition in the New York Public Library are, I am convinced, in Milton's own handwriting. They have all the characteristics of the three types of writing in the *Commonplace Book*: the small, neat hand; the heavier, blacker hand; and the free, natural hand. Some of the comments on the text are typically Miltonic. The evidence for such conclusions will be set forth elsewhere. Most of the entries from Sleidan (in a faded ink) were evidently made at one time. Milton

the cause of valour a good conscience. for an evil conscience, as an English author noteth well, "will otherwise know at the roots of valour" like a worm "and undermine all resolutions." Ward. militar. Sect[ion] 7.³

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OF DUELS

not certain in deciding the truth. as appears by the combat fought between 2 Scots before the L. Grey of Wilton in the marketplace of Haddington, wherein Hamilton that was almost if not cleerly known to be innocent was vanquish't and slain, and Newton the offender remained victor and was rewarded by the Ld. Grey. Holinsh. p[age] 993.¹

used Sleidan ("Chronology," p. 268) in *Apology against a Pamphlet* (below, p. 901), and elsewhere.

Johannes Sleidan (1506-1556), German historian, after studying ancient languages and literature at Liège and Cologne and law and jurisprudence at Paris and Orleans, adopted Protestant opinions and was later appointed by Philip of Hesse as historian of the Reformation. He finished Volume I in 1545, went with a French embassy to Henry VIII, collected more material in England, was pensioned for a while by Edward VI, finished his work in 1554, printed it in 1555, and died in poverty in 1556. Sleidan's history was so impartial that it pleased no one but was valuable to Milton, who has eleven entries from it in the *Commonplace Book* and several references to Sleidan in his prose. Cf. *The Likeliest Means* (1659, p. 103) on Sleidan's account of the conversion of church revenues to civil uses by "the princes and cities of Germany in the first reformation."

³ [Milton, English, 1641-1642(?), 87] Milton's entry is in part a direct quotation from Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre, or a Militarie Magazine of the Truest Rules, and Ablest Instructions, for the Managing of Warre*. In two Bookes. by Robert Ward, Gentleman and Commander. London, 1639. This folio edition was the only printing and was therefore Milton's source (HLH). Milton's quotation, from Book I, Section 7, pp. 150-71, called "The Duties of Souldiers in Generall, both in Fort and Field," is found at the bottom of the first page. "In the first place, let a Souldiers resolution be truly, and sincerely to serve God; keeping a quiet conscience within their breast, which otherwise will gnaw at the rootes of vallour, and undermine all resolutions, wherefore a just and righteous conversation ought to be a Souldiers companion, for his life is daily in danger." Milton adds the phrase: "like a worm." He nowhere cites Ward in his later works. Concerning Milton's use of Ward, Machiavelli, and other writers on military science, see James H. Hanford, "Milton and the Art of War," *SP*, XVIII (1921), 232-66.

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] After his own general comment, Milton cites an interesting example from Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 992), that occurred in 1548, in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. While England was besieging castles in the North to maintain its hold on Scotland, Lord Grey took the castle of Yester and pardoned all its defenders but one, "who during the siege uttered unseemelie words of the king." Newton, the railer, to save himself,

Read the noble and courageous answer of Gaius Marius to the Teuton who challenged him. Frontin. Book 4. c[hapter] 7.²

The antiquity of duels for the sake of proving the truth. First comes Bonifacius,³ commander of the troops under Valentinian III, who challenged Aëtius, convicted of treachery against him, "for the purpose of proving in single combat his own good faith, and after the permission of Placidia had been given he conquered in the battle." Sigon de imp. occid. Book 12 p[age] 203. an. dom. 432.⁴

accused Hamilton. To settle the matter, they fought in the market place of Hadington, and Newton killed the innocent Hamilton, whereupon Lord Grey rewarded Newton with his own gown and the gold chain he wore.

² [Milton, Latin, date uncertain, but later than the preceding Holmshed entry, 97] Sextus Julius Frontinus' *Strategematon* was first printed in Rome in 1487. An English translation, by Richard Morysine, was published by T. Berthelet in London in 1539, under the title *The Stratagemes, Sleyghtes, and Policies of Warre* (NYPL film). The Latin text was also published in Antwerp in 1585, in the same volume with Flavius Renatus, *De Re Militari* (NYPL). Since Milton gives no page number, his source edition cannot be identified. Milton's note is to the last chapter of the *Strategematon* (Antwerp, 1585, p. 190), where Frontinus says. "Gaius Marius, to the Teuton who was challenging him and demanding that he come forth, replied that, if he was desirous of death, he could end his life in a noose, and when he showed him a gladiator of contemptible size and age, he placed him before the Teuton and said, 'If you overcome him, I will fight the victor'." This Gaius Marius (155-86 B.C.), a renowned Roman general, was hailed as savior of his country and elected consul seven times. Frontinus (ca. 40-103 A.D.) was himself a Roman soldier and author, who in 75 A.D. was sent to Britain as governor. Cf. *History of Britain*, Book II (1670, p. 69). "To Cerealis succeeded Julius Frontinus in the Government of Britain, who by taming the Silures, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation."

³ The story of Bonifacius and Aetius has been preserved by the sixth-century Byzantine historian Procopius. Bonifacius, governor of Africa, was accused by Aëtius of inviting the Vandals into Africa. On his return to Italy in 432, however, he was received with favor and put in command of the troops by Placidia, mother of the boy emperor Valentinian III, who conducted affairs in her son's minority. Aetius resented Bonifacius' promotion. The rivals met in combat, and Bonifacius, though victorious, was wounded and died three months later.

⁴ [Amanuensis F, Latin, date uncertain, 108] Sigonius (ca. 1524-1584), Italian humanist, wrote a number of histories. His history of the Western Empire, *De Occidentali Imperio*, from Diocletian to its fall, was written in 1579, and his history of the kingdom of Italy, *De Regno Italiae* (Frankfurt, 1591), from the invasion of the Lombards (568) to the end of the thirteenth century, was written in 1580. Milton read both of them. See below, CPB, pp. 183, 220, 240. I find that Milton's page references fit Wechel's edition of the *Imperio* (Frankfurt, 1618; CUL). There, on p. 203, with "an. dom. 432" in the margin, Sigonius says. "While Aëtius and Valerius were consuls, Bonifacius, a courtier, left Africa, at the summons of Placidia to Rome, and was given the honor of commander of the troops. Then he challenged Aëtius, an old disparager of his honor, to a single combat,

[P.] 53 OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF LITERATURE

Whether it is permissible to give attention to profane writers. Socrates says that it is: Book 3, c[hapter] 16.¹ using not only other

for the sake of proving his own good faith. The permission of Placidia having been given, he conquered in the fight. Wherefore Aetius, shorn of his dignity, took himself to the country." The translation of Milton's entry in the Columbia edition is misleading at this point, for the omission of the name "Aetium" (spelled with a small *a* in Milton's manuscript) makes the text say that Bonifacius, not Aetius, was convicted of treachery. Only by reference to the passage quoted is the error disclosed. In a letter to Diodati, dated September, 1637, Milton says he has finished reading Sigonius. For Milton's use of Sigonius, see *Of Reformation*, Book II, below, pp. 578-79. *History of Britain*, Book II (1670, p. 88): "Sigonius a learned writer," and marginal references. In the *History of Britain*, Book III (1670, p. 106), Milton records the letters of Britons to Aetius.

¹ Folio 20 contains an entry headed "De Morte," which the Columbia edition (XVIII, 506) calls "doubtful" and includes "with reservation." Since Milton uses Bodin elsewhere (see below, *CPB*, p. 112), one is inclined at first to regard this note also as Milton's. However, as Maurice Kelley points out in "Milton's Commonplace Book, Folio 20," *MLN*, LXII (1947), 192-94, Horwood presented the folio as entirely the work of Lord Preston; careful study of the handwriting shows that Milton wrote only the word "De", some seventy-four other English entries from Bodin, from Book II of a 1606 English translation of the *De Republica*, of which Lord Preston owned a copy (Horwood, 1877 edition of the *Commonplace Book*, p. xix), are all in his handwriting, whereas Milton's only entry from Bodin is from Book I and is in Latin, as if he were using a Latin edition, not an English translation. On the basis of such conclusive evidence, I have omitted the entry on Folio 20, except for Milton's "De."

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 3] In this entry, as in several others (*cf* editor's preface, above, p. 356, and *CPB*, p. 109, first three entries; *CPB*, p. 179, last entry, *CPB*, p. 181, first, seventh, eighth entries, *CPB*, p. 182, eleventh entry, *CPB*, p. 220, eleventh entry; *CPB*, p. 241), Milton seems to be resolving an issue about which he has been thinking, by comparing authorities. The authorities he cites here are all writers of history of the early Greek church, whom he probably read in a copy of the *Ecclesiasticae Historiae Autores* (Paris, 1544; UTSL, PML), containing the works in Greek of eight of those historians (Hereafter referred to as *EHA*, Paris, 1544.) Another edition (Basle, 1562; UTSL) has the same eight writers, with a Latin text, translated from the Greek. (Hereafter referred to as *EHA*, Basle, 1562.) The fact that Milton makes several composite entries from five of the eight writers suggests that he read them in this compiled form. The title page in both Greek and Latin editions lists them as follows:

Eusebius. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Ten Books.
Eusebius. *De Vita Constantini*. Five Books.
Ruffinus. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Two Books.
Socrates. Seven Books.

sound reasons, but also the example of the Apostle Paul and the most venerable Church Fathers. See also Euseb. Book 7. c[hapter] 7.² concerning Dionysius of Alexandria. Even Julian the Apostate saw by what weapons the cause of his followers could be injured when to the Christians he forbade the reading of poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy. "We are being wounded," he said, "(as the proverb puts it) by our own feathers." Theodorit. Hist. Book 3. c[hapter] 7.³

Theodorit. Five Books.
 Sozomen Nine Books.
 Evagrius. Six Books.
 Theodorus. *Historia Ecclesiastica* Two Books.
 Dorotheus. *Vitae Apostolorum ac Prophetarum*.

Of these writers, the five that Milton cites wrote in the following order: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, each building on and continuing the work of his predecessors. Two of them, Eusebius and Theodoret, were bishops, Sociates, Sozomen, and Evagrius were called "scholasticus" or lawyer. Eusebius (ca. 260–ca. 340) was a true historian and is called "Father of Church History." Socrates (who was writing in 425–450) wrote a history that is mainly a collection of anecdotes and episodes, not true history. Sozomen (ca. 400–443) wrote what is mainly a plagiarism of Socrates. He wrote for the monks of his day, whom he warmly defended, and knew they would not be familiar with the work of Socrates. Theodoret (ca. 386–ca. 458), though important as a writer of dogmatic theology, was, as a historian, inferior to his predecessors, whose work he used. Evagrius (ca. 536–600) continued the work of his predecessors to the year 593, in a history not wholly trustworthy but an impartial one and based on original documents. These writers became known in the West in the sixth century, and the Arian controversy was known to the Middle Ages from them. They were an important part of Milton's reading in the first period of his note-taking; all the entries from them are in his own handwriting. His first reference, to Socrates, is found in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), ff. 223–23v. Other editions of Socrates' *History* were published in Geneva, 1612; Paris, 1659; and so forth. Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 10) for Milton's citation of "the Historian Socrates" in defense of profane learning. Milton's letter to Diodati, September, 1637 (above, p. 327), says he has finished a course of reading in later Greek history.

² [Milton, Latin, 1635–1637, 1] Eusebius' Chapter 7 includes the appeal of a presbyter of Rome to Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria (ca. 190–265 A.D.) for help in the controversy concerning the baptism of heretics, in which the presbyter says (*EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 72v.) "consilium peto & requiro scientiam" ("I seek counsel, and I need knowledge"). Dionysius, known as Dionysius the Great, studied under Origen and in 231 became head of the catechetical school of Alexandria and, in 247, bishop. In the persecution of Christians under Emperor Decius, he fled to the desert and was banished under Valerian. Eusebius often cites him.

³ [Milton, Latin, quotation in Greek, 1635–1639, 88] Theodoret (*EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 315v.) refers to Julian the Apostate (ca. 331–363), Roman Emperor of the East, who was educated by Eusebius in the Christian doctrine but who was so drawn to the old culture of the Greeks that he publicly avowed paganism at the

The noble K. Alfred a great lover of learning. Malmesbur.⁴ Sto. p[age] 80.⁵ his excellent statute for training up all the English till 15 years old in learning. see Speed. in his life.⁶

Two Englishmen Alcuin & John by appointment of Charles y^e great founded the two cheifest and ancientest universities of Europe, Paris & Pavia. Girard Hist. France. Book 4. p[ages] 218. 219.⁷

age of twenty and cultivated literature and the arts, along with his wars. He forbade such arts to the Christians, realizing the power they held for the cause of Christianity. Cf *Areopagtica* (1644, p. 10) on Julian the Apostate's forbidding heathen learning to Christians.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 35] All early English historians record Alfred's love of learning. William of Malmesbury, "De Alfredo Rege," *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, Book II, ff 23–25, tells (f. 24v.) of Alfred's founding of monasteries and abbeys, appointment of learned men to them, his own study and translations: "For the sake of calling it forth, that his own industry might awaken the study of letters in England, which was sleeping or almost dead," and so forth Cf *History of Britain*, Book V, on Alfred's love of learning.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 36] Stow comments similarly Later (CPB, p. 57) Milton repeats this reference to Stow.

⁶ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38. In this entry Milton first wrote "15 days," then deleted "days" and wrote "years."] John Speed (1552–1629), English historian and cartographer, published his *Historie of Great Britaine* in 1611 Reprinted in 1614, Speed's *Historie* was revised and reprinted three times in 1623, and again in 1627. Milton's page references fit the second 1623 edition (BML), and also the second 1627 edition (HHL), which may, therefore, be a reprint of the second edition of 1623. They do not fit the 1611 and 1614 editions (CUL) or the first 1623 edition (HLH) On pp 375–76 of the second 1623 edition, Speed says: "And so great a desire had he [Alfred] unto learning, that . . . he published this Act: *Wee will and command, that all Freemen of our Kingdom, who* (p. 376) *soever possessing two ludes of land, shall bring up their sons in learning till they be fifteene yeeres of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily: for, of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no otherwise then of a beast, or a brainlesse body, and a very sot*" Milton's "Outlines for British Tragedies" include seven references to Speed, and Milton must have depended on Speed in a number of other works, from *Of Reformation* (1641) on.

⁷ [Milton, English, 1644–1647(?), 53] Bernard de Girard, Seigneur du Haillan (ca. 1535–1610), French historian, was appointed historiographer of France and published three histories, of which the third, to which Milton refers, *L'Histoire de France*, was published in folio, Paris, 1576, 1584, 1586, 1615, 1627, and in a two-volume quarto, Geneva, 1580 (BML). Milton's page references fit the 1576 folio (BML). Girard says (Book IV, p. 218) that Charles the Great "in his old age had [as tutor] Alcuin, an Englishman . . . a man very learned and a scholar," and that, though some say two Englishmen came and some say four, one of them was named John. Girard also records (p. 219) that the Englishman Claude (not Alcuin) was asked by Charles the Great to establish a school in Paris. "From that came the beginnings of the University of Paris, which later grew to be the foremost school in the world, for sacred as well as profane letters. . . . One of the others, named John, was sent by him [Charles the Great] to the city of Pavia,

That princes ought to be learned especially in histories Comines well shew. *memoires*, Book 2. c[hapter] 6.⁸

The Waldensians observed that skill in languages is very useful even in the Church, so that the faithful, whether driven from their native land or sent abroad by their own churches, were thereby better fitted for teaching. Gilles *hist. Vaud.* c[hapter] 2. p[age] 16.⁹

and close by he gave him the Abbey of St. Augustine, so that those of the nation who wished to have knowledge might come to him to get it " Cf. *The Tenure* (1649), p. 25, and *A Defence*, Chapters IV and VIII, for Milton's reference to Girard. "*Du Haillan* is my author" Alcum is discussed in *History of Britain*, Book IV.

⁸ [Milton, English, 1644-1647(?), 54] Besides using Girard, Milton read French history according to Girard's predecessor, Philippe de Commines (ca. 1445-ca. 1511), who as counsellor of four French kings wrote with such keen insight into the motives of his contemporaries that his work became a classic. Sir Walter Scott pictures him in *Quentin Durward*, for which Scott got most of his material from Commines. He first called his work a *Chronique*, and part of it was first printed in 1524 by Galliot du Pré in Paris. In the complete 1552 Galliot edition, however, it is called *Les Memoires de Messire Ph. de Commines sur les Principaux Faicts et Gestes de Louis Onzieme et de Charles Huitieme Son Fils. Roys de France*. It was republished in 1561. Since Milton calls the work *Memoires* and in a later entry (CPB, p. 67) mentions the "Galliot edition" (no other Galliot edition having appeared), he must have used one of these two printings. His page references fit the 1552 printing (PML). The heading of Chapter 6 (p. xxviii), "Digression on the advantage that letters, and principally histories, are to princes and great lords," expresses the same idea as Milton's English note. A prince should study history in his youth, says Commines (p. 28), to learn of "the agreements and frauds and deceits and perjuries that some of the ancients have committed against the others." Milton calls Commines "a weighty authority" in *A Defence*, Chapter IX, and cites him as authority in *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXI (1649, p. 184).

⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 55] Pierre Gilles, who was born in Piedmont in 1571 and died there at a ripe old age, was assigned the task, by the board of the church of the Waldensians, of gathering all the materials concerning the origin, history, and customs of the sect known as the "Israel of the Alps." He devoted his whole life to the task and published in Geneva in 1644 his *Historie Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées . . . en Quelques Valées de Piedmont . . . Appelées Eglises Vaudoises*. Since this was the only printing, it was Milton's source, and his page reference fits this edition (HCL). What Milton read on p. 16 was the following: "The Bearded Folk [the Waldensians] in the valleys, in their ordinary conversation and in most of their writing, use a language mixed with that of the Valley and the surrounding country. But on their long journeys they use a language better understood in the country in which they find themselves; and therefore they teach their students several languages so that they will be capable of teaching in all the countries where it will be necessary for them to journey." Cf. *The Likeliest Means* (1659, p. 99), where Milton cites "*Peter Gilles* in his historie of the *Waldenses in Piemont*" in defense of the idea that ministers should have a trade. Milton calls the Waldensians "our first reformers" and praises their ways in *The Likeliest Means*, *Eikonoklastes*, *The Tenure*, *Second Defence*, and the "Sonnet on the Late Massacre in Piemont."

The Estates General of Holland, even in the midst of the heat of battles, just as in peaceful circumstances, so that they might not seem to neglect the refinement of learning and the education of their children even in the most critical circumstances, "established the University of Leyden ¹⁰ of the Dutch, with heavy taxes assessed upon church property." Thuan. hist. Book 60. p[age] 81.¹¹

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OF CURIOSITY

That the profound questions concerning God, which the human reason explains or comprehends with considerable difficulty, should either not be thought about or should be suppressed in silence lest they be proclaimed to the people and from this source a cause of schisms be given in the Church, Constantine ¹ very wisely admonishes in a letter to Alexander and Arius.² Euseb: in his life. Book 2. c[hapter] 77.³ and in Socrat: Book 1.⁴

¹⁰ Lugdunum was a Celtic name, meaning fort or hill of the god Lugos or Lug, and was used by the Romans for several towns in ancient Gaul. The chief of them was the modern Lyons. The *Academia Lugdun Batavorum* in Milton's Latin note, however, was the Latin name for the University of Leyden.

¹¹ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] This reference to Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626), consists in part of a close paraphrase and finally of the use of the exact words of Milton's source. Thuanus says that the Academy of Leyden was established "ex Arausionensis consilio" ("on the advice of William of Orange"), a phrase which Milton omits. Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter III, where Milton says that Salmasius fled to the Sorbonne from the University of Leyden, "whose fountains and streams of polite learning could [not] wash away that slavish rust and native barbarism of yours."

¹ Constantine the Great (ca. 268-337), first Christian Roman emperor, the illegitimate son of Constantine I, was sent as a boy to the eastern court. After the death of his father in York, England, Constantine, the son, became leader of the army and then emperor.

² It was between Alexander of Alexandria and Arius that the controversy arose in 318 over the nature of Christ. Alexander claimed that Arius, in his subordination of Christ, was going so far as to deny him all real divinity. In 325 the Nicene Council considered the matter, and later the modified Nicene Creed repudiated the teachings of the Arians, and Arius was excommunicated for heresy. Into this dispute both Constantine and Eusebius were drawn, as were all early Christians.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 2] Eusebius was the most learned man of his day and in great favor with Emperor Constantine. He outlived Constantine by a few years and wrote *De Vita Constantini* (the second work in *EHA*, Paris, 1544). In the marginal note (f. 135v.—the first of two folios numbered 135), "Letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius," may be found the source of Milton's Latin entry. Eusebius himself at first favored Arius in his subordination of the Son of God and opposed Alexander. At the Council of Nicaea, however, he discovered that Alexander was right and was obliged to vote to repudiate the Arians.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 3] Socrates, in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 173, has

To night-owls Basil likens the sophists, who in minute and obscure matters are furnished with eyes or wish so to be regarded, and who in weighty matters of visible truth and beneficial knowledge are blind; for the owl at night sees acutely but by day is dim-sighted. Hexam. Homil. 8. [page] 107.⁵

Sleidan describes the senseless conflicts of the theologians of Paris. Book 3. p[age] 36.⁶

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OF POETRY

A wonderful and very pleasing little story is told by Bede about an Englishman who was suddenly made a poet by divine Providence. Hist. Book 4. c[hapter] 24.¹

the marginal note, "Letter of Constantine, Emperor, to Arius," referring to the same warning by Constantine.

⁵ [Milton, Latin, after 1639, 89] Milton's three references to Basil fit the two-volume folio of the *Opera* (Paris, 1618; BML), in Greek. He paraphrases the idea in Latin in this entry. Elsewhere (*CPB*, pp. 57, 185) he quotes from the Greek. Basil the Great (ca. 330-379) succeeded Eusebius as bishop of Caesarea in 370. He is chiefly remembered for his reform of the liturgy, his founding of monasticism, and his homilies, including those to which Milton refers here, the *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, a series of sermons on the opening verses of Genesis, the six days of Creation. In *Homilia VIII* (*Opera*, Paris, 1618, pp. 97-111) Basil writes "of Winged and Water Creatures." On p. 107 he says: "In this way they [the sophists] are like the eyes of a night-owl, empty, without wisdom. For its sight by night is strong, but is obscured by the shining sun."

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1642(?), 46] This brief reference to Sleidan's *Commentaries* covers matter that Milton no doubt read with relish. In the NYPL copy of the Strassburg, 1555, edition (Book III, p. 36) there is a Latin note probably in Milton's handwriting. "Those of Paris condemn the books of Luther and warn and advise the people, as well as themselves, against them." From Luther's books and those of others, the theologians of Paris, says Sleidan, were disputing "concerning the laws of the Church, concerning faith or works, concerning vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, free will, the immunity of ecclesiastics, councils, the punishment of heretics, philosophy, scholastic theology, and many other like matters." Cf. Milton's picture of the "store of all things transitory and vain" of the Paradise of Fools in *Paradise Lost*, III, 443 ff. For Sleidan's picture of Luther before Charles V see *An Apology* (below, p. 901).

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 34] In this entry there are two deletions. Milton deleted "mira" after "Poeta Anglo" and placed it nearer "historiola," which it modifies. He also deleted "perpla," which is the beginning of the word "perplacida," and then rewrote it.] The *Bedae Anglosaxonis Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum Libri V* is the fourth history included in Jerome Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum* . . . (Heidelberg, 1587) and was presumably Milton's source, since Gildas and Geoffrey of Monmouth are in the same collection, and Milton's later references to Gildas fit that source. Bede's story of Caedmon's being told in his sleep to "Sing the beginning of created things," so that "he presently began to

The most renowned King Alfred was very well acquainted with Saxon poetry Sto. p[age] 80.²

Basil tells us that poetry was taught by God to kindle in the minds of men a zeal for virtue. "For when the Holy Spirit saw that mankind could be led with difficulty to virtue and that we are neglectful of upright living because of our proneness to pleasure, what did it do? It mixed with the doctrines the delight of melody so that we might unconsciously receive the benefit of the discourse through the charm and smoothness of the sounds," &c. Homil. in Psal. I. the beginning.³

Numidian poets Leo Afer in Purchas. tom. [volume] 2. [page] 759.⁴ and Leo Afer edit Lugdun. [Lyons]. Book 2. [page] 212. &c.⁵

sing verses to the praise of God," is a familiar one. Bede (673-735), the first English historian, whose *Church History* is our chief source of information about the early English church and nation, is cited as authority in the *History of Britain*, Books II, III, IV.

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow, among other items of praise of Alfred, includes the statement that he was "most perfect in Saxon Poetrie."

³ [Milton, Latin comment, Greek quotation, later than the entry from Bede, 89] Milton's quotation from Basil is from the first of his seventeen homilies or sermons on the Psalms, *Homilia in Psalmum I*, which is called "On the Beginning of the First Psalm" (*Opera*, Paris, 1618). Milton introduces his quotation (p 126) with a sentence summarizing Basil's main idea.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 62] *Purchas His Pilgrimes* ([1625, NYPL] II, p 759) cites as one of his sources Leo Afer, or John Leo of Africa. The chapter heading (p 749) is, "*Observations of Africa, taken out of JOHN LEO his nine Bookes, translated by Master PORV, and the most remarkable things hither transcribed*" Milton's note concerns the following passage (p. 759): "Neither is here to be omitted, that the greater part of *Arabians* which inhabite *Numidia*, are very witty and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decypher his love, his hunting, his combates, and other his worthy acts: and this is done for the most part in rime, after the *Italian* manner." Milton refers to Leo Afer only in the *Commonplace Book*.

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 62. John Leo Afer is not listed in Hanford, "Chronology," but is listed by Horwood.] Apparently the sample that Purchas gave of Leo Afer's description of Africa roused Milton's interest in consulting Leo Afer himself, for his next note is to *Ioanis Leonis Africani Africæ Descriptio IX Lib. Absoluta* (Leyden, 1632; CUL), an Elzevir octavo in two volumes. Milton's page reference is correct, but it is in the first volume, Liber Primus, not the second, which is paged continuously with the first. Leo Afer (p 212) tells of his visit to an African chief, who enjoyed an almost continuous recitation of verse while he reclined at the table. Leo Afer should be added to the list of authors Milton read, since he plainly indicates a Leyden edition, and his page number fits that of 1632. John Leo, called Africanus or Afer (see the *Universal Lexicon*, Halle and Leipzig, 1735) around 1491 traveled in Europe, Asia, and Africa. His description of Africa he wrote in the Arabian language but later

and purchas from Leo. Book 2. tom. [volume] 2. [page] 795.⁶

[P.] 61

OF MUSIC

Ignatius, third Bishop of Antioch after Peter, is said to have been the first to establish antiphonal singing in the Church. Socrat: Book 6. c[hapter] 8.¹

Organs first in France. The ambassadors of the Greek Emperor Constantine brought King Pepin some organs, which had never before been seen in France. Girard. Hist. France. Book 3. p[age] 138.²

Guido of Aretium [the modern Arezzo] invented the present method of singing by gamma ut re mi &c. about the year 1000. Girard. Hist. France. Book 6. p[age] 337.³

translated it into Italian, which John Florian later translated into rather inaccurate Latin in Antwerp. Milton's source edition was probably based on the Florian translation. His references to Araby (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 163) and to Fez (*Paradise Lost*, XI, 403), as well as other lands, were no doubt inspired in part by Purchas and Leo Afer.

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 62] Returning to Purchas' account of Leo, under the marginal note "Rewards for Poets in Fez," Milton read (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. II, p. 795): "In Fez there are divers most excellent Poets, which make Verses in their owne Mother-tongue most of their Poems and Songs intreate of Love Every yeare they pen certaine Verses in the commendation of *Mahumet*, especially upon his Birth-day for then betimes in the morning they resort unto the Palace of the chiefe Iudge or Governour, ascending his Tribunall seate, and from thence reading their Verses to a great audience of people and he whose Verses are most elegant and pithy, is that yeare proclaimed Prince of the Poets," and so forth.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 3] Socrates Scholasticus ([*EHA*, Paris, 1544; UTSL], f. 258v) says: "Ignatius, third Bishop of Antioch in Syria after the Apostle Peter, having associated formerly with the apostles, saw a vision of angels praising the Holy Trinity in responsive hymns, and he recounted the nature of his vision to the Antioch Church, whence that tradition passed to all Churches. And this is the source of responsive hymns" Ignatius, whom Milton cites later (*CPB*, p. 109) was one of the "Apostolic Fathers" and bishop of Antioch, about whom little is known except from the letters which he wrote to various churches. A part of his doctrine was a rather elaborate angelology, which accounts for the incident recorded by Socrates. Angels singing hymns in praise of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are described by Adam (*Paradise Lost*, IV, 682-83) as: "Celestial voices to the midnight air, Sole or responsive each to other's note"

² [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 53] Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book III, p. 138) records: "There [in France] some ambassadors of the Emperor Constantine were selling things, and they brought to Pepin . . . some organs, which had never been seen in France"

³ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 53] Girard says of Guido (Paris, 1576, Book VI, p. 337). "In his [King Robert's] time, an Italian named Guy Aretin

[P.] 67

CONSULTATION

To what extent belief and acquiescence should be given to the counsels of experienced men Comines wisely teaches, and he gives very weighty reasons; [he says that] even experienced men very often make mistakes, either when governed by their desires, or when they take sides contrary to those of their rivals, or sometimes, as can happen, if perchance they may be in a state of body or mind by no means sound. Comin. Book 2. p[age] 94. edit Gall. Paris.¹

[P.] 70

SLOTH

The punishment, in the infernal regions, of the slothful who have done nothing in this life well, nor anything which is notably evil, is described by Dante of Florence; they are agitated in vain by perpetual disquiet and by a certain gad-fly. Dante Inferno. cant: 3.¹

[P.] 71

OF LYING

How far it is permitted. A good man is always accustomed to speak the truth, says Clement, "except as a form of healing, as when a physician for the safety of those who are suffering will lie to the sick or speak a falsehood." &c. Strom: Book 7. p[age] 730¹

invented the science of Music, that which we use at present. For long before, Boethius had written of it and formed the scale that we learn on the joints of the hand, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la." The marginal note is: "Invention of the musical scales." Milton added the word *gamma* to *ut* and also the year 1000 Guido's scale used *gamma-ut* or *gamut* as the first syllable instead of the modern *do* Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 16. "The gammuth of every *municipal* fidler" is "the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*."

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 54] Milton's page number is correct (printed F. xciiij), but it is in Book V, not Book II, of Commines, *Memoires* (Paris, 1552) Milton's manuscript, however, plainly shows a 2 His note summarizes part of Chapter 18, the last chapter in Book V, of which the heading is. "A Discourse on the fact that wars and divisions are permitted by God, for the punishment of Princes and evil people with many good reasons and examples drawn from the time of the Author, for the teaching of Princes."

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1638(?), 12. In this entry Milton inserted "apud inferos" after "pœna," using a caret to show where the phrase belonged.] Milton summarizes the lines on p. 22 of the Daniello edition of Dante (Venice, 1568), beginning "quivi sospiri, pianti, & alti guai risonavan" ("here sighs, complaints, and deep wailings resounded"). These are the laments, says Virgil, of the souls who "lived without blame and without praise." They are "mixed with that caitiff choir of the angels, who were not rebellious, nor were they faithful to God, but were concerned only for themselves."

¹ [Milton, Latin comment, Greek quotation, 1637-1638(?), 17. Milton's heading, "How far it is permitted," is a marginal note in Latin] The quotation in this

For the sake of the public safety. This was the theme of that story of Torquato Tasso in which he represents Sophronia as transferring to herself the crime of the stolen Idol, although this was not true, so that nevertheless she might save the Christian people from massacre. "O noble lie, when is the truth so fair that it can be preferred to you?" il Goffredo Cant. 2. stanz. 22.²

In like manner the Etruscan Berni, the renowned poet, in *Orlando Innamorato* Book 2. canto. 20. stanz: 2.³

entry is from Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, which Milton probably read in the Greek and Latin text of the *Opera*, published by Carolus Morellus in Paris in 1629 (HCL). All his page references fit that edition, which was reprinted in Paris, by Mathaeus Guillelot, in 1641.

Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150-220), one of the Greek Church fathers, is known to us largely through Eusebius and through Clement's extant works. Born of heathen parents in Athens, he was converted and became presbyter in the church at Alexandria. There he taught Origen and Alexander, who later became bishop of Jerusalem. Of his works, Milton has notes from the two most important: the *Paedagogus* in three books and the *Stromata* in eight books. The title *Stromata* (or *Stromateis* in Greek) is derived from the name for the bags in which bed-clothes were kept and was used by Origen and other writers, as well as Clement, as the equivalent of our "Miscellanies." As one to whom Christianity was a philosophy, rather than a religion, and who brought all the culture of the Greeks and all the theories of the Christian heretics to bear on his exposition of Christian doctrine, Clement had much in common with Milton, as Milton's views on lying in the *De Doctrina Christiana* (II, xiii) show.

²[Milton, Latin summary, Italian quotation, after 1638, 94] After summarizing in Latin the story of Sophronia in Tasso's epic *Jerusalem Delivered*, Milton quotes two lines from the Italian. The title *Il Goffredo* is significant, since the poem was so called in its first printing in Venice, 1580, which was followed by the Parma, 1581, edition with the title *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Milton (Hartford, "Chronology," p. 280, n. 145) had no doubt long been familiar with Tasso's epic when this entry was made and when, in 1639, he wrote his poem "To Leonora Singing in Rome" and the poem to Mansus, in which he mentions "the great Tasso." In the Venice, 1611, copy of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (NYPL) the lines Milton quotes occur on p. 8. Sophronia, a beautiful Christian maiden in Jerusalem, saved the Christians of that city from the wrath of the aged King Aladino by falsely asserting that she took the image of the Virgin from his pagan temple and burned it. Concerning the influence of Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) on Milton, see Ewald Pommrich, *Miltons Verhältniss zu Tasso* (Halle, 1902), and Ettore Alodoli, *Milton e L'Italia* (Prato, 1907).

³[Amanuensis A, Latin comment, Italian quotation, ca. 1650, 99] To study Francesco Berni (ca. 1497-1536), says John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* (7 vols., London, n.d., V, 313 ff.), is to study the ecclesiastical and literary society of Rome in the age of Leo X and Clement VII. Berni relieved the arduous duties of a clerk by writing burlesque verse, a style called *poesia bernesca*, which became famous throughout western Europe. His best known work is his revision of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Matteo Boiardo (1434-1494), which,

Truth is beautiful, nor through fear
 Must it ever be silent, nor through shame.
 When force or something of importance presses,
 Such a time may come when it must not be told.
 Truth does not increase or diminish by feigning,
 Nor is it always hidden by being called a lie.
 Rather, worthy and wise often
 Is he who keeps it hidden.
 Of both these aspects of prudence
 The son of Laertes gave an example &c.

[P.] 72 OF THEFT, AND HIGHWAY ROBBERY

Edwin, King of Northumbria, so checked thefts and highway robberies that it was possible for anyone to make a journey in safety wherever he wished throughout the realm. Malmesbur.¹ and Sto.²

Alfred also is said to have hung chains of gold and bracelets in the

though it has a dramatic story of love and arms, concerning the chivalric knight Roland, the matchless Angelica, and other unforgettable characters, is rough and labored in style. It was printed four times before 1513 and enjoyed much popularity until eclipsed by Ariosto's continuation of the story in *Orlando Furioso* (1516) The desire of the Florentine Francesco Berni to restore Boiardo's fame led to his revision or *rifacimento* of the *Orlando Innamorato*. He polished the language and style, connected episodes by links and references, and opened each canto with a bit of reflective verse, as Ariosto had done in the *Furioso*. The *Orlando Innamorato Nuovamente Composto da M. Francesco Berni Fiorentino* was published under mysterious circumstances after Berni's death. It appeared in Venice in 1541, in Milan in 1542, and again in Venice in 1545. Then, like its original, it was forgotten until the late eighteenth century. Milton was impressed, as his entry shows, by the reflective verse prefixed to each canto. In this entry, which consists of one ottava rima stanza and two lines of the following stanza, the lines quoted are exactly like those in the Venice, 1541, edition (BNV), Book II, Canto 20, stanza 2 and part of stanza 3, p. 187. The Milan, 1542, edition is identical. The Venice, 1545, edition, called *Edizione Seconda*, may also have been Milton's source edition. Since he gives no page number, it is impossible to tell which one he used.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 35] Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (Book I, p. 9, in *Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Savile, 1596), praises the reign of Edwin, King of Northumbria, because in it there was "no public thief, no private robber, no waylayer of married virtue, no plunderer of the inheritance of an exile, a thing greatly in his praise and splendid in our day." For references to Edwin see *A Defence*, Chapter VIII, and *History of Britain*, Book IV.

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow, *Annales* (1615, p. 73), records: "In the raygne of king *Edwme*, such was the peace and tranquillitie through all Brytaine, which way soever king *Edwines* dominions lay, that a weake woman might have walked with her new borne babe over all the Iland without any damage."

crosse high ways to see what theefe durst touch 'em, so severely was justice administerd against them. Sto. out of Asserius.³

Edgar also famous for this kind of Justice. Stow.⁴

and before them all Dunwallo molmutius as Holinshed.⁵

Athelstanes law to attach such as stole above the valew of 12^d. at above the age of 12 years Speed.⁶

William the conqueror provided well against theieving Stow. in his 20 year.⁷ Holinsh. p[age] 15.⁸

³ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 36] This note is in the next paragraph (p. 80) after Stow's discussion of Alfred's knowledge of Saxon poetry. In the margin appears *Assernus*, as Stow's source for the following: "He [Alfred] established good lawes, by the which he brought so great quietnesse to the country, that men might have hanged golden bracelets and iewels, where the wayes parted, and no man durst touch them for feare of the law" Asserius, or Asser, one of the learned men whom Alfred brought to his court, was a Welshman, who wrote a life of Alfred. Milton praises the rule of Alfred in *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVIII (1649, p. 234); *A Defence*, Chapter VIII, *History of Britain*, Books I, V.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 36] Stow's statement (*Annales*, 1615, p. 83) is dated 959 "Hee [Edgar] was so excellent in iustice, and sharpe in correction of vices, as well in his Magistrates, as other subiectes, that never beefore his dayes was used lesse felonie by robbers, or extortion or bribery, by false officers." Cf. *History of Britain*, Book V.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] In at least three different places in the 1587 edition of his *Chronicles*, Holinshed tells of the just laws of the prehistoric Dunwallo Molmutius in *The Description of England*, I, 112, 177, and in *The Historie of England*, I, 15. In the first of the three, p. 112, Holinshed mentions the laws against thieving "First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our saviour Jesus Christ, seeing the subjects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by theeves and robbers as they travelled to and fro," caused his kingdom to be surveyed and four main highways built, leading to all parts, one being Watling Street, on which his subjects could travel in safety. Cf. *History of Britain*, Book I.

⁶ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Speed's (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 381) account of Aethelstan, grandson of Alfred, records his law against thieves as follows: "Hee bent himselfe to ordaine *Lawes* for the weale-publike, and those to bind aswell the *Clergy* as the *Laety*, out of which first sprang the *attachment of Fellons*, to take hold of such as stole above *twelve pence*, and were above twelve yeeres of age"

⁷ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 36] Stow (*Annales*, 1615, p. 121) says that, under William the Conqueror, "whoso ever did take a Deere or a Goate had his eyes put out"; and "he loved peace so well, that a yong wench might without daunger carrie a burden of golde through all places of England safe"

⁸ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] Milton's companson of sources is evident in this entry. Holinshed's note on William the Conqueror is like that of Stow. Holinshed says (1587, III, 15): "He brought to passe that the countrie was so rid of theeves and robbers, as that at length a maid might have passed through the land with a bag full of gold, and not have met with any misdoouer

[P.] 73

OF KEEPING FAITH

Anlafa's souldier præserveth by rare example his faith both to his former captaine and Athelstan. see his life.¹

[P.] 74

OF JUSTICE

Edgar a great overseer of Justice amongst his judges.¹ and Edward the 1. who punish't almost the whole magistracie at once for thire injustice. Holinsh. [pages] 284. 285. and p[age] 312.²

against bribing Ed. 3. provided. Holinsh. [page] 369.³ S^r Hen. de Bath a famous briber and corrupter of Justice to maintain his wives pride beeing of high descent. Speed. p[age] 541.⁴

to have bereft hir of the same." Holinshed cites Matthew of Paris and Henry of Huntington as his sources. Stow, in turn, used Holinshed, showing how a single comparison or example or anecdote passed from one early historian to the next

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 35 and 38] Hanford ("Chronology," p 312, n 169) lists this entry with the others that name no source but suggests William of Malmesbury as Milton's author because Milton tells the story of Anlafa's soldier in his *History of Britain*, Book V (1670, p 226), and names Malmesbury as his source there. No doubt the story started there, but Milton probably also read it in Speed, who cites William of Malmesbury in the margin. Speed's account appears on pp. 396-97 (2d ed., 1623), and Malmesbury's in Book II, pp 26-29, in *Rerum Anglcarum*, ed. Savile (1596)

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641 (?), 37] According to Holinshed (1587, I, 159) of "The Historie of England," Edgar built a navy with which to "scowre the seas of all pirats & theeves. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the provinces of his realme, searching out how the judges and great lords demeaned themselves in the administration of justice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required." Concerning Edgar's justice and "stout ships," see *History of Britain*, Book V (1670, p. 235).

³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 284) records Edward I's discovery, in 1289, of his justices' grave offenses, of his appointment of twelve men to investigate, and of his punishment of the guilty. On p 285, Edward I, again in 1289, heard that every justice in the realm but two had dealt unjustly. This time he appointed the Earl of Lincoln, the bishop of Ely, and others to hear every man's complaint and to see that on due trial the justices were punished. On p. 312, Edward I, in 1304, again had all guilty justices tried and fined heavily.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed, with the date 1346 in the margin, has this to say of Edward III's justice (1587, III, 369): "About the same time, he caused all the justices within his dominions to renounce and give over all their pensions, fees, and other bribing benefits and rewards, which they used to receive of the lords and great men of the land, as well prelates, as of them of the temporalitie, to the end that their hands being free from gifts, justice might more freeilie have course, and be of them duhe and uprightlie ministred."

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Though a number of Milton's entries

a just woman. but farre more renouned was y^e lady of S^r Stephen Scroope who by threatning to forsake her husband unlesse he would discharge his lieutenantship of Ireland justly, reclaim'd him, & made him a worthy man. Campian hist. Ireland. p[age] 93.⁵

K. Hen. 5 spared not a great favorite Bertiaud de Charmont a gascoine who by conveying away one of y^e murderers of the duke of Burgon had forfeited his own life. Speed. p[age] 656. although over-swayd by a folish decree of heraldry in acquitting Barbason for the sam fact. [page] 657.⁶

concern admirable women, this one from Speed, *Historie* (2d ed, 1623, p. 541), tells of one of the king's justices, the "learned Knight, Sir Henry de Bath, (whose Lady, because her selfe was well descended, filled him with pride)" and who was "so confidently greedy, the better to satisfie her ambition, that in one circuit, he appropriated to himselfe above two hundreth pound lands." Sir Henry was tried before the Parliament in London but obtained his peace and safety on promise of money "For," says Speed, "at this time, Iustice and all things grew saileable."

⁵ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 63. Milton's phrase, "a just woman," is a marginal note in English.] As if to balance the evil influence of Lady de Bath with the example of a good wife, Milton's next note concerns the account of the virtues of Lady Scroope, from the *History of Ireland Collected by Three Learned Authors, viz Meredith Hanmer . . . Edmund Campion and Edmund Spenser*, published in Dublin in 1633 (NYPL) by the Irish historian Sir James Ware. Milton's page references to both Campion (spelled *Campion* by Milton) and Spenser fit this volume. Campion tells (pp. 93-94) the story of Sir Stephen Scroope, who, in the days of Richard II, was so famed for his "violence and Extortion" that he was by "the common voyce and out-cry of poore people damned." Hearing this report of him, Lady Scroope told him that she had made a vow to Christ that unless he swore a solemn oath on the Bible to mend his ways "she would in no wise assent to live in his company there." Her husband agreed and "accomplished her boone effectually, recovered a good opinion, schooled his Caters [friends], enriched the country, continued a plentiful house, remissions of great fines, remedies for persons endamaged to the Prince, pardons of lands and lives he granted so charitably and discretely, that his name was never uttered among them, without many blessings and prayers." Edmund Campion (1540-1581), after serving for a time at Dublin University, fled to Douai, returned to England as a Jesuit missionary, was captured, tortured, found guilty of conspiracy to dethrone the queen, and executed on December 1, 1581. Campion's book on Ireland was, therefore, published long after his death.

⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38.] In this entry Milton seems to be questioning not the soundness of Henry V's justice so much as the foolish laws or conventions by which justice was administered. Speed, *Historie* (2d ed, 1623, pp. 656-57) records the fate of the two French knights whose part in the murder of the Duke of Burgundy was settled with such apparent injustice. In the days of Henry V's conquest of France, after the taking of Melun, he issued a decree that all guilty of the duke's murder be put to death. Among them were Bertrand de Chartmont and Monsieur de Barbason. The former, a man in great favor with King Henry for services rendered on the fall of Melun, was executed simply for

Commutative justice. remarkable is the saying of a worthy Knight S^r Thomas Rocksby. who beeing ordnarily serv'd in wodd'n cups was wont to say. "I had rather drink out of wood & pay gold & silver then drink out of gold & make wood'n payment." Campion. hist. Ireland. p[age] 91.⁷

[P.] 75

OF FLATTERY

Read k. Kanuts act by the sea side and answer to flatterers in his life.¹

[P.] 76

OF REPROOF

Luther refrained neither from harshness nor from jests that were now and then even a little shameful. Sleidan. Book 16. p[age] 261.¹

conveying one of the murderers out of Melun, whereas Monsieur de Barbason, who was known to have had a hand in the murder, was spared because he appealed to the "Law Military," that anyone having had his enemy in arms at his mercy could not later put him to death. Barbason and Henry V had met in single combat at the siege of Melun.

⁷ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 63 Milton's heading, "Commutative justice," is a marginal note in Latin.] Besides his marginal note "1356," Campion, *History* (Dublin, 1633), gives the following account (p 91). "Morrice Fitz Thomas Earle of Desmond, Lord Iustice during life, whom followed Sir Thomas Rokesbye a knight, sincere and upright of conscience, who being controlled [that is, called to account] for suffering himselfe to be served in wooden Cuppes; Answered, these homely Cuppes and dishes pay truely for that they containe, I had rather drinke out of wood, and pay gold and silver, then drinke out of gold, and make wooden payment."

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?)] This incident is found in Henry of Huntingdon, *Historiarum Libri VIII*, the history following Malmesbury's in *Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Savile (1596), and also in Stow, *Annales* (1615, p 93), where Stow says: "*Henry* of Huntington of this *Canute* hath as followeth: He set his feet on the sea strond while the sea was flowing, and commanded the Sea not to rise, to wet his Lordes feete or clothes but the Sea keeping his olde course, rose, and wet both his feete & his thighes: whereupon the king started away, and saide: All men shall weete & knowe, that y^e power and might of kings is vaine, and vanitie: and that none is worthy to have the name of King, but hee that hath allthings subiect to his commandement & lawes." In his *History of Britam*, Book VI, Milton ascribes the anecdote to Henry of Huntingdon, whose account is more complete and colorful than Stow's. See Hanford, "Chronology," p. 312.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46] In Sleidan, *Commentaries* (Strassburg, 1555, Book XVI, p. 261), a book by Luther against the Pope is described. In the NYPL copy there is a note probably in Milton's handwriting: "Lutheri scriptum adversus Pontificatum." The book was written, says Sleidan, in the vernacular and was a reply to the Pope's letter to the emperor, urging him to take care of religion. A picture of the Pope, as frontispiece, showed him with ass's ears, with hands tied in front of him, with demons flying about his triple diadem, while

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OF EVIL SPEAKING

Especially fine are those little verses in which the Italian poet Boiardo, in the *Orlando Innamorato*, begins Book 2, canto 21,¹ and wisely admonishes that no one should heedlessly slander anyone.

He who has a tongue too loose in speech,
As I have already said, often regrets the fact,
Since he of whom he speaks may be standing
At the very time behind a door and hear everything;
And even if there be no one else, God is listening,
God who takes the part of all people
And seeks the revenge of the injured one
When it is least expected and least observed.

Always we should speak with respect
Of everyone, and of absent ones above all,
And not wish to use a fine phrase
In order to gain some jest and an ugly deed,

others collected firewood or placed it about his feet. Cf. *An Apology* (below, p. 901), where Sleidan is quoted in defence of Luther's vehement style. "Hee thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, seeing that matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot."

¹ [Amanuensis A, Latin comment, Italian quotation, ca 1650, 100. In the prose part of this entry Milton's scribe deleted what seems to be "contra maledicen," "de maledicendiam vide," and "male," all following "incipit." In the verse "molto" is deleted in the second line and replaced by "spesso." In the third line "penda" is deleted before "parla" In l. 8 "en" is inserted in the first "men" (for "least"), after "mal" was written and deleted. In l. 10 "sopra" is inserted with a caret before "tutto" (for "above all")] The *Orlando Innamorato* del S. Matteo Maria Boiardo, *Conte di Scandiano*, which was so ably revised by Francesco Berni (see above, p. 385) and which was the inspiration for Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516), was printed in Venice in 1486, in Scandiano in 1495, in Venice again in 1506, 1511, 1513, and it continued to be reprinted in Venice in the sixteenth century until eclipsed by Ariosto's fame. Milton's source was possibly a small quarto published in Venice, 1608. In this entry the two ottava rima stanzas quoted are like the first two in Book II, Canto 21, in the Venice, 1608, ed. (BML; f. 198v.) except for six slight changes: the amanuensis wrote "spesso" for "molto" in l. 1; "et" for "&" in l. 4; "dell' offeso" for "de l'offeso" in l. 7; "absenti" for "assenti" in l. 10; "voler" for the misprint "voelr" in l. 11; and "stretto" for "spetto" in l. 13.

Matteo Maria Boiardo, Count of Scandiano (1434-1494), lived in the last days of Italy's independence. He served the D'Estes of Ferrara as ambassador and governor. He translated Greek and Latin classics and wrote lyric verse in Latin and Italian; but he achieved his greatest distinction in the *Orlando Innamorato*, a romantic epic setting forth the ancient Lombard traditions of chivalry, still preserved in Ferrara, though superseded in Venice and Florence by the new humanism. The serious tone of his epic is reflected in the lines in Milton's entry.

For many times man finds himself caught,
Or rather he is like a fish out of water,
When he is taken unawares,
And his face turns a thousand colors.

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ECONOMIC INDEX

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OF FOOD

On eating blood. That the Apostles forbade the churches to eat blood, as is known from the Acts of the Apostles; Eusebius, in the case of Biblis concerning the Gallic martyrs, tells us that this command was kept by the Christians down to the times of Aurelius and Verus. hist: Book 5, c[hapter] 1. Greek [text].¹

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OF CONDUCT

Women should not expose themselves more than is necessary. See Clemens Alex: Paedagog. Book 2. c[hapter] 2. p[age] 158.¹ and Cyprian. the book de disciplinâ, et habitu virginum.²

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 1. Milton's heading, "On eating blood," is a marginal note in Latin] Eusebius, *Church History*, V, i (EHA, Paris, 1544), tells of the cruel persecution of Christians in Gaul in the time of Antoninus Verus, especially in the towns of Lyons and Vienna, and (f. 45 v.) cites the case of the Gallic Christians who denied that they had broken the vow not to eat blood and became martyrs on discovery that they had yielded to the devil. The reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180) and his adopted son Lucius Verus is noteworthy for Aurelius' decree prohibiting further persecution of Christians.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 18] Milton's entry gives the exact book, chapter, and page numbers in Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus* (*The Tutor*), in the *Opera* (Paris, 1629), where Clement describes very vividly the coarse manners of women drinking. Since both he and Cyprian discuss much more than dress, the translation "Of Dress" in the Columbia edition, for Milton's heading "De Cultu," is misleading. Clement, after telling men to avoid the evils of drinking, says that women, who know what is good and fitting, nevertheless sit drinking, turning their bared necks as if to uncover what they can, belching in a manner like that of a man or rather of a slave, and spending their time in lust and delights. "For nothing," says Clement, "which produces shame and disgrace is suited to a man, who is provided with reason, but much less to a woman, who should think on the things that bring shame to her." Clement's whole book on the *Paedagogus* shows how Christ as the Logos acted as tutor, and still acts, to tell Christians how to behave in the various circumstances of life.

² [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 19] Milton's entries from Cyprian give no page numbers. There were several editions of his works in the sixteenth century, of which the New York Public Library has a copy of the *Opera* (Lyons, 1550), and Houghton Library has the Basle, 1521, edition, as well as the Paris, 1593, edition, published by Johannes Preux. Sister Dorothy Mercedes of St. Joseph's

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MARRIAGE. SEE OF DIVORCE

The Apostles are shown to have contracted marriage by Eusebius: hist: eccl: Book 3. c[hapter] 30. Greek [text]: ¹ In the same author, here and there, one may see the names of the wives and children of bishops, as, in Book 6, c[hapter] 42, those of Chaeremon and his wife.² And Domnus, the son of Demetrianus, Bishop of Antioch, obtained the see of his father. Euseb: Book 7. c[hapter] 30. [in the] Greek [text].³ See also Socrates Book 1. c[hapter] 11,⁴ concerning Paphnutius, who chides severely certain persons for imposing ex-

College, Brooklyn, has identified the 1593 edition as the Golartius edition which Milton refers to in *Church-Government* and which was probably also the source of his entry here. The numerous treatises and letters of Caecilius Cyprianus (ca. 200–258) include the *Tractatus de Disciplina et Habitu Virginum*, in which the first of the eighteen topics in the Argument describes its contents as follows (Paris, 1593, p. 265): “In this little book Cyprian instructs Christian maidens concerning the proper discipline for virtue and the condition suitable for moral purity, beginning with the praise and the benefit of discipline in the family of God.”

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635–1637(?), 1] Milton's entries on marriage, divorce, concubinage, and adultery were plainly made as part of his study of the nature of true marriage and the reasons for divorce, which he later expressed in his divorce tracts. Though at times they are so detailed as to seem gossipy and trivial, altogether they shed considerable light on the problem throughout the centuries. In Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (EHA, Paris, 1544, f. 29v.), the marginal note “Of marriage of the Apostles” calls attention to the following statements. “For Peter and Philipp were concerned about the creating of children. Philipp indeed gave his daughters to husbands in marriage. And Paul does not fail in a certain letter to greet his wife, whom he did not take with him that his ministry might be the easier.” Philipp's daughters are mentioned, as prophetesses, in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (below, p. 634).

² [Milton, Latin, 1635–1637(?), 1] The marginal note (EHA, Paris, 1544, f. 69) “A Bishop flees with his wife” refers to Bishop Chaeremon of the Nile Valley, fleeing to safety from persecution to the mountains of Arabia, with his wife.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1637–1638(?), 1] Eusebius writes in a letter (EHA, Paris, 1544, f. 81): “And we have appointed Domnus in that place, son of Demetrianus of pious memory, who served that diocese with distinction before him, as we were persuaded that the son was gifted by Divine Providence with all the qualities suited to a bishop, and we have notified you that you should write to him and receive letters of communication from him.”

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1635–1637(?), 1] See *Church History* (EHA, Paris, 1544), f. 180v. Paphnutius was bishop of Thebes (died ca 360). After persecution under Emperor Maximian, during which his right eye was plucked out and he was condemned to the mines, he was freed, opposed Arianism, and was treated with great respect by Emperor Constantine. Jean C. F. Hofer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1853–70). Cf. *Of Reformation* on Paphnutius at the Council of Nicaea (below, p. 562). “At Nicaea in the first, and best reputed Counsell of all the world, there had gon out a Canon to divorce married Priests, had not one old man Paphnutius stood up, and reason'd against it.” See below, n 6.

cessively heavy burdens on the Church. But Socrates, where he makes mention of the marriage of the clergy, says that it should be understood of those who had married before they took office in the Church; either he wrote this himself or someone afterwards, as could easily happen, inserted these words as his own opinion. See also the same writer, Book 5. c[hapter] 22. [in the] Greek [text]: p[age] 698.⁵ and Cedren: p[age] 236.⁶

That Peter and Paul contracted marriage Ignatius clearly asserts, and what he thinks about marriage he explains in his letter to the Philadelphians, p[ages] 94. 95; ⁷ and so does Clemens Alexand: in

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1635–1637(?), 3] Socrates writes (*EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 180v): “Concerning those who disagree in certain places about the Passover, baptisms, fastings, and marriages, and departed from the remaining restrictions of the Church”

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1637–1638(?), 28] Milton’s page reference fits the Basle, 1566, edition of Georges Cedren, *Compendium Historiarum a Mundo Conditio usque ad Isaacum Comnenum Imperatorem*, with parallel Greek and Latin texts (HLH). Page 235 describes the questioning of Arius at a church council concerning his heresies. On page 236 Milton saw the marginal note, “Paphnutius condemns celibacy of the clergy,” and its accompanying short paragraph: “Attending the Council was Paphnutius, a wonderful man and confessor, whose right eye Maximian had plucked out. He, when the Council wished to decide that the clergy should abstain from marriage, refuted that belief as harsh, and he proposed that celibacy be enjoined on the bishops alone” Cedrenus, monk and Byzantine chronicler of the eleventh century, wrote his compendium of histories from the beginning of the world to the reign of Emperor Isaac Comnenus in 1057. It is not original or well organized or very reliable. See Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1853–70).

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1637–1638(?), 22] About Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, little is known except from his letters to the various churches on his last journey from Antioch to Rome, where he was being sent in charge of soldiers to fight the beasts in the amphitheater. Milton’s references fit the Geneva, 1623, edition of *S. Ignatii Antiochem & Martyris Quae Exstant Omnia* (NYPL), in which the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation by Nicolas Vedelius. The letter Milton refers to is addressed to the Philadelphians, or “Philadelpheenses” (not to “Philadelphus” as the Columbia edition translates it). Philadelphia was a city in Lydia in Asia Minor. In the letter (1623, pp 94–95) Ignatius addresses wives, daughters, sons, servants, husbands, and urges them to do their duties to each other. He reminds himself of the sanctity of Elias, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, Timothy, and others who lived the single and chaste life. Nevertheless he does not wish to minimize the goodness of others who were married, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Israh and other prophets, Peter and Paul (p. 95) and the rest of the apostles, who married, not for lust but for the sake of continuing posterity, and thus fulfilled divine law. For further interpretations of Ignatius, see below, pp. 541–42, 546.

his Strom: [Book]3: pag[e] 448.⁸ and Felix, who administered a presbytery under Decimus, was, according to Cyprian: epist: 19.⁹ chosen for exile on account of his faith, together with his wife Victoria.

and the Preists of England before the conquest. thire great impugner John Cremensis beeing detected himselfe of whordom. Stow. Hen. 1. y[ear] 26. Holinsh: p[age] 42.¹⁰ forbidden to marry by Anselme, much condemn'd therfor by an old writer Hen. Huntingdon. Holinsh. p[age] 30 Hen. 1.¹¹ se also the absurd articles of the other

⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 17] The comment of Clement of Alexandria on Peter's and Paul's having wives and children is so much like that of Eusebius (see above, p 393, n 1) that it seems likely that Eusebius used Clement as his source Milton's entry from the *Stromata* refers to the following: "For Peter and Philipp had children. Philipp, moreover, gave his daughters to husbands. And Paul does not fear in a certain letter to call his wife by name, whom he was not taking about with him because in a great ministry there was not work for her. Therefore he says in a certain letter, 'Have we not the right to take sister or wife about with us as did the rest of the Apostles?'"

⁹ In this brief reference to Cyprian, Milton first wrote "et Victoriâ" but deleted "et" and replaced it with "cum." Felix is mentioned by Cyprian (*Opera*, Paris, 1593, p 48) as "a certain Felix who, though outside the Church for heresy, had once been appointed a pseudobishop."

¹⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] Milton's English entries about the early priests of England, like his Latin ones concerning the apostles, are plainly included to show the desirability of marriage for the clergy. John Stow, *Annales* (1615, p 141), tells of how "*John Cremensis* Priest cardinall, by the kings licence came into England, and for the time of his abode here, lodged in the Byshops pallace, and in Abbeies, not without great gifts and rewards taking of them, hee keeping a solemne Synode of Councell at London, when hee had there most severely entreated of Priestres concubines, saying, that it was much wickednesse to rise from an harlots side to consecrate the body of Christ. And he himselfe the same day had consecrated the body of Christ. After the which in the evening, he was detected of whoredome, the matter was so plaine, that it could not bee denied, and thus he turned his great honour, into the greatest shame that might be." Holinshed's account (1587, III, 42) is the same, though a little longer. The reference to Holinshed is a marginal note, marked with an asterisk, as if to show that Milton added it after the entry was complete.

¹¹ Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 30) records that in the year 1102 Anselm, Archbishop of York, called a synod of bishops at Westminster, where twenty-six decrees were passed, of which the first was the forbidding of priests to marry. "Which decree," says Holinshed, "(as saith Henrie of Huntingdon) seemed to some verie pure, but to some againe verie dangerous, least whilst divers of those that coveted to professe such cleannesse and puritie of life as passed their powers to observe, might happilie fall into most horrible uncleannesse, to the high dishonour of christianitie, and offense of the Almightye." Concerning Milton's attitude toward Anselm's reliability see *Church-Government* (below, p. 777):

synod. p[age] 34.¹² See also Mat. Paris against forbidding marriage to the clergie. Speed. p[ages] 432. and 448.¹³ See Concil. Trident. Book 8¹⁴ at the end where German theologians defend the marriage

this "traytor to his country" little dreamed of "the weeding-hook of reformation" that was to come later.

¹² Holinshed (1587, III, 34) tells of Anselm's holding another synod where, in the presence of King Henry I and with the assent of the barons and earls of the realm, it was ordained, in eight items, that priests, deacons, subdeacons, canons must put away all wives or lose their benefices; they must have no women but kinfolk in their houses; those not complying were to be excommunicated. The word "absurd" is, of course, Milton's

¹³ Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p 432) quotes Matthew Paris (named on p. 431) as follows "Pope Gregory in a generall Synode [in the reign of William the Conqueror] excluded the married Priests from execution of their holy offices, and forbad the Lay-men to heare their Masses; a president [precedent] new, and proceeding (as it seemed to many) out of inconsiderate judgment, contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers" On p 448 Speed records that in the year 1108 Henry I, "growing disdampfull (saith Paris) . . . shewed himselfe . . . of his Clergy . . . too regardlesse, in suffering Anselme . . . to lay heavy punishments upon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denied to put away their lawfull wives"

¹⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49] Milton's thirteen references to the history of the Council of Trent are to the Italian edition of Paolo Sarpi, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, published in London in 1619 (BNV). An English translation appeared in London in 1620, made by Nathaniel Brent (HDSL and UTSL). The full title is: *The Historie of the Councel of Trent Conteyning Eight Bookes. In Which (besides the Ordinarie Actes of the Councell) Are Declared Many Notable Occurrences, Which Happened in Christendome, during the Space of Fourtie Yeeres and More. And, Particularly, the Practices of the Court of Rome, to Hinder the Reformation of Their Errors, and to Maintaine Their Greatnesse Written in Italian by Pietro Soave Polano, and Faithfully Translated into English by Nathanael Brent. London, 1620* The name *Pietro Soave Polano*, under which both the Italian and the English editions of his work were published in England, is an anagram of Paolo Sarpi Veneto (or Paolo Sarpi of Venice). He never acknowledged his authorship. Born in Venice in 1552, Sarpi became one of the leading religious reformers of his time. Having become a man of learning, he was made court theologian at Mantua, professor of philosophy in a convent of his order, and a defender of Venice in its dispute with Paul V. Sarpi published a tract attacking papal authority in temporal matters, which was put on the *Index of Prohibited Books*. Numerous other pamphlets followed, and his life was endangered by would-be assassins. He planned to find refuge in England, but lived peacefully in a cloister of his order until his death in 1623. He was a religious reformer at heart, but his first loyalties were to Venice. Milton used Sarpi for the second edition of the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, published before 1644, but not for the first, published before August 1, 1643, a fact which helps to date Milton's reading of Sarpi. Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 7): "Padre Paolo the great unmasker of the Trentine Council"; *Of Reformation*, below, p. 581. "Padre Paolo the great Venetian Antagonist of the Pope."

of the clergy, citing a letter of Ferdinand, Emperor and Duke of Bavaria.¹⁵

That the polygamy of the ancient Jews was by no means forbidden because of the diverse secret rites concealed in it, Justin: mart: ¹⁶ says in his Tryph: p[ages] 364. and 371.¹⁷

Gregory of Nyssa is shown to have had a wife, in Volume 3 of de virginitate. [page] 116.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Pietro Soave Polano, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (London, 1619), pp 805-06; tr. Brent (London, 1620), p. 824. At the end of Book VIII of his *Historia Sarpi* tells of the letter of Emperor Ferdinand to the Pope, asking that the Council of Trent might be instructed to permit the marriage of priests. Citing the wretched state of the church in Germany, Ferdinand said he hoped for improvement through these means. The German Catholic theologians who helped to compose the letter cited evidence from the Old and New Testaments, the church fathers, and the primitive church to prove that marriage was not forbidden to the clergy.

¹⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 26 Milton wrote "y 26" for "year 26" at the end of this entry and then deleted it.] Justin Martyr, Christian philosopher and martyr of the second century, wrote a defense of Christianity against pagan heresies, thus bringing persecution on himself. Crescences complained of him to the emperor, and in 165 or 167 Justin was killed with a poisoned sword. Among his defenses is his *Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew*, a disputation held by scholars with the famous Jewish Rabbi Tarphon. Justin Martyr's *Opera* were published in Greek in a folio edition in Paris, 1541. A Latin edition followed, in Paris, 1554, in Basle, 1555, 1565, and in Paris, 1565. A Greek and Latin edition appeared in Heidelberg in 1593, and in Paris in 1615 and 1636. See *Universal Lexicon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1735). Milton's page references fit the Cologne, 1636, edition of the *Opera* ("Hanford, Chronology," p 265, n 29a) and the Paris, 1615, edition (HCL).

¹⁷ *The Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew* is on pp. 217-371 of the Paris, 1615, edition. One of the speakers in the *Dialogue* says (p 364) that polygamy was forbidden because sons of concubines and sons of the wife were regarded with the same honor. Another speaker says that the offense of David in taking Uriah's wife "shows, not so much that the fornicating patriarchs had several wives, as that the custom had a certain economic aspect and we ought to consider all the mysterious sacraments that were performed among them. For if it were permitted to have wives, whoever so desired and as he desired and as many as he desired, your people would do the same thing throughout the whole land, wherever they went, taking women under the name of marriage, for it had long been permitted under David." To this Tryphon then replies.

¹⁸ [Milton, Latin, date uncertain, 92] Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 331-ca 396), a younger brother of Basil the Great, who educated him, was bishop of Nyssa, a city in Cappadocia now called Nasli, and one of the four great fathers of the Eastern Church. He opposed Arianism and religious pilgrimages with a good deal of freedom and originality and in a style rich and elegant. His works fall into five main categories: treatises on doctrine, treatises on practical morality, to which the *De Virginitate* belongs, expository works on books of the Bible,

On why the papists forbid marriage to the clergy see the shrewd reasons of the Council of Trent. Book 5. p[age] 446. and Book 7. [page] 662.¹⁹

Spuridion, Bishop of Cyprus, a man best known for his reputation for holiness under Constantine, though he had a wife and children, is said nevertheless "to have been none the worse for this reason in his saintliness." Sozom. Book 1. c[hapter] 11.²⁰

Mariage allow'd to preists in y^e council of Vienne in france more then 900 yeares after Christ, the Popes legates beeing then present. Girard. Hist. France. Book 5. p[age] 300.²¹

See the reply of Elizabeth in her refusal of marriage with the Duke of Anjou on account of the difference in religion. Cam. p[age] 197.²²

biography in the form of funeral orations, and letters. The only editions of his complete *Opera* are those of Paris, 1615, with additions in 1618 and 1638, and that of Migne. Milton's reference fits the Paris, 1638, edition (UTSL), combining Greek and Latin texts. The treatise *On Virginitie* (III, 111 ff) concerns the "certain and complete aid of virginity to the divine and spiritual nature" The heading of Chapter 3 (p 116) is "A recounting of the difficulties and troubles that arise from marriage: in which is also shown that he who put this treatise together was not a bachelor." Then he adds. "Now truly my knowledge of virginal merits in a certain sense is worthless and by no means fruitful: much like the fruits of the earth to the ox, who is turned toward the field by the reins in his bridled mouth; that which happens also to him who thirsts for water flowing from the steep rocks and is not able to catch it."

¹⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49] In Sarpi, *Historia*, tr. Brent (1620, Book V, p. 460; 1619, p. 446): "Of the marriage of Priests this inconvenience will follow, that having house, wife, and children, they will not depend on the Pope, but of their Prince, and their love to their children will make them yeeld to any prejudice of the Church. They will seeke also to make the benefices hereditary; and so in a short space, the authoritie of the Apostolike Sea will be confined within *Rome*." The same "shrewd reasons," as Milton calls them, are given in Book VIII (p. 680; 1619, Book VII, p. 662) in slightly different words.

²⁰ [Milton, Latin comment, Greek quotation, after 1639, 29. After "Cyprius" Milton first wrote "quamvis", he then deleted it and inserted it after "Constantino."] The Greek quotation in Milton's Latin entry is from *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 14.

²¹ [Milton, English, 1644-1647(?), 53] Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book V, p. 300), says: "Also in the time of Charles the Simple, in the city of Vienne in France, a council was held, at which two legates of the Roman See presided . . . and it was then agreed that priests could marry a wife."

²² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Milton apparently refers to this one of Elizabeth's replies (Camden, *Annales*, 1615-27, I, 197): "If the Duke would water the engrafted cuttings of a purer religion and would permit other cuttings to be grafted on, he would soon see far greater honor come to him" He wished "Ecclesia Catholica" to be substituted in the marriage ceremony for "Ecclesia Dei." When Elizabeth absolutely refused, the negotiations "cooled down a little."

with one of a different religion dangerous. for hence Gregory the 15th is so bold as to count Prince Charles a favourer of the Catholick cause, as he terms it, and of the Roman prælacie, because he sought in marriage a daughter of Spain. Du Chesne Hist. d'Angleterre. p[age] 1163.²³ see also p[ages] 1166. and 1167. and 1168.²⁴

the marriage with France also was no lesse dangerous if the conditions obtained by the Marquesse D'Effiat, and Richelieu be true. as amoung the rest that the children should be bred in the papists religion till 13 years old. Du Chesne. Hist. Angle. p[age] 1180. &c. and p[ages] 1182. 1184.²⁵

²³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 42] The evidence to support his statement that marriage between persons of different religions is dangerous, Milton found in the work of a French historian, André Du Chesne (1584-1640), often called the father of French history. His *Hystoire D'Angleterre, D'Escosse, et D'Irlande* (Paris, 1614) is one of seven such histories, and some hundred of his unpublished manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A second edition of the *Histoire* (HCL) appeared in Paris in 1634, a third in 1641. Milton's page references fit both those editions. The Prince Charles referred to in Milton's entry is the son of James I, later Charles I of England. Du Chesne records the fact (p. 1162) that in 1623, in the reign of James I, Giegory XV wrote a letter to the Prince of Wales, telling him of Gregory's hope that "the state of the Anglican Church would be changed," and (p. 1163) that "as you have approached the Catholic King in Spain, with the desire to ally yourself with the House of Austria, we have wished to commend your plan, to testify openly in the affair that you are one who sees the chief need of our Prelacy. For since you desire to take in marriage a daughter of Spain, we can easily conjecture from that that the ancient seeds of Christian piety can grow green again in your soul." By these means, the letter continues, Charles would be "in possession of the very noble heritage that your ancestors acquired, to defend the authority of the sovereign Pope and to combat the monsters of heresy" Cf. *Doctrme of Divorce*, I, x, on the violence to nature in "a mixture of minds that cannot unite," and II, xix, on "mis-yoking with a diversity of nature as well as of religion."

²⁴ On p. 1166 Milton read of Prince Charles's approving the final articles and conditions for his marriage. On p. 1167 he read of the difficulties that arose because of the oath that the king of England must take. James I forbade anything in the marriage ceremony except what was according to the usage of the Protestant Church. On p. 1168 is the account of "permission granted to English Catholics to practice their religion, each according to his own faith" These were the days when James I hoped, as a kind of peacemaker, to marry his children into influential families on the continent. He married his daughter to the elector Palatine and sought to wed Charles to the Infanta of Spain for the sake of the large dowry she would bring. Negotiations began in 1617. In 1618 James learned that the marriage could not take place unless he granted the English Catholics religious liberty. The matter was dropped until 1623, when the events occurred that Milton notes in Du Chesne.

²⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 42] Still pursuing his aim, James in 1624 decided to seek a marriage for Charles in France, and Du Chesne, *Histoire*

Valentinian sanctioned bigamy by law. Socrat: Book 4. c[hapter] 30. [in the] Greek [text].²⁶

The ancient Germans did not have one wife only. For of Ariovistus there were two wives. Caesar. comment. almost at the end of Book 1 of de bell. gallic.²⁷ and also Childeic, King of the Franks. Bernard Girard. Hist. Franc. Book 1. p[age] 27.²⁸

Conjugal affection rare in the wife of Ed. 1. in Palestine.²⁹

(Paris, 1634, p. 1180), tells of the arrival in England of the French ambassadors, among them the marquis d'Effiat, who came, as the marginal note says, "to negotiate the advantages that the English Catholics could hope for from the alliance with France." Another marginal note (p. 1181) accompanies the account of how the terms settled in France by Richelieu were the basis of the marquis d'Effiat's negotiations in England. Du Chesne lists the terms (pp. 1182-84), including the bride's free exercise of her religion, a chapel in each of her palaces, and the upbringing of her children. Twenty-eight such conditions are included. Du Chesne adds that the marriage was held with great magnificence and that the king and the Spanish ambassadors dined at the same table. For Milton's analysis of Charles's subservience to Queen Henrietta see *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter VII (1649, pp. 63-65).

²⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 3] Socrates Scholasticus, writing in the fifth century, tells of the rule of Emperor Valentinian III, emperor of the West from 425 to 455. Valentinian was the son of Placidia, under whose regency he began his reign at six years of age. His reign saw the dismemberment of the western empire. After having murdered Aëtius in 454, he was assassinated in 455 by one of Aëtius' barbarian followers. By nature he was self-indulgent and vindictive. Socrates' account of Valentinian's decree concerning bigamy, recorded in the *Church History* (EHA, Paris, 1544, f. 240v), is denied by Baronius and Valesius. Concerning Milton's approval of second marriage, see *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xix, on Paul's approval of remarriage.

²⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 74] After the invention of printing in Europe, Caesar's *Commentaries* were printed many times, in Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and his complete works appeared in Rome in 1469. Milton's source edition cannot be determined, since he gives no page number. His entry concerning the wives of Ariovistus, King of the Germans, conquered by Caesar, occurs on p. 35 in the first Elzevir edition, Leyden, 1635 (CUL), *C Iulii Caesaris Quae Extant*, etc. The eight books of the *Commentaries on the Gallic War* are the first in the volume. Near the end of Book I, just as Milton says, are the statements. "There were two wives of Ariovistus, one from the nation of the Suevi [in northeast Germany], whom he had brought home with him, the other from Norica [a country between the Alps and the Danube], sister of King Vocio, whom he had married in Gaul, sent by her brother."

²⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 50] Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book I, p. 27) says "Childeic . . . married her [Basine] (although he was married), for by the pagan law that he kept it was permitted to pagans to have several wives."

²⁹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?)] For this unidentified entry Hanford ("Chronology," p. 312, n. 169) suggested Girard as a possible source. Girard, however, has no such material. Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 553), as Mrs. Merritt

It is not permitted among the Greeks to marry a fourth wife even though the former ones are dead; for this reason the Patriarch Nicholas excommunicated Emperor Leo the Philosopher. Jus Graeco-Rom, p[age] 103³⁰

Hughes discovered in the British Museum Library, has the following account concerning Edward I's wife Speed first gives a description of the attack on Edward I at Acre, in which he was stabbed, perhaps with a poisoned weapon "Wherin the Lady *Elenor* gave so rare example of conjugall affection, as her immortal memory doth justly impart glory to that whole sex For when no medicine could extract the poyson, she did it with her Tongue, licking daily, while her Husband slept, *his ranckling wounds, whereby they perfectly closed, and yet her selfe receyved no harme; so soveraigne a medicine is a wivse Tongue, annoynted with the vertue of lovely affection.*"

³⁰ [Milton, Latin, 1643-1644(?), 75] Leo VI, called the Wise or the Philosopher, was Byzantine emperor from 886 to 911. The book of Graeco-Roman law to which Milton refers in four entries is that of a sixteenth-century German linguist, historian, and jurist, Johann Lowenklaus (1533-1593), or Leunclavius, as he wrote his name in its Latinized form. He served on embassies in different countries in Europe and in 1582 went with the imperial ambassador Lichtenstein to Constantinople, where he learned Turkish. He spent the rest of his life in Vienna, where he made some excellent Greek and Latin translations, wrote some histories concerning Turkey and Russia, and compiled his *Iuris Graeco-Romani Tam Canonici Quam Civilis Tomi Duo*, which, as the title page tells, was "dug out of various libraries of Europe and Asia and rendered in Latin." Hanford says ("Chronology," p 277, n 121) that "Milton's references fit the Frankfurt folio of 1576, the first edition and the only one available in Milton's time." I assume that 1576 is a misprint for 1596, since Milton's references fit the Frankfurt, 1596, folio (CLL), on the title page of which appears "nunc primum editi," and "with the authority of the author." Leunclavius, *Commentary on the Deeds of the Moscovites in Their Wars against Their Neighbors*, was inserted in the *Commentaria Rerum Muscovitarum* of the Baron von Herberstein, whose work Milton mentions in the CPB without title or further entry (see below, p 410). Perhaps Milton had read both commentaries before writing his own *Brief History of Moscovia*, though he does not cite them as sources. On p 103 of Leunclavius' book on Graeco-Roman law, the marginal note "On Imperial Constitutions, Privileges, Ecclesiastical Questions" accompanies the story of Emperor Leo's excommunication. Leo, the "most learned Empeior," lost each of his three wives by early death. Because of his desire for someone to rear his offspring, he married a fourth. Then (p 104) "Patriarch Nicholas and the metropolitans separated him from the Church. Some of the ecclesiasts said this separation should last for a short time, others did not agree to this. So there was great discord among them. Some received the Emperor, who begged them earnestly to do so, others rejected him insolently." Later the Patnrarch relented and restored Leo to communion. Milton was interested in a legal point rather than in the happy ending. Cf *Tetrachordon* (1645, p 88) where Milton quotes Leo at length on the necessity of divorce and suggests that the reader read the rest of his treatise, also *Tetrachordon* (1645, p. 75) where Milton quotes "Matthaeus Monachus [Matthew of Paris] an author set forth by Leunclavius."

the discommodities of marriage. See Chaucer marchants tale, and wife of Baths prologue.³¹

Mariage with Papists dangerous to England appeares by y^e oration of Fontidonius in the name Di luna the Spanish ambassador to y^e Councel of Trent. wherein he professes "that his King married Mary of England for no other end than to reduce that Island to that religion." Concil. Trident. Book 8. [page] 691.³²

That the ministers of the Church had no right, among the earliest Christians, to share in the celebration of either contracts or nuptials, Selden shows in his *Uxor Heb.* Book 2. c[hapter] 28, all of it, and [chapter] 29.³³ See the title *Of Church Property*.³⁴ For indeed the

³¹ [Milton, English, 1640-1642(?), 67] Chaucer was no doubt read by Milton in Thomas Speght's London, 1602, edition (NYPL) rather than the first Speght edition of 1598 (misdated 1596 in Hanford, "*Chronology*," p. 276, n. 113). All Milton's page references fit the 1602 edition, but not the 1598 edition. For further evidence see Francis P. Magoun, "The Chaucer of Spenser and Milton," *MP*, XXV (1927), 129-36. The 1602 revised edition was undertaken, as Speght explains in "To the Readers," because of adverse criticism from Francis Thynne, whose father had published an edition in 1532 and who aided Speght in his revision, called *The Workes of Our Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, Newly Printed The Merchants Tale* (pp. 26-31) is the story of January and May, the old man married to a young wife, who deceives her husband to enjoy her lover's company. The speech of Justinian, January's friend, a discourse on the "discommodities" of marriage, fails to dissuade January from his ill-advised marriage. *The Wife of Bath's Prologue* (pp. 31-35) gives the wife's account of her deceits and her battles with her five husbands.

³² [Milton, English comment, Italian quotation, 1641-1643(?), 49. In this English entry Milton first wrote "that his" after "professes," showing that he intended to translate; he then deleted the two words and quoted instead.] Sarpi tells us that (1619, p. 691; tr. Brent, 1620, p. 709) Count di Luna, the Spanish ambassador, was received in the Council of Trent on May 21, 1563, and how in his oration, presented by Petrus Fontidonius, a divine, he said that "his King [Philip II] married with *Mary*, Queene of *England*, for no other ende then to reduce that Island to the true religion." The oration displeased all the other ambassadors, says Sarpi, "because it was a manifest reprehension of all Princes, for not imitating the Catholike King." Cf. *Of Reformation*, Book II, for Milton's reference to Philip as "that sad Intelligencing Tyrant that mischiefes the World with his Mines of *Ophir*."

³³ [Milton, Latin, 1646-1648(?), 76] John Selden (1584-1654), English jurist and author, best known for his *Table-Talk*, left some legal treatises in Latin, of which Milton refers to two. Here he refers to the *Uxor Hebraica, Seu de Nuptus & Divortis ex Iure Civili, Id Est, Divino & Talmudico, Veterum Ebraeorum, Libri Tres* (*The Hebrew Spouse, or Three Books on Marriages and Divorces from the Civil Law, That Is, Divine and Talmudic, of the Ancient Hebrews*) (1646; CLL). The idea which Milton chose to record from Chapter 28 (pp. 291-304) and from Chapter 29 (pp. 304-12) is characteristic. Cf. *The Likeliest*

popes and pontiffs quite improperly had a full share in those matters, seeking from that source profit and mastery for themselves, partly, as in other matters usually, taking up pagan customs and vying with them with a certain emptiness of judgment.

[P.] 110

CONCUBINAGE

the cause of household disquiet. as it turn'd both wife & children against our Hen. 2. Holinsh. p[age] 87.¹

That one concubine was allowed in the early Christian Church Selden proves by many statements from the Fathers, in his *de jure nat et gent*. Book 5. c[hapter] 7. p[age] 573.²

That many men, even the clergy, who were not at all bad men and even endured martyrdom, had women in their homes, the book *de Means* (1659, p. 74), where Milton cites this same passage from Selden; and *Christian Doctrine*, I, x, on the meaning of fornication in the *Uxor Hebraica*. Eivion Owen, "Milton and Selden on Divorce," *SP*, XLIII (1946), 233-57, concludes that Milton incorporated some of the ideas in Selden's *Uxor Hebraica* in the *Tetrachordon*, but that in both *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion* Milton differed profoundly from Selden in his attitude toward marriage, though still respecting Selden's learning

⁸⁴ This cross reference to Milton's undiscovered Theological Index is a marginal note in Latin.

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] In the nineteenth year of Henry II's reign, says Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 87), both his wife and sons turned against him. "Note heere how God stirreth up the wife of his owne bosome, & the sonnes descending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eies and godes in his sides" as a plague upon the king for "his incontinent, unchast, and libidinous life" He kept "sundrie concubines" and deserted his wife Even the pagans were more chaste, says Holinshed.

² [Milton, Latin, 1640-1644(?), 70. Milton first wrote "de re" for "de iure"; he then deleted "re" and wrote the title as it stands here] Milton's source was John Selden, *De Iure Naturali & Gentium, Iuxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum, Libri Septem* (*Seven Books Concerning Natural and Positive Law, Compared with the Discipline of the Hebrews*) (1640; CLL). Marginal notes (Book V, p. 573) refer to Ulpian, Paul, Augustine, Leo, Ambrose, among others. In the middle of the page occurs the statement to which Milton refers and for which these names are the authorities: "He who had not yet another wife in the Early Church was permitted to have one concubine and no more, such a one as we have said, a companion taken for life (not for a certain contracted time), in the position of a wife and joined no less lawfully" Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xx. "that noble volume written by our learned Selden, *Of the law of nature & of Nations*"; *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 11) "One of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this Land, Mr Selden, whose volume of naturall & national laws proves . . . that all opinions . . . are of main service . . . toward the speedy attainment of what is truest." Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, I, x, on concubinage among the Hebrews.

singularitate clericorum, ascribed to Cyprian, indicates. Sect[ion] 38.³

Charlemagne had four concubines. Girard Hist. Franc. Book 4. p[age] 229⁴

Philip, Prince of Hesse, leader of the Protestants, considered himself not at all improper in bringing home a concubine to his wife, after having discussed the matter with the pastors. Thuan hist Book 41. p[age] 447⁵

Those called bastards Charles Martel, a most warlike and honorable prince, was the son of a concubine, and of him was born Pepin, father of Charlemagne. Hist Franc.⁶

³ [Milton, Latin, 1644–1646(?), 56] The complete title of Milton's source for this entry, Cyprian, *Libellus de Singularitate Clericorum* (*Opera*, Paris, 1593, Section XXXVIII), shows that it is not a defense of concubinage "The Book on the Celibacy of the Clergy in which is taught as revealed by God that priests should not have common dwelling with women But let no one ridicule as a dream what was commanded by God in revelation and what sacred Scripture shows was commanded" Nevertheless in the text proper, which is accompanied by marginal references to the Bible, Cyprian says (p 558) that his opponents declare that "some of our despisers, having women in their homes, have secured martyrdom, so that their innocent conscience is proved" To this argument Cyprian replies "Often adulterers and the blood-thirsty and drunkards and criminals in war have achieved the palm of martyrdom," and martyrdom "baptizes as well as crowns," but he sees no reason on that account for ignoring the martyrdom of those who gained it through chastity Cf *Christian Doctrine*, II. i. "Celibacy, 1 Cor vii this is neither made expressly a matter of precept nor of counsel, but is left free to the discretion of individuals"

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1644–1647(?), 53] Girard, *Histoire* (Book IV, p 229) says: "After her death [the German Luitgard, his wife], he [Charles the Great] had four concubines"

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1644–1647(?), 52] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II. 447), mentions the fact which Milton records as something worthy of laughter, but something that Thuanus should not pass over in silence Apparently Philip of Hesse, as a chaste person not given to promiscuous relations, discussed the matter with his wife as well, for "ex eius permissu," as well as that of the pastors, he brought home a concubine.

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1644–1647(?), 53 Milton's heading, "Those called bastards," is a marginal note in Latin] Both this entry and the one following, though unsigned by Milton, probably belong to Girard, *Histoire* In the 1576 edition (Book II, p 109), Charles's bastardy is referred to in Queen Plectrude's appeal against him to the barbarians of the Danube on behalf of herself and her daughter Sanichilde She wept and said that "it was a pity that she, who had been the legal wife of Pepin [Charles's son], and Sanichilde, his own heiress, were forced to obey a bastard" Later, on p 109, Girard records Charles Martel's summoning of the first Parliament, which Milton notes in another unidentified entry, the fifth in *CPB*, p 183 (below, p 445), and also in the tenth entry in *CPB*, p. 186 (below, p 461).

Ferdinand, the son, by a concubine, of Alphonso, the honorable King of Naples, succeeded to the throne.⁷

in france. "Bastards were acknowledged and shared equally with legitimate offspring," until the time of Hugh Capet in France. Girard. Hist. France Book 6. p[age] 333.⁸

in Italy. "They make no great difference in Italy between a bastard and a legitimate child." Philip. de Comines. Book 7. memoires. c[hapter] 2. p[age] 515.⁹

[P.] 111 OF THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN SEE OF THE
KNOWLEDGE OF LITERATURE

The nature of each person should be especially observed and not bent in another direction; for God does not intend all people for one thing, but for each one his own work; whence comes Dante's: "And if the world down there put its mind on the foundation that nature lays," &c. See Paradiso cant: 8 ¹

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 53] Ferdinand I (1423-1494), King of Naples, was the natural son of Alphonso I of Sicily and Naples Of him Girard says (Book XXIV, p 1298) "Alphonso died, leaving his paternal kingdom of Aragon to his brother John, and that of Naples to Ferdinand, his Bastard, saying that he could dispose of it as something not left him by his father, but acquired by his valor Pope Calixtus was unwilling to receive this bastard to himself and to the homage of the kingdom of Naples, saying that the afore-said bastard could not keep it Nevertheless, Ferdinand defended his cause Calixtus died and Pope Pius crowned said Ferdinand King of Naples"

⁸ [Milton, French, 1644-1647(?), 53 Milton's phrase, "in france," stands in the margin in his manuscript] Hugh Capet was elected king of France in 987, replacing the Carolingians Girard's statement is as follows (Book VI, p 333). "And considering the harm that had come to France in times gone by because bastards were acknowledged and shared equally with legitimate offspring, he [Hugh Capet] declared that from that time on no bastard was to be acknowledged in the household of France"

⁹ [Milton, French, 1644-1647(?), 54 Milton's phrase, "in Italy," is a marginal note.] Though Milton's book and chapter numbers here are correct, his page number is wrong Since presumably he used the Galliot du Pré edition of Comines, *Memoires* (Paris, 1552), his folio number here should be 120 (printed F CXX), and his quotation is on f 120v The children in question were two in the service of Ludovic Sforza of Milan, who some say were his children, but others say were not Whether they were or not, he had great love for them and treated them well "And one must understand that their father, Seigneur Robert de Saint-Seurin, was of the house of Saint-Seurin, offspring of a bastard daughter" Milton's quotation follows

¹ [Milton, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1635-1638(?), 12] The idea summarized in Milton's entry is found on p. 546 of the Daniello edition of

For this reason the story is credible that is told of Athanasius, namely, that as a boy he acted the part of a bishop among the other boys and baptized them on the seashore. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Book 1. c[hapter] 11.²

not to labour, as most men doe to make them bold and pert while they are young which ripens them too soon, and true boldnes and spirit is not bred but of vertuous causes which are wrought in them by sober discipline to this purpose Chaucer speaking of feasts, and revells and daunces "such things maken children for to be too soon ripe and bold as men may see, which is full perilous" &c. doctor of Phis. Tale. fol. [leaf] 58.³

[P.] 112 OF DIVORCE. SEE [P.] 116.¹

That the matter of divorce was transferred to the courts is evident from the fact that the Canons learned how to gain riches and great power therefrom. Hist. Concil. Trident. p[age] 67.²

Dante (Venice, 1568). The following lines of Dante's poem complete the thought in Milton's quotation and give examples. "It [the world] would have satisfaction in its people. But you wench to a religious order him who is born to gird on the sword, and make a king of him who is fitted for discourse; wherefore your track runs outside the road."

² [Milton, Latin, date uncertain, 91] Socrates, *Church History*, I, xv (not I, xi) (*EHA*, Paris, 1544, ff 181v-182) tells the story of Athanasius' preparation for the ministry Athanasius the Great (ca 298-361) was bishop of Alexandria, a thorough Greek in outlook. As a boy he attracted the attention of Bishop Alexander and was educated in his household. As a man he served his bishopric well, producing numerous anti-Arian treatises in the midst of the Arian controversy. For Milton's other references to the "faithfull and invincible *Athanasius*" see *Of Reformation* (below, p 555) and *A Defence*, Chapters III and IV.

³ [Milton, English, 1640-1642(?), 67. In this entry Milton wrote "fol" for "leaf" too soon. He therefore turned it into "tale" and wrote "fol. 58" after it.] On f. 58v of Chaucer, *Workes*, ed. Speght (1602) Milton read the warning which he summarizes in part and of which he quotes three lines. The words "feasts," "revells," "daunces" are also Chaucer's. The *Doctor of Physic's Tale* concerns the familiar classical story of Virginia, the virtuous fourteen-year-old daughter of Virginius, whose father kills her rather than yield her to the demands of Apius. Cf *Comus*, ll. 762 ff, and *Paradise Lost*, VII, 33.

¹ The "vide 116" of this heading is blotted as if Milton wished to delete it.

² [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49] Sarpi's account (*Historia*, 1619, p 66; tr Bient, 1620, pp 67 ff.) of Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragon tells of the pope's reversal of his decision, due to Cardinal Campeggio's advice, after he had consulted the universities of Italy, France, and Germany. "The greater part of the Parisians were on his [Henry VIII's] side," says Sarpi, "and

Countless questions about divorce are discussed with uncertain solution. Concil. Trident. Book 8. p[ages] 729. &c. and 737. &c.³

The public ceremonies for celebrating marriage were introduced many centuries after the Apostles. Concil. Trid. Book 8. [page] 772.⁴

Cases relating to marriage belonged to the civil magistrate before the ecclesiastics, as a result of the negligence of the princes, seized the courts that tried such cases. Concil. Trident. Book 8. [page] 772.⁵ See Of Church Property.

Charlemagne divorces his wife Theodora, having given no reason for doing so to anyone. Girard. Hist Franc. Book 3. p[age] 146.⁶ And he married Hildegard.

After a husband's absence for five years, if it is uncertain where he is, the right is granted to the wife to marry another. Manuel, Patriarch of Constantinople: his decision. Jus Graeco-Roman. p[age] 239.⁷ However this patriarch lived about the year 1216.

some beleaved, that the Kings giftes more perswaded them, then reason." Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xxi, on clerical wealth from divorce. Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xxi, on Henry VIII's divorce problems.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49] Milton's entry refers to Sarpi's pages on "the abuses of Matrimonie."

⁴ and ⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49. In the second of these entries an "eas" is deleted after "principum" and "earum" is written instead.] These Latin entries (*Historia*, 1619, p. 772; tr Brent, 1620, pp. 784 ff.) refer to Sarpi's history of matrimony from Adam on, showing the gradual development of formal rules and ceremonies. Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, I, xiii, concerning marriage as a sacrament; *Tetrachordon* (1645), pp. 21-23, on the original purpose and nature of marriage. Milton's cross reference to his undiscovered Theological Index is a marginal note in Latin.

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 53] Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book III, p. 146) says: "Charlemagne . . . repudiated Theodora, and no one knew the reason for it . . . After this repudiation Charles married Idegonde or Hildegard, daughter of Duke Hildebrand of Suevia."

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1643-1644(?), 75 At the end of this entry Milton wrote "16" as the beginning of the date 1216, deleted it, and wrote the date correctly.] Manuel Charitopulus, Patriarch of Constantinople, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century (*Universal Lexicon*, Leipzig and Halle, 1735, XIX, 1135), wrote (1) *Solutiones Quarundum Quaestionum*, (2) *Decretum de Jure Patronatus*, (3) *Decretum de Translatione Episcoporum*, all of which, in Greek and Latin, are included in the *Iuris Graeco-Romani* (Frankfurt, 1596) of Leunclavius. Milton's note refers to p. 239 of that edition. Book III of Leunclavius' compilation is on "Decisions of Synods" and has the heading: "Manuelis. I. Solutiones quarundum quaestionum." Manuel, the Patriarch, was asked many questions by his bishops in Cappadocia. One was (the question is on p. 238; the answer, "his decision," on p. 239) whether, if men had left their wives for five years or more and it was uncertain where they were, the wives might marry again. Manuel re-

Matthew the Monk⁸ believes that a divorce may be had because of religion, if the orthodox one so wishes and not merely if one of the two is deserted by the other, for in that case not simply the good repute of the disbeliever is necessary for living together, but the good repute of both, according to the judgment of Paul; he also says it was so decided by Theodotus, the Patriarch. See the Book on Matrimony in *Jus Graeco Roman.* p[age] 507.⁹

Gunther, archbishop of Cologne, and Tergaudus, archbishop of Treves, assented to the marriage of Lothair, duke of Lorraine, to Vastrada, after he had divorced Tiberga. Thuan. Book 78. [page] 655.¹⁰

plies in the affirmative See *Tetrachordon* (1645, pp 13, 63, 67, 80, 90, 93, 97) for Milton's views on divorce for desertion

⁸ Matthew the Monk was the name often given to Matthew of Paris (d 1259), English monk and chronicler He wrote a *Chronica Maiora*, a history of Britain chiefly on the reign of Henry III, and his longer *Historia Anglorum*, which ends in 1259 He was a strong supporter of the monastic orders against the secular clergy and even attacked the court of Rome He despised Henry III for his lack of statesmanship but was intensely patriotic His history is vivid but not always reliable

⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1643-1644(?), 75] Book VIII in Leunclavius, *Iuris Graeco-Romani* (Frankfurt, 1596), begins on p 478, where its title is: "The Eighth Book, in which are contained Matthew the Monk's questions and cases concerning matrimony" Hence Milton's reference to it as "the Book of Matrimony" Paul's letter to the Corinthians (I Corinthians 7:10-16) is cited (Leunclavius, p 506), and Paul is called "that great man Paul" or "the divine Apostle" Paul approves of divorce, says Matthew, for religious reasons. Then, under the heading "As the matter was decided in the time of Theodotus, the Patriarch," the discussion continues (p. 507). "For what reasons marriage may be dissolved." Theodotus, whom Matthew the Monk cites as an authority, was a famous bishop of Ancyra (now Angora) in Galatia in the first half of the fifth century He wrote homilies, an exposition of the Council of Nice, and so forth *Universal Lexicon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1735) Cf *Doctrine of Divorce*, I, viii, *Tetrachordon* (1645), pp 74, 76, 78, 95, *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxvii, on divorce for religious reasons

¹⁰ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, III, 655), cites the instance of the divorce and remarriage of Lothair, Duke of Lorraine (825-869) Lothair's reign was chiefly taken up with his efforts to divorce his wife Teutberga (Tirberga in Thuanus and Tiberga in Milton's note) because he had no male issue After one unsuccessful attempt to put her away, he finally got his divorce in 862 by ceding lands to his brother Emperor Louis II and married Waldrada (Vastrada in Thuanus and in Milton's note) In 865, however, he was forced to take Teutberga back again, but now she wanted the divorce Lothair went to get the Pope's consent but died on the way back, and his son by Waldrada was declared illegitimate and his kingdom was divided between his uncles Milton's concern with the incident is with Thuanus' account of how Archbishop Gunther of Cologne and Archbishop Tergaudus (misprinted "Tergandus"

In favor of divorce see Bodin. repub. Book 1 c[hapter] 3.¹¹

René, duke of Lorraine, after having divorced his wife Margaret because of ugliness and barrenness, married Philippa while Margaret was still living; however his son by Philippa was not deprived of his inheritance. Thuan. hist. Book 24. p[age] 734.¹²

William of Orange, defender of Holland and the Protestants, after having given up his wife Anna, daughter of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, on account of her conduct, married Charlotte Bourbon, daughter of Montpensier. Thuan. hist. Book 60. p[age] 72.¹³

John, son of Basil, duke of Moscow, after having divorced his wife, marries a new one, because, according to the customs of his country, it is permitted not only to him as ruler but to anyone, to do so as many times as he wishes; according to Baron von Herberstein on Moscow. Thuan. hist. Book 72. p[age] 471.¹⁴

in the Columbia edition) of Treves in 861 approved Lothair's divorce and remarriage Milton does not add what Thuanus adds, namely, that for having approved, both archbishops were excommunicated and deprived of their sees by Nicholas I

¹¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 72] Since Milton gives no page reference to the *De Republica Libri Sex* of Jean Bodin (1530-1596), the edition he used cannot be determined, though his Latin entry suggests his use of a Latin text and not the English translation of 1606, used by Lord Preston. In the Frankfurt, 1594, edition (NYPL), Chapter 3 (p 21) begins with the heading: "Concerning the authority of the husband over the wife and concerning their duties one to the other." Bodin argues, with many authorities, that when husband and wife are not truly married minds, as well as bodies, they may be divorced. Cf. *Church-Government* (below, p 834) "*Bodin* the famous French writer though a papist."

¹² [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51] In this entry "et" is deleted after "Margaretâ" René, Duke of Lorraine (1409-1480), was also king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem. Milton's note from Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, III, 734 [Book XXIV]), concerns a long recital of the history of the Guises by Geoffrey Renaut, leader of a conspiracy against the Guises in 1560, before his followers. The descendants of the "adulterous" marriage with Philippa, he said, were "at present governing the realm" and aiming to destroy the king and overthrow their opponent.

¹³ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] In this entry "Wilhelmus Arausionensis" is starred to indicate an addition written in the margin, which is also starred ("Belgæ et protestantium defensor") Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, III, 72 [Book LX]) says that Anna was divorced "ob mores," without further explanation.

¹⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] In this entry "quoties vult" is starred, and in the margin, also starred, is "non regi solum, sed cuivis Baro ab Herber de Mosch." That marginal note is here inserted in the text.] Of John, son of Basil, Duke of Moscow, Thuanus says (*Historia*, Geneva, 1626, III, 471). "He [John] came to Vilna to the King. There a nuncio announced that it was permitted

Because of a natural impediment, Vincent, prince of Mantua, divorces the daughter of Alexander Farnese and marries another. Thuan. Book 80. p[age] 703.¹⁵

Henry IV, king of France, divorced his wife Marguerite on account of her conduct, although he did so under pretext of kinship, and he shows by many examples that that is permitted to him also which other kings before him had done for diverse reasons. Thuan. hist. Book 123. p[age] 885.¹⁶

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OF SLAVES

What the law was concerning masters and slaves. See Justinian institut. Book 1. tit[le] 8. §. 1.¹

to John, duke of Moscow, after repudiating his wife as often as he wished according to the custom of his fathers, to take a sixth mate, and a public choice of girls was proclaimed " There were four Basils who were dukes of Moscow and tsars of Muscovy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, all of whom added territory to Muscovy. Which was the father of this John is not clear Milton's inclusion of the name of Baron von Herberstein is a reminder of Thuanus' source of information concerning Russian history and policies, a writer whom Thuanus usually calls simply "Sigismund Herberstein " His *Commentary on the Deeds of the Muscovites* was published with another by Leunclavius, and Milton may have read both of them before writing his *Brief History of Moscovia*.

¹⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] Thuanus says (Geneva, 1626, III, 703): "Now earlier in Italy Vincent, Prince of Mantua, who had first married Margaret, daughter of Alexander Farnese (afterwards a nun at Placentia), and who had divorced her on account of a natural impediment, married Elinor, daughter of Francis, the great Duke of Etruria." Alexander Farnese is more familiar as Duke of Parma (1545-1592), governor-general of the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain. Cf. *Tetrachordon* (1645, pp. 25, 93) on divorce for incurable causes, such as a physical defect or disease.

¹⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] Thuanus (Geneva, 1626, III, 885) gives 1599 as the date of the divorce of Henry IV of France. He is no more specific about the conduct of Henry's wife than he is concerning that of Anna, wife of William of Orange (see above, n. 13).

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 71] Milton's entries from Justinian are further evidence of his great interest in the law and its origins Flavius Anicius Justinian (483-565), Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, is renowned for his *Digest* of the laws of the empire. From the *Digest* lawyers made a beginner's handbook, which was called the *Institutes of Justinian* and which remained the chief textbook in law throughout the Middle Ages. Justinian's purpose was to abridge the law, not codify it, and on looking into his *Institutes* one soon discovers difficulties because of lack of clear arrangement. Milton's entries give no page numbers, and his edition is therefore undeterminable. In the Louvain, 1475, edition (PML), there are no page numbers. One can, however, find book and title numbers, as Milton gives them. His § mark must mean "section" or "paragraph," for to find that reference one must count paragraphs, unnumbered, from the preceding title. This entry

Concerning manumission. Justinian. institut. Book 1. tit[les] 5. and 6.²

Refuge from hard-hearted masters was given to slaves by civil law, with this excellent reason, that "it is profitable to the state that no one should use his property badly." Justinian. institut. Book 1. tit[le] 8. §. 1.³

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OF MARRIAGE

To forbidd Polygamy to all hath more obstinat rigor in it then wisdom. Hence S^r Walter Raugleigh well observes that "by such rigor the kingdom of Congo was unhappily diverted from the christian religion, w^{ch} it willingly at first embrac'd, but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of wives was deny'd them; I know not," saith he, "how necessarily, but more contentiously then seasonably." &c. Hist. of y^e world, Book 2. c[hapter] 4, sect[ion] 16.¹

refers to the following in Section 1: "For among almost all peoples we can see that masters have the power of life and death over slaves and that whatever a slave acquires belongs to the master. . . . But at this time to no men who are under our rule is it permitted without cause recognized by law to treat their slaves in the manner named above"

² [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 71] Manumission, or the freeing of a slave, is discussed under titles 5 and 6 as follows "In the same law [see note above] it is permitted to set a young slave free when he is twenty years old, not otherwise. Also slaves may be freed if a just cause of manumission is set forth before the council and is approved." The just causes for manumission are that the slave has been like a father or mother or like a son or daughter; or he may have been like a brother or sister, or served as a teacher or nurse; or he may be someone to whom the master is grateful; or he or she may be freed for the sake of matrimony. The closing sentence is significant "Once the cause is approved, however, whether true or false, it cannot be withdrawn"

³ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 71 Here Milton wrote "tit." too soon after "institut." He deleted it and wrote "l. 1. tit. 8 § 1." In this entry Milton's explanatory statement closes with a direct quotation from the first paragraph of title 8. The *Institutes* gives the example of one Julius Sabmus, whose slaves fled and who therefore enforced the law against himself

¹ [Milton, English, 1640-1644(?), 66 Here Milton wrote "chap" too soon after "world," deleted it and wrote: "l. 2 c. 4 sect 16"] Several editions of Raleigh's *History of the World* were printed after the first in 1614 In the London, 1617, edition, p. 293 (NYPL) occurs the following: "Very hard it were to forbid by law an offence so common, with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour . . ." and the rest of Milton's quotation follows, with a few changes in capitalization and the omission of an article and a preposition The following sentence must also have impressed Milton. "In such cases, me thinks, it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their

Sebastian Castalio, a Swiss, following Bernard Ochino, whose dialogues he turned into Latin, seems to cover polygamy. Thuan Hist. Book 35. near the end. p[age] 271.²

naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection" Cf *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, viii, concerning "a hard-heartedness of undivorcing, worse than that in the Jews," whom God did not expect to obey "a law out of Paradise given in time of original perfection" Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, I, x, for Milton's views of polygamy

² [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51 In this entry Milton wrote "cuius" after "Ochinum," deleted it, and wrote "secutus," which was necessary for the construction Then he rewrote "cuius" to introduce the relative clause] Bernardino Ochino (1487-1564) was an Italian preacher, theologian, and reformer, with whom Milton must have found much in common. Though famed in Italy for his preaching and though elevated to the rank of vicar-general of the Capuchins, he espoused some of the Reformation ideas, was suspect in the Inquisition, and fled to Geneva, where he was welcomed by Calvin He published some tracts defending his change of faith, of which an English translation appeared in Ipswich in 1548. When the Schmalkaldic War broke out, he fled to England, where he became a prebendary of Canterbury, was given a pension by Edward VI, and wrote in Latin his *Trajedy or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome* (1549), which is extant only in the translation made by John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, and which bears some resemblance to *Paradise Lost* In a work called *The Labyrinth*, dedicated to Elizabeth, Ochino denounced the doctrine of predestination In Basle, 1563, he published in Latin his *Thirty Dialogues*, in which he was accused by his adversaries of defending polygamy though pretending to oppose it

According to Thuanus and to Milton's note, Sebastian Castalion (whose real name was Chateillon, see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Paris, n.d.) (1515-1563), a French scholar, famed as a translator of the Bible and as a Protestant who pleaded the cause of liberty of conscience, based his *Dialogues on Sacred History* on Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues* The *Dialogues* of Castalion (1563) were written for children and were printed six times in Basle, three in London, four in Edinburgh, and four in Germany I find no evidence that Castalion meant to "turn into Latin" Ochino's *Dialogues*, though he used them as a source Milton's word "adstruere" in this entry is translated "to justify" in the Columbia edition It means simply "to cover," which probably comes closer to what Milton meant The question is, in other words, would a follower of Ochino include the contentious problem of polygamy in a book for children? Thuanus, from whom Milton makes his entry, sheds little light on the matter, for he says that "Sebastianus Castalio Allobrox [a Swiss]" met "Bernardino Ochino, whose dialogues he turned into Latin" in 1563, and that he (Castalio) had been said to agree with Ochino, "whereupon many writings with opposite views (*contraria scripta*) appeared between them" Thuanus' word "adstipulari" means "to agree with," but Milton does not use that word. Milton's phrase "Book XXXV near the end" refers to the fact that a printer's error gives his source two pages numbered 271, and he means the second, which is near the end of the book Concerning Milton's indebtedness to Ochino see Louis A. Wood, *The Form and Origin of Milton's Anti-Trinitarian Conception* (London, 1911), and James H. Hanford, "Milton and Ochino," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 121-22.

The Britons, even after they received the faith, had several wives, for which reason they are rebuked by Gildas as having as many wives or rather prostitutes as possible, &c. See the epistle of Gildas and also near the end: "*The husband of one wife*, a phrase which is so held in contempt among us, &c. as if the apostle had said the husband of wives."³

On considering secret marriages as void see Thuan. hist. Book 35. p[ages] 268. 269.⁴ The same view was sanctioned in Germany. For this reason the child of Ferdinand of Austria, born of Velsera without the knowledge of his father the Emperor, was considered illegitimate. Thuan. Book 71. p[age] 446.⁵

Incest. Philip, king of Spain, marries the daughter of his sister. Thuan. hist. Book 71. p[age] 442. &c.⁶ and above and so does Ferdinand, son of Emperor Ferdinand. The same. hist. Book 71. p[age] 446.⁷

³ [Milton, Latin, date uncertain, 83] Much of Gildas' *Epistle* in his *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* in Commelin's *Rerum Britannicarum* concerns immorality Milton's entry from Gildas (Heidelberg, 1587, p 145) refers to the following "It is necessary, therefore, to be blameless in this matter (I Timothy 3.2) In his [Paul's] discourse there is need of tears rather than words, and so the Apostle said that he [a bishop] ought to be blameless in all things. *The husband of one wife* A phrase which is so held in contempt among us as if the Apostle said the husband of wives" Milton quotes exactly except where he puts "&c" for "as if unheard" I Timothy is quoted at length by Gildas I Timothy 3 2 is as follows "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach" Cf *History of Britam*, Book I (1670, p 16) "He [Ebranc] had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives", Book III (1670, p 113) "She [daughter of Hengist] . . . won so much upon his fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in marriage" Gildas is cited in the margin

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51] Cf Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626), II, 269 "Ut clandestina matrimonia tanquam illegitima prohiberentur" ("since secret marriages were prohibited as illegal")

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] On this point Thuanus writes (Geneva, 1626, III, 446) "He [Ferdinand] had taken to himself, without the knowledge of his father, Philippina Velsera, a young woman of great talent and beauty . . . whom he kept as a wife for as long as she lived and from whom he had offspring, but by the laws of the Empire and the estimable constitution of Germany . . . neither Velsera . . . nor her children were regarded as fit for succession by the parliament of the provinces over which Ferdinand ruled"

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] Thuanus writes (Geneva, 1626, III, 442) "Ut uxore legitima extincta incestuosum cum sororis filia coniugium contraheret" ("as after he had put away his legal wife, he contracted incestuous marriage with the daughter of his sister")

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52 Milton's heading, "Incest," is a marginal

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ADULTERY

The Protestants, those of Orleans, when that city was in their possession, used to punish adultery by death: a practice which the courtiers resented so violently that they vowed they would be, on account of it, always estranged from the Protestants. Thuan: Book 35. the beginning of the Book.¹

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DIVORCE

The reason why it ought to be permitted is that, as physicians and almost all others acknowledge, [copulation] without love is cold, unpleasant, unfruitful, harmful, bestial, abominable. Sinibald: Geneanthropeias Book 1. tract[ate] 2. the preface.¹ Therefore it is intolerable that either one or at least the innocent one should be bound unwillingly by so monstrous a fetter.

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RICHES

Against riches Machiavelli¹ argues rightly that "riches are not the note in Latin] This reference is to the same son of Emperor Ferdinand as in n 5 above Concerning him Thuanus says (Geneva, 1626, III, 446). "In this year [1580], in the month of April, the Austrian Ferdinand, son of Emperor Ferdinand, married Anna Catherine, daughter of Wilham, Duke of Mantua, and his sister "

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 241), records that in 1563 the Protestants of Orleans hanged one Landa Molinus, who committed adultery with one Godarda, and she was hanged with him This incident was so badly received at court that many publicly said, with the "greatest impudence," that they would always be estranged from the Protestants. Cf. *Colasterion* (1645, p. 7) for Milton's assertion that the Scriptures do not enjoin death for adultery, no matter what the laws of England say.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1643-1644(?), 57] Johann Benedict Sinibaldus (d 1658) was the chief physician and professor of practical medicine in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century *Unvrsal Lexicon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1735). In his *Geneanthropcia*, or *Ten Books on the Generation of Man* (Rome, 1642; HCL), Milton found ideas of which he himself was firmly convinced, as shown in his divorce tracts In *Tractatus Secundus* (the preface, p. 15) the author distinguishes between love and copulation. "Copulation [Venus]," he says, "need not proceed from love, as Plato himself asserted Since much has been written about copulation . . . I have thought that the value of my work would be greater if I wove in something besides about love which is joyful and useful. For to be sure, copulation without love is *frigida, insuavis, infoecunda, noxia, ferina, foeda*," adjectives which Milton uses in his Latin entry without change except for a masculine ending instead of feminine because the subject of his sentence is different. Milton's last sentence seems to be his own comment.

² Of Milton's nineteen entries from Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) all but two are from his *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550), a series of essays on the administration of the state, based on sentences

nerves of war as is generally believed." *Discorsi*: Book 2. chap[ter] 10.²

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POVERTY

The poverty of the British bishops is celebrated by Sulpicius Severus in the time of Emperor Constantine. *sacrae hist*: Book 2. p[age] 157.¹

from the Roman historian Livy, as texts. After setting forth in *Il Principe* the method of gaining or maintaining sovereign power, Machiavelli shows in the *Discorsi* how the state can be kept strong and active. His other works, *Dell' Arte della Guerra* (*Seven Books on the Art of War*) (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550) and the *Istorie Fiorentine*, were composed in the last years of his life; the *Prince* was finished in 1513, though not published until after his death; and the *Discorsi* were composed between 1516 and 1519, when, without public office to absorb his energies, he took part in the literary and philosophical discussions of the Florentine Academy. It was before the Academy, meeting in the Rucellai Gardens, that he read his *Discorsi*. The life of Machiavelli is largely a record of his public services to the state of Florence (see Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, London, n.d., I, 243-62). Milton's faith in a republican form of government was strengthened by his reading of Machiavelli. It is easy to understand why his notes are from the profound *Discorsi* and from *Dell' Arte della Guerra* rather than from *Il Principe*.

² [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651-1652(?), 102] Since Milton's references to Machiavelli's *Discorsi* give no page numbers, it is impossible to determine the edition he used, but his page references to the *Dell' Arte della Guerra* are to the *Tutte le Opere di Nicolo Machiavelli*, published in 1550 (NYPL), and he probably used that edition for the *Discorsi* as well. Reading in the "method of time," as he says he did, Milton came later to the political theories of such "moderns" as Machiavelli, and the entries from the *Discorsi* were probably made in the four-month period from November, 1651, to February, 1652, in the handwriting of two amanuenses. See Maurice Kelley's "Milton and Machiavelli's *Discorsi*," *SBUV*, IV (1951-52), 123-27. Chapter 10 of the *Discorsi* (1550, p. 142) has the heading: "Riches are not the nerves of war, as is the common opinion." The opening sentence repeats this belief: "Nothing can be more false than the common opinion that riches are the nerves of war." To support his statement Machiavelli cites experiences of Greece, Rome, and Macedonia. Cf. Milton's praise of Vane in the sonnet, "To Sir Henry Vane the Younger," for his wise counsel as to "how war may best, upheld, Move by her two main nerves, Iron and Gold."

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 6] Milton's source is Sulpicius Severus (*ca.* 363-*ca.* 425 A.D.), though he writes the two names in reverse order and the Columbia edition so translates them. It was the purpose of Severus to write an account of sacred history from the beginning of the world to his own time, and his chief work is the *Sacrae Historiae Libri Duo*, written about 403. It was printed in 1556 and was used as a textbook in the schools of Europe for a century and a half. One part of it covers the Synod of Rimini (359) where the question arose of whether bishops might accept money from the emperor for traveling expenses. Severus' own belief was that the church must be independent of and above the state. Emperor Constantine (*ca.* 288-337), whom Milton mentions, lived somewhat earlier than Severus, but Severus' *History* discusses his reign. See below, p. 557.

See Chaucer. no poverty but sin. wife of Baths tale. p[age] 36.²

[P.] 151 ALMS. SEE OF CHURCH PROPERTY

The marvelous charity of the people of Edessa in ransoming the captives of the people of Antioch. See Procopius Persic: [Book] 2. For the courtesans were said to have used their jewels to that end, and the peasants to have sold their draught animals. p[age] 66. [in the] Gree[k] edit[ion].¹

That we should not wish our alms to be known to men, Chrysostom

Milton's page references fit the Leyden, Elzevir, 1635, octavo (PML) Writing of the imperial treasury's paying the expenses of the bishops who attended the Rimini Synod, Severus says (Book II, p 157). "But to our people, that is, to Aquitanians, Gauls, and Britons, it seemed improper after refusing public revenue, they preferred to live at their own expense Three only from Britain, characteristic for their poverty, used the public revenues, when they refused the collection offered by others. thinking it holier that the public fund should burden them than gifts from individuals. I heard Gavidius, our bishop, was wont to reckon this injurious, but I should think it far otherwise, and I consider it to the honor of the bishops that they were so poor that they had nothing of their own nor took from others more than the public revenue, where they burdened no one and so were a shining example for all" In *Of Reformation* (below, p. 543), in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (below, p 646), and in *The Likehest Means* (1659, p 117) Milton cites with approval Severus' account of the poverty of British bishops in his day. In *The Likehest Means* he calls Severus "this relater *Sulpitius Severus*, a good author of the same time."

² [Milton, English, 1640-1642(?), 67] *The Wife of Bath's Tale* (Chaucer, *Workes*, ed Speght, 1602, ff. 36-39). Lines 1185-88 (unnumbered) on f 36v summarize the loathly lady's speech in which she tells the knight not to despise her because she is poor:

Who so would holde him paide of his povert
I holde him riche, all had he not a shert
He that coveteth is a full poore wight
For he wold han, that is not in his might

The story is the familiar one of the loathly lady's testing of the knight's "gentillesse." Having found him willing to marry her and yield the mastery in wedlock to her, she is transformed to a beautiful and loving wife.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 5] Procopius, Byzantine lawyer and historian, born at Caesarea, lived during the reign of Justinian (483-565); went with Belisarius, commander of Justinian's army, on his military expeditions, and his chief work is his *Historiarum Libri VIII*, in which he devotes two books to the Persian Wars, three books to the Vandal War, and three books to the war against the Ostrogoths. Though he treats almost nothing but military history, his *Books about the Wars*, as he called them, are full of geographical and ethnographical information.

Milton used the Greek edition, the first, as the title page tells, published in Augsburg by David Hoeschel in 1607 (CUL). The *De Bello Persico* is the first history in the book. Milton summarizes the Greek statements made by Procopius concerning the generosity of Edessa, a city in Mesopotamia today called Rhoh or

urges. in Gen: orat. 8.² in a very true argument. Because men are very often envious where they ought to praise, there is no reason why we should hope for much from human commendation.

The most lavish alms-givers are not always truly devout, as is to be seen in the case of Adelbert, Marquis of Ivrea, who, when young, seemed to be of a mind most liberal toward the poor, but who, as an adult, was considered a man of most worthless reputation because of his dishonesty. Cuspinian. on Berengarius. p[age] 223.³

One should not give to wandering beggars, as Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, advises: "To those who are ashamed to ask, but not to those who through life make their stomach a means of business." Socrat: Book 7. c[hapter] 25.⁴

Orfa (*De Bello Persico*, Book II, p 66) "There was not a person who did not bring ransom for the captives and place it in the sanctuary according to the amount of his possessions . . . For the courtesans took off all the ornaments which they wore and threw them down there, and any farmer who lacked plate or money, but who had an ass or a sheep, eagerly brought it to the sanctuary" See *Tetrachordon* (1645, p 87) "Procopius a good historian, and a counselor of state"

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641, 90] In his Eighth Homily on the book of Genesis, in the *Opera* (Venice, 1549, p 11), Chrysostom writes. "This command [namely, that one should not wish one's alms to be known] is powerful for destroying sins and extinguishing hell fires, in that it makes man act liberally and not for ostentation" Cf *Christian Doctrine*, II, xvi, on the rewards of alms-giving Cf *History of Britain*, Book V (1670, p 241), on "ostentation of alms" among the West-Saxons, and *Eikonoklastes*, at the end, on the charity of Charles I.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 61] Milton's entry paraphrases the statement made by Joannes Spiess-Hammer, or Cuspinianus, in the Latinized form of his name, who lived in Vienna from about 1460 to 1529 See the *Universal Lexicon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1735) Cuspinian was famous as a philosopher, doctor, poet, counsellor, historian. Emperor Maximilian took him as counsellor. When he began to write history and received permission from Maximilian to use all the imperial archives, his *Historia Caesarum et Imperatorum Romanorum* (*History of Roman Kings and Emperors*) was the result The page numbers in Milton's six entries from Cuspinian fit the folio edition published in Frankfurt in 1601 (BML). The life of King Berengarius II of Italy is recorded in *Historia Caesarum*, pp 220-28. Berengarius II governed Italy from 951 to 961 AD The father of Berengarius II, about whom Milton is writing, was Adelbert, Marquis of Eporregae (the modern Ivrea in Piedmont), who married Gisla, daughter of Berengarius I Adelbert, according to Cuspinian (Frankfurt, 1601, p 223), "was in his youth a person of the greatest kindness and sympathy, generous to the poor, and an abundant giver. . . . As an adult he was a person of so bad a reputation that he kept the trust of no one secure"

⁴ [Milton, Latin comment, Greek quotation, 1635-1637(?), 3] In *EHA* (Paris, 1544, f. 273) Socrates Scholasticus tells of Atticus' rule of the churches in his diocese under the heading: "Quomodo Atticus ecclesias gubernaverit" Atticus (*Universal Lexicon*, Leipzig and Halle, 1735) became bishop in Chrysostom's time, and Chrysostom, Socrates, Nicephoras, and Theodoret mention him as a

Alms given after death. Ariosto counts them among the things lost and useless, which he represents as flying about the orbit of the moon without any profit to the givers. "It is alms, I say, if one leaves something so that it is given after death." Cant: 34.⁵

[P.] 160

OF USURY

Dante says that usury is a sin against nature and against art: against nature because it makes money beget money, which is an unnatural begetting; against art because it does not work &c. See Cant: 11. inferno.¹ and Daniell: in that place.²

pious, charitable, learned man. Here Socrates tells of how generous Atticus was, not only giving alms to his own poor parishioners but also sending money for the poor of neighboring cities. He sent money to Calliopius, presbyter of Nice, asking him to distribute it as he saw fit and adding: "Be sure to share it with those who are ashamed to beg, not to those who through life seek gain so that they may look out for their stomachs."

⁵ [Milton, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1637-1638(?), 16. In this entry a short deletion after "Alms given after death" is indecipherable.] Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533) saw life in its many varied aspects. As a result, his great poem, the *Orlando Furioso*, published in 1516, reveals the *cinque cento* in Italy much as Dante's *Divine Comedy* reveals the Middle Ages. It was intended as a sequel to Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (see above, p. 391) and like its predecessor combines romance and worldly-wise philosophizing. The levity, however, in Ariosto's treatment of matters of earth, heaven, and hell is lacking in Boiardo's poem. Though Tasso later rebuked Ariosto for his introduction of philosophy into his poem, as a digression unworthy of the epic manner, plainly Milton paused over such wisdom and found it meaningful as in this entry, in which he quotes two lines from the Italian. Ariosto also compares bequests to flowers in a mountain pass, which smell sweet but die unenjoyed by anyone. Some thirty editions of the *Orlando Furioso* appeared in Milton's lifetime. Milton's quotation is found on p. 390 of the Venice, 1584, edition (NYPL). The English translation by Harington appeared in London in 1591 and 1634. Milton made marginal comments in a copy of the 1591 Harington (Columbia, XVIII, 330-36). Cf. *Of Reformation* (below, p. 559): Ariosto "equall in fame" to Dante and Petrarch.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1638(?), 12.] In the *Divine Comedy* (in *Dante*, ed. Daniello, Venice, 1568, p. 78, ll. 91 ff.), Dante asks Virgil how usury offends God, and Virgil replies:

Philosophy, to him who heeds it, shows, not only in one place alone, how Nature takes her course

From the Divine Intellect and from its art; and if you note your Physics well, you will find after a few pages

That your art, as far as it can, follows her, as the student does the master, so that your art is as a grandchild of God.

By these two, if you call to memory Genesis from the beginning, man must get his livelihood and advance humanity.

And because the usurer takes another way, he scorns Nature in herself and in her following, because he places his hope on other things.

² The comment of Bernardino Daniello, Dante's editor, frames his text on each

of the popes cruell usurers or merchands call'd Caursini see Speed.
p[age] 532 ³

Whether it should be allowed, Rivet discusses at length. praelection. in decalog. p[age] 276. and he supports the affirmative.⁴

page. Daniello says (p. 78): "But to desire that money beget money is a thing illicit, and he who does so offends nature and art, which is the child of nature, by not working and exercising itself; and in consequence it also offends God, of whom nature is a child and art a grandchild."

³ [Milton, English, 1639–1641 (?), 38] In Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 532), the Caursini are discussed as follows: "There were spread through *England* about this time [in 1235, in the reign of Henry III] certaine *Romane Usurers* called *Caursini*, who had entangled the King himselfe, most of the great men, and all others as had to deale with the Court of *Rome*, in their cunning snares. . . . The Pope requiring the *tenth of all moveable goods in England, Ireland and Wales* . . . sent *Stephen* his Nuncie hither to collect it [marginal note: Matthew Paris] who brought with him that race of devouring-Monsters under humane shape, called the *Popes Merchants*"

⁴ [Milton, Latin, date uncertain, 98] The Columbia University Library has a copy of the Leyden, 1637, enlarged edition of André Rivet, *Praelectiones in Caput XX Exodi* (*Lectures on Chapter Twenty of Exodus*), to which Milton refers, and I find that his page 276 fits that edition. It does not fit the reprint of this tract in the Rotterdam, 1651, edition of Rivet's works, called *Opera Theologica*. The title page of the Columbia copy is missing, but the date of the edition and the name of the printer, Johannes Janssonius, are given at the end of the book. Milton adds the phrase "in decalog" because Chapter 20 of Exodus contains the Ten Commandments and the edition he used has the heading "Explicatio Decalogi Exodi XX" on each pair of pages.

André Rivet (1572–1651), a renowned French Protestant theologian, was called to the chair of theology in the University of Leyden in 1620 and in 1622 became head of the School and College of the House of Orange, where he remained until his death. He wrote more than fifty works, on polemics, exegesis, dogma, inspiration. In the 1637 edition of the *Praelectiones* (p. 276) appears the heading: *De Mutuo & Usura* (*Of Lending and Usury*), which is part of Rivet's commentary on the Commandment "Thou shalt not steal." Quoting Luke 6:34 and 35 (in which Christ says to his disciples: "Lend, hoping for nothing again"), Rivet says that these words have been wrongly interpreted to mean the prohibition of usury. Those skilled in canon law and the scholastics have condemned the prohibition as vicious, especially those in the Anglican Church, and he cites the work of Bishop Lancelot Andrews on the subject. Rivet also cites attacks on Calvin, who, in an undated letter, "De Usuris. Iehan Calvin a quelquun de ses amis," defended usury in a well-organized commonwealth, and Rivet says Calvin was right. (For Calvin's letter see his *Opera* [59 vols.; X, 244–49 of the "Consilia"] in the *Corpus Reformatorum* [87 vols., Braunschweig, 1834–1900, Vol. 38.] The letter was apparently a reply to an inquiry from one Sachinus, dated 1545 and found in the *Opera*, XII, 210–11. For an English translation of Calvin's reply see "Usury Laws," *Economic Tracts*, New York Society for Political Education, 1881, No. IV, p. 32, and Georgia Harkness, *John Calvin; The Man and His Ethics* [New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931], pp. 204–06.) Milton calls Rivet "a diligent and learned writer" in *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, iv.

THE STATE

Constantine established by proclamation the exemption of the clergy from civil duties. Euseb: hist: Book 10. c[chapter] 7.¹

the form of state to be fitted to the peoples disposition some live best under monarchy others otherwise. so that the conversions of commonwealths happen not always through ambition or malice. as among the Romans who after thire infancy were ripe for a moie free government then monarchy, beeing in a manner all fit to be Ks. afterward growne unruly, and impotent with overmuch prosperity were either for thire profit, or thire punishment fit to be curb'd with a lordly and dreadfull monarchy; w^{ch} was the error of the noble Brutus and Cassius who felt themselves of spirit to free an nation but consider'd not that the nation was not fit to be free, whilst forgetting thire old justice and fortitude which was made to rule, they became slaves to thire owne ambition and luxurie.²

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 1] In *EHA* (Paris, 1544, f 115 [Book X]) Constantine's proclamation is recorded in the form of a letter from the empeior to St Aniline, with the heading "The Example of a letter by which the heads of churches are freed from public duties." In his letter Constantine says that because there are dangers of corruption in civil duties, "I wish those who minister to holy religion in the province assigned to you, in the Catholic Church over which Cecilian presides, and whom we are accustomed to call clergy, to be kept free and immune from public duties generally." Cf. *Of Reformation*, Book 1 "[Constantine] gave large Immunities to the Clergie"; Book III. "Now Preists . . . affect to be Kings"

² [Milton, English, 1640-1642(?), Milton left out *l* in "commonwealths" and wrote it above the word without a caret He also inserted "who" before "Romans" with a caret; but he crossed it out and wrote it again after "Romans."] This long entry includes no source Hanford suggested none ("Chronology," p 312, n. 169. It seems to me quite likely that it is in part derived from Book I of Sir Thomas Smith, *The Commonwealth of England and the Maner of Governement Thereof* (1621); see below, p. 440. Chapter 4 discusses "Examples of changes in the manner of Government" (1621, p 3), and Chapter 5 (1621, p. 4), which Milton cites later on (*CPB*, p. 185, below, p. 454), treats "Of the question what is right and iust in a Common-wealth" In Chapter 15 (1621, p. 17) Smith says "That the Common-wealth or Policy, must be according to the nature of the people," whether democracy, monarchy, or aristocracy, and he shows how, throughout history, it has been so fitted In Chapter 18 (1621, p. 22) he says (p. 22): "For never in all points one Common-wealth doth agree with another, no nor long time any one Common-wealth with it selfe. For all changeth continually to more or lesse . . . as the diversitie of tunces do present occasion, and the mutability of mens wits doth invent and assay new wayes, to reforme and amend that wherein they doe find fault." In Chapter 5 (p. 5), moreover, Smith

"Separation between religion and the state cannot be." Camden. Elizab. To the Reader.³

Hospital, the very wise chancellor of France, was of the opposite opinion. "Many," he says, "can be citizens who are by no means Christians, and he who is far from the bosom of the Church does not cease to be a loyal citizen, and we can live peacefully with those who do not reverence the same religious rites as we do." Thuan. hist. Book 29. p[age] 74.⁴

A commonwealth is preferable to a monarchy: "because more excellent men come from a commonwealth than from a kingdom; because in the former virtue is honored most of the time and is not feared as in the kingdom," &c. Macchiavel arte di guerra. Book 2. p[age] 63.⁵

gives instances (p. 5), as Milton does here, of well-meaning subjects who have risen against tyrants, including Brutus and Cassius, and, as Milton does here, he also points out that "it is alwayes a doubtfull and hazardous matter to meddle with the changing of Lawes and Government, or to disobey the orders of the Rule or Government, which a man doth find already established," if the people are not ready for the change. Since this whole section of the *Commonplace Book* is on the state or the commonwealth, which is Smith's subject also, Milton may have omitted Smith's name here as one too familiar to need mentioning. Milton's own expression of the qualities of a nation "fit to be free" is found at the close of the *Second Defence* (1654) and in the *Readie & Easie Way* (1660), where his strong preference for a republic has replaced the doubts reflected in this entry.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] The preface to Camden, *Annales* (1615-27), is called *Lectori*, hence Milton's "ad lectorem" ("To the Reader"). Its pages are not numbered, but on the third page Camden says that, in writing the history of Elizabeth's reign at the command of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, he has found that: "(Inter *Religionem* enim, & *Rempub* divortium esse non potest)," which Milton quotes exactly.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51] Milton's statement of his source for this entry is in the margin, probably because there was no room elsewhere.] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 71 [not II, 74]), gives Milton's quotation exactly as he gives it, except for the interchange of the words "non" and "nobiscum" ("not" and "with us" or "as we do").

⁵ [Milton, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1640-1642(?), 43] Milton's source, *Art of War*, probably written in 1520, is a kind of supplement to the *Prince* and *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550). In both those works Machiavelli had stressed the importance of warfare to the maintenance of a strong state. *Art of War* is devoted wholly to that theme. The weakness of Italy in his day, he says, is due to its use of mercenaries, first used by despots, accepted by the city republics, and approved by the church. To be strong, Italians must form a national army. Whether the government be a republic or a kingdom makes little difference. Though he favors a republic as the best assurance of the welfare of its citizens, Machiavelli finds Italy so weak, so torn with dissensions, that he

This virtue should be sought by philosophers cautiously. For a blind and carnal love of country should not carry us off to plundering and bloodshed and hatred of neighboring countries, so that we may enrich our country in power, wealth, or glory; for so did the pagans act. It behooves Christians, however, to cultivate peace among themselves and not seek the property of others. For this reason Lactantius attacks philosophy Book 6. c[hapter] 6.¹

of S^r Pierce de la Mere: see Holinsh. Ed. 3. p[ages] 410. 411. 418.² the Thomas of Woodstock D. of Gloster. in the reigne of Ri. 2. Holinsh ³ Richard Fitz Allaine E. of Arundel for his whole lif

believes the rule of a strong prince the best way to unity. He has little understanding of representative government, and his constitution is that of a city rather than a nation. See Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, London, n.d., V, 384. Milton's quotation, therefore, is one of the occasional references to the virtues of a commonwealth; it does not represent the thesis of the whole book.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1640(?), 32] In Lactantius, *Seven Books of Divine Ordinances*, Book VI, chap. 6, has the heading (*Opera*, Lyons, 1548, p. 449) "Of the greatest good and virtue, knowledge, justice." All history is full of examples of the wrong kind of love of country (p. 452), and he cites some of them. Cf. *An Apology* (below, p. 951). "A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends!"

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37. There are four corrections in this entry. Milton wrote "Meere" and then deleted the second *e* by means of a vertical line. He wrote "Sto." after "Holinsh." and then deleted "Sto." In the series of page numbers he inserted "411" with a caret. The *D.* for "Duke" of Gloster is written over an *E*, probably for "Earl."] In this entry Milton cites instances of English patriotism, from Holinshed, "The Historie from William the Conqueror On," *Chronicles* (1587), III. The first, that of Sir Peers de la Mere, is the account of his bravery (p. 410) in declaring in Parliament, as speaker for the Commons in 1376, that King Edward III's officers were wasteful and that they and his concubine Dame Alice Perrers should be removed before Edward should receive the desired subsidy. After these persons were removed, the subsidy was granted. News came, however, of the Black Prince's death. In his grief the king recalled all his favorites (p. 411) and had Sir Peers de la Mere cast into prison, where he remained until 1377, after the death of Edward III and the accession of Richard II. Then in Parliament (p. 418) "the foresaid sir Peter de la Mere and other the knights that had beene so earnest against dame Alice Peres . . . so prosecuted the same cause now in this parlement, that the said dame Alice Peres was banished the realme and all hir goods moveable and unmoveable forfeited to the king."

³ The story of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest uncle of Richard II, who, after opposition to Richard, was imprisoned at Calais and secretly murdered there, probably at Richard's instigation, is a familiar one from Shakespeare's *Richard II* and elsewhere. Holinshed's account is in III, 458, 487-89, etc.

noble and Memorable. and in his death also under Rich. 2. Holinsh.⁴

[P.] 179

LAWS

Savonarola, after a writ of excommunication had been sent him from Rome, did not submit to it, telling in his defense a fine parable, by which he shows "that one should obey the spirit rather than the letter of the law." Book 1. p[ages] 48. 49 rinovation. della chiesa.¹

Lambard saith that laws were first devis'd to bound and limit the power of governours, that they might not make lust thire judge, and might thire minister archeion. c. 3.²

⁴ Holinshed (1587, III, 491-92) tells the story of the condemnation and execution of "Richard fitz Aleine, earle of Arundell," accused of treason, but denying it in a very brave defense. He gave alms on his way to his execution, though with his arms tied behind him.

¹ [Milton, Italian, 1639-1640(?), 33] Milton's source here has been identified by Edward S. Le Comte as Savonarola's *Oracolo della Renovazione della Chiesa* (*Sermon on the Renewing of the Church*). For the evidence see "That Two-Handed Engine" and Savonarola," *SP*, XLVII (1950), 589-606. Milton's page numbers fit neither the Venice, 1536 (BM and SOR), nor the Venice, 1543, edition (SOR). They do fit the Venice, 1560, edition (SOR). Moreover, Milton's spelling of *rinovatione* agrees with the title page of the 1560 edition, whereas the two earlier editions spell it *renovazione*. The full title of the work explains that the sermon is "according to the teachings of the Reverend P. F. [Padre Frate] Hieronimo Savonarola of Ferrara, of the order of preachers' preached by him in Florence"

The parable to which Milton's entry refers is part of Savonarola's sermon on Amos, preached on February 17, 1496, after Alexander VI had threatened him with excommunication if he did not stop preaching and come to Rome. To his fellow-monks, Dominico and Silvestro, Savonarola said (Venice, 1560, fol. 48) that he hoped the writ of excommunication would come soon (Milton's note that the writ had already been received is not according to his source) so that he might reply by citing the Scriptures, which say (fol. 48v) that "It is necessary to obey God rather than men"; and he added (fol. 48v) that he would show the truth of this saying by means of a little parable. In the parable (fol. 48v) the owner of a vineyard is duped by rascals into believing that his good son had turned into an evil doer. When the father sends for the son, he refuses to come, knowing that the vineyard will be despoiled by the villains in his absence. Certainly, Savonarola concluded (fol. 49), "the son acted most prudently, not against, but according to, the will of the father." So Savonarola had acted, he said, in refusing to leave the city, where his departure would mean the bodily and spiritual ruin of the people. Milton quotes the phrase concluding Part One of Savonarola's defense (fol. 49) "Knowing that one should obey the spirit of the law rather than the letter." Milton's only other reference to Savonarola is in *Animadversions* (below, p. 683): "Most true it is what *Savonarola* complains, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme the Church, his greatest enemies were still these Lukewarm ones."

² [Milton, English, 1641-1642(?), 41] William Lambard (1536-1601), English jurist and historian, is remembered for his *Erenewarcha*, a manual on the duties

some say they ought to have reasons added to them. "The lawgiver who gives reasons for his law diminishes his authority, because the subject attacks the reason given, and when he believes he has determined its meaning, he thinks also that he has taken the virtue from the precept." Concil. Trident. Book 6. p[age] 460 ³

Alfred "turn'd the old laws into english." Sto p[age] 80 ⁴ I would he liv'd now to rid us of this norman gibbrish. ⁵ the laws of Molmutius.

of a justice of the peace that was a standard text for a long time, and for his *Archeion or a Commentary upon the High Courts of Justice in England*, which his grandson published in London in 1635 in a small octavo (CLL), followed by a second edition in the same year. Since the book has no chapters, Milton's "c. 3" must refer to the signature or section of the book, which appears at the bottom of p 21, for on that page, after telling how William the Conqueror and William Rufus "governed by a meere and absolute power, as in a Realme obtayned by Conquest," Lambard adds "But yet it was so farre off. that any of them did utterly abolish these Courts, that the same did not onely remaine during all their times, housoever put to silence for a season, but also had continuance afterwards, and do yet as they may, beare life amongst us"

³ [Milton, English comment, Italian quotation, 1641-1643(?), 49 Milton's statement of his source for this entry is in the margin. The page reference is to the London, 1619, edition, in Italian.] This entry from Saipi, *Istoria* (1619, p 460, tr Brent, 1620, p 474), is part of the discussion of whether the Council should consider prohibited books. The archbishop of Ragusa said that they should neither consider the matter, lest they seem to criticize the judgment of those making the *Index of Prohibited Books* in Rome, nor try to give causes for the prohibitions. "For it would be to call for contradiction. It belongeth to a Doctor to give a reason of his saying, a law maker if he doe it, doth diminish his authority, because the subject doth wrestle with the reason alleadged, and when hee thinketh he hath resolved it, he thinketh also that hee hath taken all vertue from the precept." The same archbishop had said that "there is no need of bookes, the world hath too many already, especially since printing was invented"

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36 Milton's indication of his source is in the margin.] Stow's *Annales* (1615, p 80), after recording the death and burial of Alfred, list his achievements, among them the fact that he "turned the olde lawes into English, with divers other Bookes" Milton quotes Stow's phrase, with three changes in spelling and a small *e* for *English*. Cf. *History of Britain*, Book V (1670, pp 212-15), for Milton's evaluation of King Alfred

⁵ This interesting comment is Milton's own expression of disgust at the French law still being administered in English courts in his day. Cf. Prolusion VII (above, p 301): "Jurisprudence in particular suffers much from our confused methods of teaching, and from what is even worse, a jargon which one might well take for some Red Indian dialect, or even no human speech at all." Cf. also *Elegy I*. "The barrister . . . volleys his barbarous verbiage at an illiterate courtroom"; and *Of Education* (1644, p 4). "So that to smatter Latin with an english mouth, is as ill a hearing as law French"

as Holinsh. p[age] 15.⁶ and of Queene Martia. see Holinshed. in the raigne of Sisilius the son of Guintoline. p[age] 19.⁷ Inas also of the west saxons k: made many laws Holinshed. Book 6. c[hapter] 1.⁸ and he it was that made that shamefull, and unworthy law of peeter pence.⁹ renew'd also by the murderer Offa the Mercian so thinking to expiate his horrid sins. Holinshed. Book 6. c[hapter] 4.¹⁰

⁶ Milton had already made a note on Dunwallo Molmutius from Holinshed, the fourth entry, *CPB*, p 72, under Of Theft and Highway Robbery For this reference he was reading the large headline of Book III (1587, I, 15, *The Historie of England*) "Of Mulmucius the first king of Britaine, who was crowned with a golden crowne, his lawes, his foundations, with other his acts and deeds . . . He also made manie good lawes, which were long after used, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British speech into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of Latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes" Cf *History of Britain*, Book I (1670, p 22). "He established the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the English to this day, writt'n long after in Latine by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*"

⁷ Here Milton wrote "raingne" and then deleted the first *n* by means of a vertical line Milton's entry on Queen Martia adds one more to the list of noble women in the *Commonplace Book* Holinshed (1587, I, 19) records her time as the 430th year after the building of Rome At that time, since King Sicilius of Britain was not of age to rule, his mother, "that worthe ladie called Martia," governed for him "She was a woman expert and skilfull in divers sciences, but chiefele she studied to preserve the common wealth in good quiet and wholesome order, and therefore devised and established profitable and convenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes. . . These lawes . . . Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated out of the British toong into the English Saxon speech, and then were they called after that translation Marchenelagh" Cf. *History of Britan*, Book I (1670, pp 24-25), for Milton's account of Martia, based largely on Holinshed "In the minority of her Son," adds Milton, "she had the rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculin Births, but by the advice of her sagest Counselors"

⁸ The account of Inas (Holinshed, 1587, I, 127) tells of his yielding his realm to the South-Saxons in 689 and going to Rome, after reigning thirty-seven years "He made and ordeined also good & wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and translated into the Latine in times past" Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter VIII, *History of Britan*, Book IV

⁹ Holinshed (1587, I, 128) tells of Inas' journey to Rome. He left behind his wife, who had become a nun "This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid unto the bishop of Rome, which was for everie household within his dominion a penie" The words "shamefull" and "unworthy" are Milton's

¹⁰ Holinshed (1587, I, 132) tells of Offa, King of Mercia, who, in 775, after a reign full of rash acts, repented He gave a tenth of his possessions to the

What those skilled in the law declare concerning natural, international, and civil law: see Justinian. institut. Book 1. tit[le] 2.¹¹

Edward the Confessor reduc't the laws to fewer, pick't them, and set them out under name of the common law. Holinsh. Book 8. c[hap-ter] 4.¹²

Lawyers opinions turn with the times for private ends. Speed. [pages] 614. 615. Rich. 2. but thire end is to be consider'd. p[age] 616.¹³

church and to the poor. He built and endowed abbeys He went to Rome "and there, following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subject by way of tribute unto the church of Rome, appointing that everie house within the limits of his dominions, should yeaelie pay unto the apostolike see one pennie, which paiment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence" Concerning Bede's account of Inas and Offa, Milton writes (*History of Britain*, Book IV, 1670, p. 172). "Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run their heads fondly into a Monks Cowle." In *Likeliest Means* (1659, p. 57) Milton records the zeal of those who support tithing on the basis of "*Romescot*, or *Peters penny*," dating from Inas' time

¹¹ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 71] Milton's entry refers to the first and second sections under title 2 of Book I of Justinian, *Institutes* (Louvain, 1475, no pag). "Natural law is what nature taught all living creatures. Civil law or the law of peoples is thus divided all people that are ruled by laws and customs use partly their own law and partly the common law of all men For every people has established a law for itself, a law belonging to its own state; and it is called civil law as being the law belonging to that state" Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, I, xii, *Erkonoklastes*, Chapter XXVIII; *A Defence*, Chapter VI.

¹² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37. Milton inserted "them" after "set," using a caret.] Holmshed (1587, I, 191) records Edward the Confessor's contribution to English law as follows. "Whereupon to avoid that mischiefe [using laws for private gain], he picked out a summe of that huge and unmesurable masse and heape of lawes [British, Danish, English], such as were thought most indifferent and necessarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & those most wholesome, to be from thenceforth used; according to whose prescript, men might live in due forme and rightfull order of a civill life These lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and also saint Edward his lawes."

¹³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, pp. 614, 615) describes the lawyers' duplicity as follows: "The course agreed upon . . . was first to have the opinion of all the Chiefe Lawyers concerning certaine Articles of Treason, within whose nets and sprindges they presumed the *re-forming Lords* were; and if the Lawyers (who seldome faile Pinces in such turnes) did conclude, that those Articles contained treasonable matter, then under a shew of justice they should be proceeded against accordingly. These Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the last seditious Parliament, gave advice to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demanded, *whether by the Law of the Land, the King might not disanull the Decrees of the last Parliament*: they joyntly answered; *he might, because he was above the lawes.*" Later, however, in 1389, when Parliament met, in the presence of Richard II

Kings of England sworne to the laws see Rex. at thire crowning.¹⁴ King William the Conq sworne solemnly the second time in the church of St Albans. which he presently broke. Holinsh. p[age] 10.¹⁵ Henry the .1. comming to the crowne granted also and confirm'd by charter. Holinsh. p[ages] 181. and 183.¹⁶ Speed. p[age] 447.¹⁷ Rich.

(p 616). "All the Iudges . . . were arrested as they sate in Iudgement on the Bench, and most of them sent to the Tower. The cause alledged was; that having first over ruled them with their counsels and directions, which they assured them to be according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gave contrary judgement to that which themselves had fore-declared." Their torture and execution followed

¹⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37, 38. The *K* at the beginning of this entry looks as if it were written over an *R*, as if Milton started to write "Rex."] Milton's long entry on the oaths sworn by kings of England to protect the laws shows that from earliest times kings were considered under the law, not above it. Holinshed and Speed, in numerous instances, stress that fact. "See Rex, at thire crowning" is Milton's cross reference to *CPB*, p. 181, the eighth entry, on "the crowning of K's in England" (see below, p 435). Milton's own belief that "the law was set above the magistrate" and that "the power of kings and magistrates is . . . from the people" is a fundamental idea in all his political tracts.

¹⁵ Holinshed (1587, III, 10). In 1072 "king Willam in the presence of the archbishop Lanfranke and other of his lords, tooke a personall oth . . . that he would from thencefoorth observe and keepe the good and ancient approved lawes of the realme" A little later, "taking them at unawares . . . he imprisoneth manie, killeth divers, and pursueth the residue with fire and sword, taking awaie their goods, possessions, lands, and inheritances, and banishing them out of the realme"

¹⁶ [Milton wrote this note, as far as "promiseth," in the margin and starred it, to match a star above "promiseth" The marginal note is here incorporated in the text. In the marginal note Milton wrote "Rich 2," then wrote "1" over the "2."] Holinshed (1587), III, 181, 183. Though this entry is in the account of the reign of King John, 1213, the nobles remember Henry I's charter and produce it when tyranny threatens. On John's crowning. "The king's peace being proclaimed to all men, it was on his behalfe stieitlie commanded, that the lawes of K. Henrie his grandfather should be observed universallie within his realme, and that all unjust lawes and ordinances should be abrogated. . . . There was brought forth and also read an ancient charter made sometime by Henrie the first . . . containing the grant of certeine liberties according to the lawes of king Edward the confessor."

¹⁷ Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 447), records near the marginal note, "King Henry wins his Nobles with faire words," how he called his lords to London and addressed them as follows. "To that end [tranquillity and liberty] even now will I confirme . . . your over-worne and undermined Charters, and will roboiate them most firmly with a new oath and ratification. Meane while, all the lawes which the holy King *Edward* by Gods inspiring did establish, I doe heere commaund to bee inviolablie observed" These promises, Speed adds, "so wonne the hearts of them all, that they would die with him, or for him, against any hostility whatsoever."

1. See Speed at his crowning. of K. John vid. Subditus [see Subject].¹⁸ promiset to abolish the unjust laws of the Normans and to restore the laws of K. Edward. Holinsh p[age] 28.¹⁹ Maud the empressse, denieng the Londoners request in this point lost therby the faire forwardnesse she was in, to the crowne. Holinsh. Steph. p[age] 53,²⁰ K. John at his absolution from the Popes curse, and interdiction promis'd the same. Holinsh. p[age] 180. see also p[age] 181. w^{ch} refusing to performe cost him all the trouble that succeded p[age] 183 & p[age] 186.²¹ Henry the 3^d at the [truce] betwixt him and Lewis swore together with his protector the E. of Pemb. for him that he would restore all the rights and liberties before demanded of his father. Holinsh. p[age] 201,²² urg'd about it by the B. of Cantur. p[ages] 204. 205. for the which deny'd Lewis the f. K. refuses to restore Normandy upon demand to Hen. 3. the same K. demanded againe shiftingly answers p[age] 205²³ and begins to assaile his barons

¹⁸ Milton's cross reference to *CPB*, p. 183, the eighth entry. See below, p. 446

¹⁹ The king referred to by Holinshed (1587, III, 28) is Henry I. "And furthermore, somewhat to relieue the common-wealth, he promised to restore the lawes of good king Edward, and to abolish or amend those which by his father and brother were alreadye ordeined to the hurt & prejudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme of England"

²⁰ [Milton inserted "denieng" after "empressse," using a caret.] The account (Holinshed, 1587, III, 53) of Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I and wife of Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, and of her claim to Arundel and Sussex as a dower from her mother-in-law tells of how she landed in England in the first year of Stephen's reign, 1137, raised an army, fought Stephen, imprisoned him, received honors in London, but lost favor there because of her high-handed refusal of the "great and laborious suit [of the English] unto the said empressse, that they might have the lawes of king Edward the Confessour restored, and the straight lawes of hir father king Henrie abolished" They raised an army and drove her from London.

²¹ [Milton seems to have started to write "succed'd," but wrote "succeded" instead. The "8" in "186" is blurred.] Holinshed (1587, III, 180, 181) gives an account of John's quarrel with his barons and of his signing of Magna Charta

²² [Milton started to write "Lewis" after "protector," deleted "Lew," and wrote "the E. of Pemb."] The truce between Louis IX of France and Henry III, son of John, was made on September 11, 1216, near Staines on the Thames, where Louis gave up all claim to English territory. "On the other part [Holinshed, 1587, III, 201] king Henrie tooke his oth together with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke governour of the realme, that he should restore unto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was mooved betwixt the late king John and his barons"

²³ Here Milton's note tells the story briefly and clearly. Though the marginal note in Holinshed (1587, III, 205) says that Henry gave "a gentle answer to

ibid. upon a fifteen granted Hen. 3. confirms by parliament the 2 charters magna, and de Foresta. an. reg. 9. p[age] 207. but cancell'd by him most ignobly when he came to age. p[age] 208 Hubert de Burgh beeing cheife setter on. p[age] 209.²⁴ but after beeing at full age freely of his owne consent an. reg. 21. granted & confirm'd these 2 charters. Holinsh p[age] 220. also an. reg. 37. with sentence of excommunication against the breakers therof. p[age] 248. with particular execration which the K. used against him selfe if he broke them. ibid. yet afterwards sought to be absolv'd of it by the Pope. and breaks p[age] 249. sworne to it againe with his son Prince Edward p[age] 258. and also Richard E. of Cornwall after his proud denial. p[age] 261. and curse denounc't on the breakers. [page] 262. causes his absolution to be read. [page] 263. Parliam. Oxfo. accepts againe the ordinances of Oxford. [page] 265 renounces again ibid. promises again beeing prisoner to the Barons. [page] 268. Marleborow parl. and confirm'd by parl. at Marleborow [page] 274.²⁵ vide subditus [see Subject].²⁶

[P] 180

CUSTOMS OF FOREIGN NATIONS

a dangerous thing, and an ominous thing. to imitate with earnestnesse the fashions of neighbour nations.¹ so the english ran madding

his lords," Milton writes "shiftingly answers," and the text later bears him out, for it says that, in reply to the barons' plea for "the restitution of the ancient lawes according to his promise," he "found a shift to disappoint them of their demands," namely, by demanding from them "those things which they had in times past received of his ancestors," lands, titles, and so forth. Thus he frightened them into submission

²⁴ [In this note Milton inserted the *r* in "Burgh," using a caret] In the year 1225, Henry III (Holinshed, 1587, III, 207-09), "upon desire to have the monie, was contented to condescend unto their requests, and so the two charters were made, and by the king confirmed, the one intituled *Magna Charta*, & the other *Charta de Forresta* Thus . . . were made and confirmed these good lawes and laudable ordinances" But in 1226 "he did cancell and disanull the two charters before mentioned, after that the same had been used through the realme for the space of two yeares, pretending them to be of no value, sith they were sealed and signed whilste he was under age" And shortly afterward "he created Hubert de Burgh ealle of Kent [who] was knowne to dissuade the said prince from restoring of the ancient lawes and customes unto the people."

²⁵ Milton's notes, covering material from Holinshed (1587, III, 220-74) tell the story, step by step, of Henry III's changes of heart concerning the charters of liberties Milton's headings, "Parliam Oxfo" and "Marleborow parl," are in the margin

²⁶ Another cross reference to *CPB*, p 183 See below, p 446

¹ Milton's first sentence expresses his own attitude toward such imitation. He inserted "thing" after "ominous," using a caret.

after the french in Edward confessors time. Sto. p[age] 94.² Speed.
god turn the omen from these days ³

[P.] 181

KING

His authority in matters of religion Certainly modesty in a ruler, when a matter concerning the mysteries of religion is referred to his judgment by learned and trustworthy bishops, is very laudable. Thus Valentinian, when the bishops sent to him an inquiry concerning "identical substance"; see what he replied. Hist: Miscel: Book 12. p[ages] 351. and 354.¹ See to what extent Constantine declared himself to be a bishop. Euseb: Book 4. vit: Const: c[hapter] 24.² But

² [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 36. Milton's indication of his source is in the margin] Stow, *Annales* (1615, p. 94), records that King Edward the Confessor was brought up in France and brought French customs back with him with the following results: "Then beganne the whole land under the king, and other Normans brought in, to leave off the English rites, and in many thinges to imitate the manners of the French. All the noble men tooke it to be a great point of gentrie in their courtes to speake the French tongue, to make their Charters & deedes after the manner of the French, and to bee ashamed of their owne custom & use, as well in this, as in many other things." Cf. *History of Britain*, Book VI (1670, p. 284), where Milton records the same fact concerning the reign of Edward the Confessor.

³ This comment, like Milton's thrust at the "norman gibbrish" in the English law courts (above, p. 424), indicates his dislike of imitation of the French.

¹ [Milton, Latin with one Greek word, 1635–1637(?), 4. Having omitted "ad" ("to") before "ejus auctoritatem" ("his judgment"), he inserted it, using a caret. Milton's heading, "His authority in matters of religion," is in the margin in Latin] The *Historia Miscella*, to which Milton refers twice in *CPB*, p. 181, is a collection, in twenty-four books, of anonymous histories, first compiled, as the rest of its title page says, "by Paul, deacon of Aquileia, and later added to and published by one Landulph, the wise author, at the time of Leo IV, that is, in the year of Christ 806." The printed edition appeared in Ingolstadt, Bavaria, in 1603. Milton's page references fit that edition (HCL). On p. 351 Emperor Valentinian (above, p. 375), who had been denounced as an Arian, was asked for his interpretation of "identical substance" in the communion and replied: "It is not right for me to decide with too much exactness concerning questions of this nature for a subject people. Therefore as it seems to you priests, so decide." Valentinian, calling the bishops together, said to them (p. 354): "Show yourselves to be the models of all virtue and to be witnesses of doctrine and to have good relations. Therefore choose that path, and we who govern the realm sincerely yield our authorities [in religious matters] in the pontifical see to which we belong."

² [Milton, Latin, 1635–1637(?), 2] Eusebius, in his *De Vita Constantini* (EHA, Paris, 1544, f. 150v) records that "Once when he [Constantine] was receiving bishops at a banquet he dropped the remark that he himself was also a bishop, speaking for [all] of us to hear in such words as these: 'But you are [bishops]

the same Constantine, when the Donatists³ asked him to assign judges in the controversies that had arisen between them and the bishop of Carthage, replied with great piety: "You ask judgment of me in an age when I myself am awaiting the judgment of Christ." Sigon. de occid. imp. Book 3.⁴

In a religious matter Oswald, king of Northumbria, leads his people as expounder and interpreter of Aidan, and explains what Aidan had less happily rendered because of his lack of skill in the language. Bede. and from him Holinshed.⁵

concerning the dutie and office of an English K. how to governe read the dying counsaile of Hen. 4. to his son. Sto.⁶

Kings scarcely recognize themselves as mortals, scarcely understand that which pertains to man, except on the day they are made king or on the day they die. On the former day they feign humanity and gentleness, in the hope of capturing the voice of the people. On the latter, having death before their eyes and in the knowledge of their evil deeds, they confess what is a fact, namely, that they are

over things within the Church, while I, so it would seem, am a bishop set by God over things outside [of it]''

³ The Donatists, a powerful sect that arose in the Christian Church in northern Africa in the fourth century, believed that the church is a society of holy persons and that the mark of a true church is that it excludes all who have committed mortal sin. Like the Priscillian heresy and that of the Montanists in Spain and Aquitania in the time of Sulpicius Severus, such beliefs sometimes threatened the very existence of the church.

⁴ [Amanuensis F, date uncertain, 108] Sigonius writes (*Imperio*, Frankfurt, 1618, Book III, p. 44): "To these [the requests of the Donatists] Constantine replied with singular moderation and justice," and Milton's quotation follows.

⁵ [Milton, Latin with one Greek word, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, I, 114, *The Historie of England*), tells of the assistance given by King Oswald of Northumbria about 640 to the missionary Aidan, sent from Iona at Oswald's request to Christianize his people: "One thing was a great hinderance to him [Aidan], that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon toong. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much as to have the faith of Christ rooted in the harts of his subiects, used as an interpreter to report unto the people in their Saxon toong." Milton's mention of Bede is due to the fact that Bede, *Church History*, Book III, Chapters 3, 5, 6, is cited in the margin as Holinshed's authority.

⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow, *Annales* (1615), p. 341, marginal note: "King Henry his counsaile to his sonne Henry." Part of his long speech is as follows: "Remember that the wealth of thy bodie, and thy soule, and of thy Realme, resteth in the execution of Justice; and doe not thy Justice so, that thou be called a Tyrant, but use thy selfe meanly betwixt Justice and mercy in those things that belong to thee."

wretched mortals.⁷ See the death of William I, conqueror of England.⁸ in our Stow. and the abdication of Edward II.⁹

The elder Theodosius, suffering just censure remarkably well when severely rebuked by Ambrose and reduced to the ranks on account of the slaughter of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. Hist: Miscel: Book 13. p[age] 376.¹⁰

Counsels unjust he shames not to reverse. thus did the worthy Ed. 1. that cruel statute which he had made quo waranto perceiving him-

⁷ Again Milton introduces an original comment, which was no doubt the result of much reading in the chronicles of both England and the continent.

⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow, *Annales* (1615), p. 122, marginal note: "Wordes of William the Conqueror before his death"; and his dying speech is as follows: "Being laden with many and grievous sinnes (O Christ) I tremble, and being readie to bee taken by and by unto the terrible examination of God, I am ignorant what I should do, for I have beene brought up in the feates of armes, even from my chulthood, I am greatlie polluted with effusion of much blood, I can by no meanes number the evils which I have done, thus 64. years, wherein I have lived in this troublesome life, for the which I am now constrained without stay to render an accompt to the iust iudge" Cf. the dying words of William in *A Defence*, Chapter VIII; also *Paradise Regained*, III, 85. "Till Conqueror Death discover them scarce men"

⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow, *Annales* (1615, p. 225), records the abdication, on January 25, 1327, of Edward II as follows "The king . . . with much mourning aunsweared, that he was verie sorie, that the Commons had conceived such wrath and indignation against him, that they disdained to be governed under his rule, for the which hee asked them forgivenessse, & finallie added that he would be very glad, if they would receive his sonne to be their king." The following pages describe his horrible torture and death.

¹⁰ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 4] Again Milton's book and page numbers fit the 1603 edition of the *Historia Miscella*. The exaggerated, almost humorous account of Theodosius' grief over the slaughter of his enemies makes one realize that this is a ninth-century, rather than a seventeenth-century, history. The "elder Theodosius" referred to was Valentinian's great general, who, among other feats, saved Britain from the Picts in 368-369. On that expedition his young son, later Emperor Theodosius I, called the Great, accompanied him.

Ambrose (ca. 340-397), Bishop of Milan and one of the greatest of the church fathers, was a man of saintly character, who had influence with military leaders on several occasions. So great was it on this occasion, says Paulus Diaconus, that the general wept incessantly, lamented with groans, because, as he said, the "temple of God was open to begging slaves, but not to him," and fell prone on the pavement before the altar when he was at last readmitted. Ambrose produced this great repentance by asking Theodosius whether he knew of the great slaughter and, if so, whether he did not remember that no general may glory in his purple, for "one God is King and Creator of all." Cf. *Of Reformation* (below, p. 607); *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVIII; *A Defence*, Chapter III. Milton uses the incident twice to approve and once to disapprove of Ambrose's act.

selfe to incurre the hatred of his people therby. Holinsh. p[age] 280¹¹

Constantine the Great, writing to his subjects, calls them by no other name than "brothers." See the letter of Constantine to the Alexandrians. Socrat: Book 1. c[hapter] 6.¹² See also Euseb: de vita Constant: Book 3. c[hapter] 18, at the end; ¹³ and Book 3. c[hapter] 58.¹⁴ in the letter of Constantine to the people of Antioch, at the beginning and at the end, and elsewhere. "Augustus, the founder of the Empire, was unwilling even to be called 'Lord,' for this also is a name of God. I will certainly call the Emperor 'Lord,' but at a time when I am not compelled to say 'Lord' instead of 'God'; otherwise I am free to this extent: my Lord is God alone," &c. Tertull: apologet: p[age] 31, edit: Rigalt: "In what way is the father of his country Lord?" *ibid*: ¹⁵

On appointing an heir. See p[age] 195.¹⁶ It is best, if a king expects

¹¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37. Milton's word "shames" is blotted. He rewrote it above the first, with a caret below it. In this entry Milton wrote "which" instead of the usual "weh." The "8" in his page number is blurred. The Columbia edition printed "230"; the number should be "280."] Holinshed (1587, III, 280) explains the nature of the quo warranto statute and the reason for Edward I's annulment of the law as follows: "By this law, a man who held lands of the king must appear before him and say by what right he held them. Many were thus called, and hatred arose, until John Warren, Earl of Surrey, "a man greatlie beloved of the people," defied the king, saying that his ancestors came with William the Conqueror and fought for their lands. The king, seeing the growing hatred, "left off his begun practise" because of "the manhood and courageous stoutnesse onelie of one man."

¹² [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 3] Constantine's letter, which is in Chapter 9, not Chapter 6, addresses the Alexandrians as "cherished brethren." *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 173.

¹³ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 2] "May God protect you, beloved brother," Constantine wrote to Eusebius. *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 146.

¹⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 2] *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 202.

¹⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 25] Milton quotes exactly from Tertullian, *Apologeticus* (*Opera*, Paris, 1634, p. 31). Tertullian adds: "The name of piety is more pleasing than that of power. Even as heads of families are called fathers rather than lords, so it is unfitting that an emperor should be called lord, even in the basest and most pernicious flattery." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 11): "Titles of Sov'ran Lord . . . not admitted by Emperours and Kings of best note . . . as appears by *Tertullian*"; also *A Defence*, Chapter III, where Milton quotes the same sentences from Tertullian which he includes here.

¹⁶ [Here Milton first wrote "non alia" after "credat" ("he will believe"). He deleted the phrase and wrote instead "patrem suum" ("he will believe that his father").] Milton's long Latin statement on the reasons for postponing the announcement of the succession is apparently his own, the result again of his voluminous reading of history. Like the authors of his sources, he feels the

to entrust his kingdom to his son after him, that he should so appoint his son that he will believe that his father establishes the succession of the realm, not on the basis of his coming of age, but on the basis of his deserts, and that he is to receive his father's authority, not as inherited spoils, but as the reward of worth; therefore, that the king should rather decide in his own mind and in secret than publicly proclaim whom he expects to leave as heir to the realm, and leave the succession, as it were, in doubt. By these means he will bring it about that his son will not act too haughtily, and that he will be less likely to be surrounded by a band of flatterers, and that he will not devise plots against his father's life, since he will be uncertain that another has not been appointed by his father, whose judgment the approval of the people will readily follow. In this way John Ducas Bataza left his son Theodorus to a hope of a kingdom that was not certain save only after his father's death, as Nicephoras Gregor. writes, Book 3. c[hapter] 1.¹⁷ the not observing this wrought our Hen. 2. a world of disquiet & danger. Holinsh. p[age] 76.¹⁸ For this reason Elizabeth

need of giving examples, and three of them follow. His reference to *CPB*, p. 195, is in the margin of his manuscript.

¹⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 10] Nicephoras Gregoras (*ca.* 1295-1360), Byzantine historian, was appointed keeper of the archives in Constantinople by Emperor Andronicus II. On the downfall of Andronicus, Gregoras lived in retirement, devoting himself to religious controversy and the writing of *Byzantinae Historiae Libri XI*, covering the years 1204 to 1359. His work parallels that of John Cantacuzene, his contemporary, whom Milton also refers to; they amplify and correct each other. Gregoras' work was published in Basle, 1562, with Greek and Latin texts (CUL). Since Milton gives no page references to Gregoras, it is impossible to determine which edition he used. The story of Emperor John Ducas Bataza (1562, Book III, p. 24) has the marginal note: "John Ducas' prudence in rearing his son." Then Gregoras says (p. 25): "For these and other reasons, Theodorus [John Ducas' son], while his father was living, was not given the title After his father's death, however, by vote of all the people he was made emperor, being seated on the shield, according to the accepted custom." Concerning this John Ducas Bataza, see the *Universal Lexicon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1735), XIV, 851.

¹⁸ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] The entry from Holinshed (1587, III, 76) provides a vivid example of how not to appoint an heir: "Therefore to prevent the chances of fortune, he [Henry II] determined whilst he was alive to crowne his eldest sonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and so to invest him in the kingdome by his owne act in his life time. which deed turned him to much trouble," for "the yoong man of an evill and perverse nature, was puffed up in pride by his fathers unseemellie dooings." Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter VIII. "Henry II . . . reigned jointly with his son."

was unwilling to proclaim Mary of Scotland her heir. Camd. p[ages] 65. 67. 68. and further, [page] 106.¹⁹

the crowning of Ks in England not admitted till thire oath receav'd of justice to be administerd, according to the laws. Stow & Holinsh. William conqueror. and other Ks. K. Rich. the 2. also renew'd his oath in parliament time in the church at Westmin. Stow. an. reg. 11.²⁰ Richard the 1. Holinsh. [page] 118. at large.²¹

The solemn rite of the crowning of Emperor Charles V in Italy. In Jovius. Book 27.²²

Unction refus'd by Henricus auceps [Henry the Fowler], a famous German Emperor. Cuspinian. in his life.²³

¹⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44. Page numbers "65" and "67" are badly blurred in this note] The familiar instance cited by Camden (*Annales*, 1615-27, I, 65, 67, 68, 106, as Milton rightly says) corroborates his other two examples.

²⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36 Milton wrote the *o* in "oath" over another letter, which is undecipherable. "Stow" is starred, to show that a marginal "& Holinsh," also starred, is to be inserted.] Milton's earlier entries under Laws (*CPB*, p. 179; see above, p. 427, nn. 14 ff.) cover these same examples of kings swearing to maintain the laws

²¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] In Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 118), in the midst of the long description of the elaborate ceremonies of coronation at Westminster, Milton saw this sentence "The archbishop forbad him on the behalfe of almightie God, not to presume to take upon him this dignitie, except he faithfullie meant to performe those things which he had there sworne to performe. Whereunto the king made answer, that by Gods grace he would performe them."

²² [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 48] Jovius' account (*Opera*, Basle, 1578, Book II, pp. 106-08) of the coronation of Charles V on February 24, 1530, is full of pomp and splendor, recorded as only an eyewitness could describe it. Pope Clement VII, with the sack of Rome still fresh in his mind, crowned the new emperor in Bologna, using the iron crown of the Lombards, the silver crown of the Germans, and the gold crown of Rome. Cardinal Salviato administered the oath to defend the honor of the Pope eternally. The emperor was first consecrated as a deacon and then prayed before the high altar for the prosperity of his reign. His shoulders and right arm were anointed by Cardinal Farnese. Much more ritual followed, lasting until sundown. Finally Charles received the imperial insignia from the Pope, kissed his feet, was seated on a throne slightly below him, and was proclaimed emperor. Mass was held, during which Charles confessed and received absolution and communion. He helped the Pope to mount, he led the Pope's horse as a mark of submission, and they rode away with a vast cortege following.

²³ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 61] Cuspinian, *Historia Caesarum* (Frankfurt, 1601, p. 235), tells of the refusal of unction (that is, the ceremony of anointing the head of a newly crowned king or emperor) by Henry the Fowler (ca. 876-936), Duke of Saxony, one of the greatest of the German kings in the

Crowning of French Ks. Sleidan. Book 19. [page] 327.²⁴

The election of German emperors. When it began to be practiced. Cuspinian. Otto 3: p[age] 254.²⁵

The conditions that must be accepted by the future Emperor are recorded in Sleidan. Book 1. p[age] 15 &c.²⁶

The conditions also that had to be assumed by the future Greek Emperor. Codinus Curopalat. de officiis Constantinopol. c[hapter] 17. de coronatione imperatoris.²⁷

tenth century, father of Otto the Great, and emperor before him. Cuspinian's account of his refusal is as follows: "And when the anointing is offered him by the pontiff of highest rank, [he says]: 'It is enough that by divine assent and your loyalty I am called King. We consider ourselves unworthy of such honor. Let anointing be for those who desire to be better. We are content with this name.' Having said these words, with hands raised to Heaven, he commends himself to God."

²⁴ [Milton, English, 1641-1642(?), 46] Sleidan, *Commentaries* (Strassburg, 1555, Book XIX, f. 327) describes the elaborate ceremonies of the crowning of Henry II of France on July 25, 1547, at the city of Rheims. All twelve parts of France were represented. Henry was led into the cathedral by three cardinals. At the altar he kissed the relics. Vestments, ring, crown, sword ceremonies are described in detail. The king was anointed and baptized by the archbishop of Rheims, took communion, prayed. Trumpets blew, the people acclaimed him, and he scattered gold and silver among the crowds.

²⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 61] Cuspinian, *Historia Caesarum* (Frankfurt, 1601, p. 254), records that Otto III was chosen as his father's successor at Verona, in June, 983, before his father's death the following December in Rome. Cf. *History of Britain*, Book III; *The Tenure* (1649), p. 15; and *A Defence*, Chapter IX, where Milton's interest in the early election of monarchs is evident.

²⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46] Sleidan, *Commentaries* (1555, Book I, ff. 15, 16), discusses at great length the conditions established in 1519 at the time of the election of Charles V: "The conditions were of this nature: he would preserve a Christian state, the pope, and the Roman church, of which he would be an advocate; he would administer justice impartially, and he would strive for peace; all the laws of the Empire, especially the one which is called the Golden Bull, he would not only confirm but would even augment according to the counsel of his ministers when he should direct affairs; he would establish a senate, chosen from the Germans, which would govern the state; he would by no means destroy or threaten the laws, privileges, dignity of the princes and estates of the Empire," and so forth.

²⁷ [Milton, Latin, date uncertain, 96] Fifty-three steps are listed in the coronation of the Greek emperor, from the oath-taking at the great palace in the presence of army and people to the entrance into the church, the taking of vows, the putting on of vestments, the presentation of the scepter, and the benediction. Having sworn, "in the name of Christ our Lord, as faithful King and Emperor of the Romans," to be worthy of his high office, he recited the Apostles' Creed, vowed to uphold the laws of the realm, to confirm the constitutions of the seven ecumenical synods and to support their leaders, to defend the Holy Catholic Church, to

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KING

Sigonius writes, in *de imp. occid.*: Book 1.¹ that Diocletian was the first of the Romans to permit himself to be worshipped; whereas before him all the Roman emperors had been satisfied with the consular salute. This assertion others make about Constantine.

What the early Christians decided about this, Justin Martyr, writing to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, makes clear in his belief, founded upon the teaching of Christ, that we should give to Caesar the things which are Caesar's and to God the things which are God's; "therefore," he says, "we worship God alone, and in other matters we gladly serve you," in which he plainly assigns "worship" to God alone, and "willing service" to kings. *apolog.* 2. p[age] 64²

show mercy to his subjects, to abstain from slaughter as much as possible, and to seek justice and truth. This entry Milton probably made from the Paris, 1648, edition of the *Byzantinae Historiae Scriptores*, containing sixteen separate treatises in two parts, of which Georgius Codinus Curopalata, *De Officiis Magnae Ecclesiae et Aulae Constantinopolitanae* (*Of the Functions of the Great Church and Court of Constantinople*), is the first work in Part II, pp. 1-146 (HCL).

Of the author, Georgios Kodinos (or Codinus), little is known. It is supposed that he lived toward the end of the fifteenth century. The title "Curopalata" after his name on the title page indicates that he was keeper of the archives and was therefore familiar with the ceremonies appropriate to different court and church occasions. Codinus' work was first published by Francis Junius in 1588, and a Paris text appeared in 1625. Since, in Epistle XXI, Milton lists the works in the *Byzantinae Historiae Scriptores* which he did not own in 1656 and wished to buy, we know that he bought, as they appeared in Paris, the works in that series, all published before 1658. "This," says Hanford ("Chronology," p. 280, n. 146), "may account for a late return to Byzantine history in Milton's reading."

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 8] Sigonius, *Imperio* (Frankfurt, 1618, Book I, p. 20) says: "This great happiness and such favorable indulgence of fortune Diocletian was not fit for. So he proceeded from moderation straight on to haughtiness, even to insolence, so that, forgetting his mortality, he even wished to be worshipped as God." Diocletian (245-313 A.D.) was Roman emperor from 284 to 305. The end of his reign is notable for his persecution of the Christians and his attempts to strengthen the empire by a revival of the old Roman religion.

² [Milton, Latin comment, Greek quotation, 1637-1638(?), 27] Milton's "page 64" refers exactly to the material covered and quoted in this entry from the Paris, 1615, Greek and Latin edition of Justin Martyr, *Opera* (HCL). Though the title of the work to which Milton refers here is "Pro Christianis Defensio II ad Antoninum Pium" ("A Second Defense of Christians to Antoninus Pius"), pp. 53-102, the running title at the top of each alternate page is "Pro Christianis Apologia II," and Milton records that rather than the "Defensio II." Early in *The Tenure* (1649, p. 11) Milton mentions the aversion of the Christians in ancient Rome to the arrogant titles of kings. In *A Defence*, Chapter III, Milton

Justinian, here and there, calls his laws oracles; and our constitution divine. institut. Book 2. tit[le] 2. §. 9.³ and our treasury most sacred. *ibid.*

That the authority of a king does not depend upon the Pope, Dante the Florentine wrote in the book whose title is *Monarchia*; a book which Cardinal Poggietto had burned as an heretical work, as Boccaccio asserts in his life of Dante, in the earlier editions, for in the later ones all mention of that fact was taken out by the inquisitor.⁴

discusses Christ's teaching concerning tribute, quoting the same passage as that quoted by Justin Martyr.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 71] The ninth section under title 2 of Book II in Justinian, *Institutes* (Louvain, 1475, no pag.) says: "The wisdom of the law is its conception of divine and human things, its knowledge of the just and the unjust."

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 15] Milton's reference to the *De Monarchia* in this entry is not to Dante's work directly but to Boccaccio's discussion of it. Of Milton's reading of Boccaccio, Hanford says ("Chronology," p. 264, n. 24): "Unless Milton is citing Boccaccio at second hand from some unmentioned source he must have used the editio princeps, published by Sermartelli, Florence, 1576. He remarks that the incident of the burning of the *De Monarchia* was suppressed in the later editions of the *Vita*, which he may therefore also have known. If this is a second hand quotation it is the only one made in the *Commonplace Book* without reference to its immediate source." I see no reason for supposing that this entry was made at second hand; nor do I translate Milton's "editione priore" by "first edition." The Florence, 1576, edition was, in fact, not the first, since the first was prefixed to Vendelin da Spira's edition of the *Divina Commedia*, which appeared in 1477. The edition cited here is that published in Rome in 1544, called the *Vita di Dante Poeta Fiorentino, Composta per Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, per Francesco Priscianese Fiorentino* (HLH). I have therefore translated "editione priore" as "the earlier editions" and the "posteriores" as "the later ones." It is quite possible that Milton read an "earlier edition" of the *Vita* and then saw a later one, or that he read somewhere of the change, after seeing what Boccaccio said about the matter.

In the Rome, 1544, edition, Boccaccio tells (pp. 42-43) of the publication of Dante's *De Monarchia* and of its later fate as Milton's note states it. After outlining the contents of Books I and II of the *De Monarchia*, on the origin of the empire, and after recording (p. 42) that in Book III Dante showed that "the authority of the Empire proceeded immediately from God and not from any mediating Vicar, as the Clergy say about it," Boccaccio adds (p. 43): "That book several years after the death of the author was condemned by Bertrand Cardinal del Poggietto and Legate of the Pope in the part of Lombardy where Pope John XXII was." The reason for the condemnation was that Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria, elected king of the Romans by the electors of Germany, had to come to Rome for his coronation. The question of authority arose, and much dissension followed, so that Dante's book became famous in the controversy. When Ludwig returned home, "the Cardinal . . . had the above mentioned book, which had publicly been declared heretical, at once condemned to the fire

There is an excellent definition of the duty of an emperor. Jus Graeco-Romanum, Book 2. p[age] 178. from the book of law of Basilius, Constantine, and Leo, where he says: "The duty of an emperor is to do good, and when he is lacking in beneficence, he seems to counterfeit the recognized role of emperor." ⁵ See also the *Orlando Innamorato* of Berni cant. 7. stanz. 3: "A king, if he wishes to do his duty, is not truly a king but a steward of the people," &c.⁶

the clergie commonly the corrupters of kingly authority turning it to tyrannie by thire wicked flatteries even in the pulpit as An. reg. Rich. 2. an. 21. stafford bishop of Exceter. in parliament time w^{ch} was cause of great mischief to both K. and country ⁷

and the memory of the dead author to eternal infamy." This was the story which the Roman office of the Inquisition, remodeled in 1542 on the pattern of that of Spain, saw fit to eliminate from later editions of Boccaccio's work.

⁵ [Milton, Latin comment, Greek quotation, 1643-1644(?), 75] Milton's note refers to Leunclavius, *Jus Graeco-Romanum* (Frankfurt, 1596, Book II, p. 178), where the title "Officium et Definitio imperatoris, Ex libro de iure, qui est Basili, Constantini, & Leonis" explains Milton's note on the exact chapter heading and also explains Leunclavius' sources, Basil, Constantine, and Leo, for the definition of the duty of an emperor. Five paragraphs define the emperor's position and duties. Milton passes over the first two, beginning "The emperor is the lawful magistrate," and quotes the third.

⁶ [Milton, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1643-1644(?), 81] Milton's entry from Berni's revision of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (see above, p. 391) is from one of Berni's stanzas prefixed to Book I, Canto 7 (Venice, 1541, no pag.). Except for a change from Berni's "popol" to "popolo," Milton quotes exactly the first three lines of stanza 3, which says. "A king, if he wishes to do his duty, is not really a king, but a steward of the people that are given him to govern, for the good of that which has been created by the Lord God, and not for its destruction. On the contrary, there is need that he be the servant of everyone, and the guard, and seek only the good and be the bearer of the troubles of his sinful neighbors." The Columbia edition translation of this note reads: "A king wishes to do his duty, and he is not truly a king who cheats the people." This reading is incorrect. "Fattore" means a "steward," not "one who cheats." Cf. *Esikonoklastes*, Chapter XIII (1649, p. 128): "Kings . . . the entrusted Servants of the Common-wealth"; *A Defence*, Chapter III, where Chrysostom is quoted. "Why pay we revenue to the king? Is it not as we pay hire for protection and care to one who watches out for us?"; *Paradise Regamed*, II, 462-64: "When on his shoulders each man's burden lies: For therein stands the office of a King."

⁷ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37(?). In this note Milton wrote, before "Rich. 2," something now undecipherable. He deleted it and wrote "An. reg." after it. For "mischief" Milton first wrote "meischef." He turned the first *e* into an *i*, deleted the *i* before *s* by means of a vertical line, and lightly inserted an *i* after "ch."] Concerning this entry, for which Milton gives no source, Hanford ("Chronology," p. 312, n. 169) asks: "Holinshead?" The "An. reg. Rich. 2. an.

the right of Ks. to the goods of his subjects. the answer of Reginald to Ruscand the popes legat. Leg[ate:] "all churches are the popes." Regin[ald:] "truth, to defend, but not to use them to serve his owne turne, as wee say all is the princes, that is all is his to defend, but not to spoile." Holinsh. p[age] 253.⁸

On monarchy. Sulpicius Severus says that the name of kings has always been hateful to free peoples, and he condemns the action of the Hebrews in choosing to exchange their freedom for servitude. Hist: Sac. Book 1. p[age] 56.⁹

the first original of a K. was in paternal authority. and from thence ought patterne himselfe how to be toward his subjects: Smith. comwel. c[hapter] 12 ¹⁰

21." suggests Holinshed, but neither Holinshed nor Speed mentions the sermon of Bishop Stafford. Stow, *Annales* (1615, p. 315), however, does. The year was 1397, when the realm seemed happy and prosperous; but suddenly a turmoil arose over the arrest and exile by Richard II of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick. The king's tyranny had begun. "Then the King caused a great and generall parliament to be sommoned at Westminster . . . at the beginning whereof Edward Stafford Bishop of Excester L. Chancellor, made a proposition or sermon, in which he affirmed that the power of the King was alone and perfect of it selfe, and those that impeached it were worthy to suffer paine of the law."

⁸ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 253) records that in 1256, the fortieth year of the reign of Henry III, the bishop of Hereford and Ruscand, the Pope's legate, tried to create discord among the English prelates so that true information about the Church of England could not be reported to the Pope. At a meeting of prelates in London, "one maister Leonard *aliàs* Reignold [Milton's Reginald] that was chosen prolocutor for all the prelates, amongst other answers made to the legat Ruscand, when the same Ruscand alledged that all churches were the popes," made the reply which Milton quotes.

⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 6. Milton's heading, "On Monarchy," is a marginal note in Latin.] In Severus, *History* (Leyden, 1635, p. 56), occurs a parenthetical comment by the author which says: "To all free peoples generally the name of king has been always hateful." This parenthesis is inserted in Severus' account of the Hebrews' demand for a king. In the margin is "1 Reg. 8," which should, of course, be "1 Samuel 8." The demand for a king was made to Samuel, who tried to turn them "from their insane desire" by describing "royal domination" and "haughty rule." He warned them of God's wrath, since God was their king. But his words were "frustrâ." Saul was anointed king by Samuel. Cf. *A Defence*, Chapters II and III, where Milton discusses the choice of the Hebrews, stressing the freedom of that choice.

¹⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 39] Milton's five entries from Smith, *Commonwealth of England*, give no page numbers. The first edition of this work appeared in 1583. It was written to serve as a textbook in comparative politics, and other editions followed in 1621, 1625, 1630. Sir Thomas Smith (ca. 1512-1577) was a teacher of law at Cambridge, and his scholarly study of

the cause & reason of creating kings. see well express'd in Haillan Hist France. Book 13. p[age] 719.¹¹

no king can give away his k. dom without consent of the whole state. Holinsh. [page] 191.¹² as appears also by the letters of the parliament sent to the pope with consent of Edw. 1. concerning the realm of Scot. Holinsh. p[age] 311.¹³ so also it was answerd to Hen. 3 of France by the parliament at Blois. Thuan. hist. [Book] 63. p[age] 186: "In no case can the patrimony of the crown be taken away from the king, inasmuch as the king is merely the usufructuary of the property of the realm in his possession," &c. *ibid.*¹⁴

the commonwealth of England discusses the origins and kinds of government and law from the time of the Greeks and the Romans to his own day. In the London, 1621, edition (NYPL) the author says (p. 14): "And therefore such a one [that is, the father of children] doth beare the first and naturall example of an absolute, and perfect King. For he loved them [his subjects] as his owne Children and Nephewes." Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter V, on the king as a "pater-familias"

¹¹ [Milton, English, 1644-1647(?), 53] Milton usually refers to Bernard Girard, Sieur du Haillan, as Girard. Here he uses part of his title instead. In *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book XIII, p. 719) Girard says: "The only reason why kings were first created and chosen was that human society was maintained and knit together by the prudence and leadership of a great person who discovered that, if the laws of those same people could control and restrict the daring of evil ones, they would suffice for the public preservation and defence"

¹² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 191) tells of how, in the reign of King John, in 1216, King Philip of France purposed to invade England, saying that John had usurped the throne from his nephew and had become a vassal of the Pope. The Pope sent a legate to Philip to dissuade him. Philip replied: "For the kingdome of England . . . never belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at anie time shall. For admit that he [John] were rightfull king, yet neither he nor anie other prince may give awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogative roiall, to the uttermost of their powers." Milton changed "the assent of his barons" to "consent of the whole state." Cf. *Observations on the Articles of Peace* (1649, p. 48) where John's deposition is recorded as the result of his resigning his crown to the Pope's legate.

¹³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed tells (1587, III, 131) of the letter to Pope Boniface, sent by Parliament in 1301, which said that the kings of England, who also governed Scotland, had never jeopardized and must never jeopardize their tenure by recognizing a higher power or by sending messengers to the Pope's presence, lest such messengers establish wrong premises.

¹⁴ [Milton, English and Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52. The quotation in this entry is in the margin, and a star appears after "186" and before the marginal Latin quotation. It is here inserted in the text.] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, III, 186), tells of how, in the reign of Henry III of France, one Aemar of Bordeaux, president of the Estates General, said in Parliament what Milton quotes. By "usufructuary" he meant, according to Roman and civil law, "one

whether monarchy be a power absolute. S^r Tho. Smith answereth, that neither it nor any other kind of common wealth is pure an absolute in his kind, no more then the elements are pure in nature, or the complexions, and temperatures in a body but mixt with other, "for that nature . . . will not suffer it." com-wealth Eng. c[hapter] 6¹⁵ and in the 9 c[hapter] that the act of a k. "neither approved by the people, nor establisht by act of parliament" is "taken for nothing either to bind the k., his successors, or his subjects." instancing, in k. John who resignd his crowne to Pandulfus for Pope.¹⁶

"The kings of Aragon do not have royal authority that is absolute in all things." Guicciardin. Book 6. Hist. p[age] 347.¹⁷

having the right of using and enjoying the fruits or profits of an estate or other thing belonging to another, without impairing the substance." Milton uses this material in *Observations on the Articles of Peace* (1649, p. 48) just before that concerning King John (see above, n 12). He was told, says Milton, that "a King in no case, though of extreamest necessity, might alienate the Patrimony of his Crown, whereof he is but onely *Usu-fructuary*, as Civilians terme it, the propriety remaining ever to the Kingdome, not to the King."

¹⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 39] In Smith, *Commonwealth of England*, the heading of Chapter 6 is (1621, p. 5): "That Common-wealths or Governments are not most commonly simple, but mixt." Milton summarizes the short, one-paragraph chapter in a sentence, quoting one clause but omitting the word "almost" and supplying "it" after "suffer." Milton's own earlier belief in the advantages of a mixed government was no doubt influenced by Sir Thomas Smith. Cf. Zera S Fink, "The Theory of the Mixed State and the Development of Milton's Political Thought," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 705-36.

¹⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 39] Chapter 9 in the 1621 edition (p. 9) is called "Of the Name of King, and the Administration of England." Smith says (*Commonwealth of England*, 1621, pp. 9-10) that English kings have never taken their investiture from the emperor of Rome or any other superior or foreign prince; for "Although King *John* . . . did resigne the Crowne to his [the Pope's] Legate *Pandulphus*, and tooke it againe from him, as from the Pope, by faith and homage, and a certaine tribute yeerely . . . that act being neither approved by his people, nor established by Act of Parliament, was forthwith and ever sithence taken for nothing, either to binde the King, his Successors, or Subiects." See above, n. 14.

¹⁷ [Milton, Italian, date uncertain, 93] Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), renowned Florentine historian and statesman, was a contemporary of the historian Paolo Giovio (above, p. 368), but whereas Giovio wrote as he was told and included many "brilliant falsehoods," Guicciardini, as an ambitious noble who served three popes through twenty years and who hated the papacy with deep bitterness, wrote with a cold cynicism. In his *Historia d' Italia* he attributed the weakness of Italy to the ambition of the church and said he had seen enough ecclesiastical corruption to make him a Lutheran. He thought the best form of government was a commonwealth but was one of a powerful party that helped subdue the Florentines to the rule of the Medicis. Milton's page reference in

definition of S^r Tho. Smith is. "A K. is who by succession or election commeth with good will of the people to his government, and doth administer the com-welth by the laws of the same and by equity, and doth seeke the profit of the people as his owne." and on the contrarie, "he that coms by force, breaks laws at his pleasure, maks other without consent of the people, and regardeth not the wealth of the commons, but the advancement of himselfe, his faction, and his kindred" he defines for a tyrant. c[hapter] 7.¹⁸ See Arist. eth. [Book] 9. c[hapter] 10.¹⁹ "The tyrant seeks what benefits himself, the king what benefits his subjects."

"The kingdoms that have good rule do not give their kings absolute power [over them] except over their armies, because in that case alone a sudden decision is necessary," &c. Fabritio in Macchivel. arte di guerra Book 1. p[age] 15.²⁰

this entry fits the quarto edition of the *Historia d'Italia* published in Florence in 1636 (HCL). On p. 346 appears the marginal note, "History of the succession of Isabella [of Castile] in the Kingdom of Spain," and p. 347 continues the account begun there. In Castile the power of the king was absolute Ferdinand II of Aragon, who married Isabella of Castile, hoping to rule Castile as well as Aragon, failed in that ambition and, says Guicciardini (p. 347), "had to return to his little kingdom of Aragon, little by comparison with the kingdom of Castile in narrowness of territory and of entrance and because the kings of Aragon, not having royal authority that is absolute in all things, are in many things subject to the constitutions and the customs of the provinces." Milton changes "Re" to "re," "havendo" ("having") to "hanno" ("have"), and omits "à" before "regia" Otherwise he quotes exactly.

¹⁸ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 39. In this entry Milton wrote "others" and then deleted the s] In the quotation from Smith, *Commonwealth of England* (1621, chap. 7, p. 6), Milton changes "by force commeth" to "coms by force," "breaketh" to "breaks," "maketh" to "maks," "that Government" to "his goverment"; he omits "advice" in "advice and consent of the people" and "much as" before "his owne," besides two other brief omissions; he abbreviates "Commonwealth" and reduces capitals in "Commonwealth," "Commons," and "Laws" to lower case.

¹⁹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 40. The reference to Aristotle, with Greek quotation, is in the margin in the manuscript.] There were a number of editions of Aristotle's *Opera* printed, as follows: Venice, 1495-98, the first edition, in Greek, five folio volumes; Basle, 1531, two folio volumes in one; Venice, 1551-53, six volumes in eight; Frankfurt, Wechel's heirs edition, 1584-87, five volumes in four; Paris, 1619, two folio volumes. Milton may have used any one of them. Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter VIII, where Sir Thomas Smith is cited as one who bases his statements concerning mixed governments "upon the opinion of Aristotle"

²⁰ [Milton, Italian, 1640-1642(?), 43] Milton's quotation from Machiavelli, *Art of War*, assigned to page 15 of Book I, fits the 1550 edition of the *Tutte*

[P.] 183 SUBJECT. SEE KING. SEE OF IDOLATRY,
AND SEDITION

The Pope releases his subjects from their oath. Pope Gregory frees the Italians from the oath by which they are bound to Leo of Isauria. Sigon: reg. Ital. Book 3. p[age] 63.¹

From Chilperic Pope Zacharias takes away his kingdom because of his idleness, thus freeing the Franks from the obligation of their oath of allegiance. Sigon: reg. Ital: Book 3. p[age] 74.²

le Opere. There Cosimo and Fabritio, two speakers, are discussing, in dialogue form, the relation of warfare to the realm, and Fabritio says what Milton quotes. The Columbia edition prints "Fabricio." On examination of the facsimile of the manuscript of the *Commonplace Book*, however, I believe that Milton wrote "Fabritio," as his source had it.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 9. Milton's heading for this entry is in the margin in Latin.] Milton's four entries from Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae*, have page numbers that fit the Frankfurt, 1575, edition, published by Andreas Wechel, and the duplicate Frankfurt, 1591, edition (HLH), published by the heirs of Wechel. Leo of Isauria, who was Leo III (ca 680-740), Emperor of the East, issued a series of edicts against the worship of images from 726 to 729 which caused strong opposition in the East and open rebellion in Italy. Sigonius' account (Frankfurt, 1591, p. 63) says that in 725 Leo, wishing to keep a promise to the Jewish priests, began to destroy religious images. He wrote to the Pope, asking his permission and authority in the matter. "Pope Gregory III replied, in accordance with the dignity of his office, that the holy images were worshipped in the Church according to an ancient practice of Catholics and that it was not permitted to him to decide that the worship should be stopped either by his own free will or by virtue of his office. He advised the Emperor, moreover, that he should consider carefully what he was doing and whither he was proceeding, for it was not for the Emperor to establish anything new concerning the faith, but to defend what had been decreed of old by the Fathers." Leo was not moved and the next year continued his war on the images and their worshippers. Gregory excommunicated him. "And presently," says Sigonius, "he absolved the people of Italy from the oaths by which they were bound to him [the emperor] and said they should give him neither allegiance nor tribute." Cf. *Of Reformation* (below, p. 578), where Milton tells how Gregory "absolves all Italy of their Tribute, and obedience due to the Emperour, because hee obey'd Gods Commandement in abolishing Idolatry. . . . Yee need but read *Sigonius* one of his owne Sect to know the Story at large."

² [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 9] Zacharias, who followed Gregory III, was pope from 741 to 752 and had great influence on the course of events in France and Germany, as his extant letters show. Sigonius' record of his influence in the deposition of Chilperic (*De Regno Italiae*, Frankfurt, 1591, Book III, p. 74) is as follows: In the year 750, "Pippin, son of Charles, was administering affairs with highest praise for his industry and vigor, while Chilperic, the king, was demanding no part of the care of the realm. Thinking this unworthy, Pippin consulted Zacharias as to which seemed to him worthier of king's rank, he who, languid in idleness, gave nothing to the common good or he who night and day

The Estates General of Holland take away Philip's power, in a treatise, moreover, published at The Hague, and the provinces are commanded to disclaim obedience to him. Thuan. Book 74. p[age] 513.³

England a free nation not only at home but from all claim whatsoever. from pope see Holinshead. [pages] 101.,⁴ and 311.⁵ from Emperour as appeares by meeting the emperour Sigismond with drawn sword. Hen. 5. Speed. p[age] 646.⁶

Parlament by three estates churchmen, Lords & commons first thought of the welfare and safety of the realm. To him Zacharias replied that by all means he thought that that one should be king who served the needs and safety of the kingdom, and at the request of Pippin he issued a decree, in the greatness of his power, by which he took the rule from Chilperic as unfit, and, having absolved the Franks of their oath of allegiance, brought it about that they would choose Pippin king." Cf. *Of Reformation*, Book II, where Milton, following Sigonius, says that the Pope unthroned Chilperic, rightful king of France; and *A Defence*, Chapters IV, VIII, XII, where he cites French authorities to prove that not the Pope but a national assembly unthroned him.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, III, 513), tells of the resistance of the Netherlands to the grinding tyranny of Philip of Spain in 1581 by action in Parliament. Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, pp. 31-32) where Milton names "*Thuan. l. 74*" as his source for saying that "In the yeare 1581 the States of *Holland* in a general assembly at the *Hague*, abjur'd all obedience and subjection to *Philip* King of *Spaine* . . . [who] had lost his right to all the Belgic Provinces; that therfore they depos'd him and declar'd it lawfull to choose another in his stead." The word "Belgae" in Latin denoted all peoples of the later Netherlands.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, II, 101, *The Historie of Scotland*): "The Britains disdainfullie using the Pictish ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come under subiection of Loth [king of the Picts], but also denied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Uter [British kings], should have anie rule or government amongst them."

⁵ [Milton's "11" is somewhat blurred in "311" because he started to write something else.] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 310-11), contains Edward I's letter to Pope Boniface: "The kings of England have answered or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid relme," and none other.

⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 646), tells of how Emperor Sigismund was met at Calais by thirty of Henry V's "tallest ships to waft him to *Dover*, gallantly rigged and manned with a noble traine." At Dover the Duke of Gloucester and other lords, as the emperor was ready to land, "with their drawn swords entred the water, and thus spake to the Emperour, that if his Imperiall Majestie intended to enter as their Kings friend, and a mediator for peace, they would receive him with all willingnesse accordingly, but if as an Emperour to claime any authority in *England*, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to resist and impeach his entrance."

convocated by Charles Martell to elect him prince of y^e french about the year 730.⁷

The commons of France give instructions to thir knights & burgesses. For when Bodin ⁸ who serv'd for the country of Verman-
dois in the great Parliament at Blois 1576 had spokn somthing dis-
pleasing to the courtiers, they suborned som of that countrie to
accuse him for going against thir instructions. Thuan. hist. Book 53.
p[age] 179.⁹

to say that the lives and goods of the subjects are in the hands of
the K. and at his disposition is an article against Ri. 2. in parl. a
thing ther said to be most tyrannous and unprincely. Holinsh. [page]
503.¹⁰

the liberties of English subjects. vide de legibus. [See Of Laws.] ¹¹
magna charta, and charta de forestâ subscrib'd and seal'd to by K.

⁷ [Milton, English, 1644-1647(?), 53] This entry, though unassigned by Milton, is undoubtedly from Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576), since in *CPB*, p. 186 (see below, p. 461), Milton has an entry almost identical with this one which he assigns to Girard, Book II, p. 109 There Girard says: "But Martel . . . caused to come to him a company of the most notable men of the Church, the greatest lords of France, and the most honorable men from among the people . . . by them he caused himself to be elected prince or duke of the French . . . and into the hands of said assembly, composed of three estates of the realm, he put the entire government of the realm. . . . This convocation of Martel, invented by him, was called Parlement." Cf. *Observations on the Articles of Peace* where Milton, defending the Parliament of Cromwell, says: "As for Parliaments by three Estates, wee know that a Parliament signifies no more then the Supream and generall Councell of a Nation, consisting of whomsoever chos'n and assembl'd for the public good." Such an assembly, he says, existed before the word "parlament" was invented; and though Charles Martell may have convoked the first parliament, "he stands not so high in repute . . . but that . . . we may recede from what he ordain'd."

⁸ Jean Bodin, author of the *Six Books Concerning a Republic* (Frankfurt, 1594).

⁹ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 51 In this note Milton first wrote "against" after "countrie," deleted it, and wrote "to accuse."] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626). Milton's "Book 53" should be "Book 33," though the facsimile of his manuscript plainly says "53"

¹⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-41(?), 37. Milton inserted the *r* in "ther," using a caret.] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 502-03), tells of Parliament's list of "The articles objected to king Richard, whereby he was counted worthie to be deposed from his principalltie." Milton's entry refers to Article 23: "Item, he most tyrannouslie and unprincelie said, that the lives and goods of all his subiects were in his hands, and at his disposition."

¹¹ A cross reference to *CPB*, pp 179, 189. See above, p. 423, and below, p. 467.

John betwixt stanes and Windsore Holinsh. p[ages] 185. 186.¹² but got to be made void by the Pope p[age] 189.¹³ but manfully rejected by the barons. *ibid.*¹⁴

an office to correct the K. "the Earle of Chester bare the sword of St^t Edward before the K. in token that he was Earle of y^e palace, and had authority to correct the K. if he should see him swerve from the limits of Justice." Holinsh. Hen. 3^d. [page] 219.¹⁵ Curtana. this sword is called by Speed Curtana. p[age] 603. Rich. 2.¹⁶

the citizens of London toll-free throughout all England by the charter of Hen. 3^d. Holinsh. p[age] 208.¹⁷ other thire liberties con-

¹² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37 Milton wrote "to" after "subscrib'd" and then deleted it] Holinshed (1587, III, 185, 186) describes vividly how the barons "pitcht downe their tents in a meadow betwixt Stanes and Windsore" and how King John arrived with a great retinue.

¹³ Concerning the charters signed by John, Holinshed says that Pope Innocent, shortly after the signing (1587, III, 189), "decreed that all those priviledges, which the king had granted unto the lords and barons of this realme, as inforced thereto by their rebellious attempt, should be accounted void and of none effect." Angered that John had signed the charters, the Pope asked, "And doo they meane indeede to translate the dominion that belongeth to the church of Rome unto another?"

¹⁴ Holinshed adds (1587, III, 189), "The barons taking the matter grievouslie to be thus mocked . . . determined to trie their cause by dint of sword." They assembled their forces and fortified the castle of Rochester, which King John then besieged

¹⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37 Milton's heading for this entry is in the margin.] This quotation from Holinshed (1587, III, 219) concerns the occasion of the crowning of Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, as Henry III's queen. The sentence therefore means that the sword of Edward the Confessor, maker and protector of laws, was borne before Henry III as a sign of the Earl of Chester's authority as Earl of the Palace. Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 25): "They [our monarchs] had the Sword of St. Edward born before them by an officer who was call'd Earle of the Palace . . . to mind them . . . that if they erred, the Sword had power to restraime them."

¹⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38. Milton's heading, "Curtana," is in the margin.] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 603), names the sword, mentioned by Holinshed, Curtana. The occasion is the coronation of Richard II. John, the king's eldest uncle, claimed to be now "Steward of England, in right of his Earledome of Leicester, and as he was Duke of Lancaster, to beare the Kings chiefe Sword, called Curtana." Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter VIII: "That by this law a wicked king is liable to punishment was betokened by that sword of St. Edward, called Curtana, which the Earl Palatine used to carry in the procession at a coronation." In both his references to the sword (above, n. 15) Milton cites "Matthew Paris, the best of our Historians"

¹⁷ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] The early liberties of Londoners must have considerably interested Milton, London born and bred. Holinshed (1587, III, 208) says that in 1227, in the tenth year of Henry III's reign, he

firm'd by Ed. 3. Holinsh. p[age] 343.¹⁸

'the 24 governours chosen at the parliament abuse thire liberty. Holinsh. p[age] 259.¹⁹ the charters and liberties confirm'd & seal'd by Edward 1. Holinsh. [page] 306.²⁰ and declar'd in parliament. *ibid.* certain earls undertak for him to seale and confirm againe. p[age] 307. confirm'd again in parlament but the clause salvo jure coronae offends the barons and the whole people [page] 308. renews the confirmation of the charters. [page] 309. *ibid.* and at Lincoln. [page] 312. procures to be absolv'd of his oath by the pope [page] 313. Ed. 3. assents to good part in parliament. Holinsh. p[age] 361. but both Ed. 1 ²¹ and Ed. 3. assent and confirm absolutely saith Speed. about a dozen times by this K. [page] 596.²²

"granted by his charter insealed, that the citizens of London should passe toll free through all England." If anyone sought to demand the toll, such a one, found "within the liberties of London," should have his property attached by the sheriffs of London until satisfaction had been made.

¹⁸ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] In 1327, on his accession, Edward III (Holinshed, 1587, III, 343) "confirmed the liberties and franchises of the citie of London" The mayor was to sit in all places of judgment in London. Citizens were not to be "constreined to go foorth of the citie to anie warres in defense of the land." The king could seize their franchises only in case of "treason and rebellion shewed by the whole citie."

¹⁹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 259) records that in 1258 it was ordained in the Parliament at Oxford that King Henry III should choose twelve persons and the "communalitie of the land" should choose twelve to have charge of the government of the realm These twenty-four governors "began to order all things at their pleasure, in the meane time not forgetting to use things cheefie to their owne advantages, as well in providing eschets [reverted lands] and wards for their sonnes and kinsfolks, as also in bestowing patronages of churches . . . so that these providers seemed to provide all for themselves"

²⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Here Milton's notes from Holinshed (1587, III, 259-361) outline the story of the conflict between king and barons concerning the charters of liberties

²¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p 559), says. "For the King [Edward I] . . . graciously and wisely yeeled to confirme such grants of lawes and liberties, as the Earles and Barons (the pretended Conservators of the Peoples interest) did declare, were by his promise to bee confirmed to them at his returne from *Scotland*: and which hee accordingly did, in a Parliament holden at *London*."

²² Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 578), says that, on Edward III's accession in 1327, he proclaimed "that every one [should] pursue or follow his actions, and complants, without any manner of out-rage, according to the lawes and customes of our Kingdome." Speed later adds (p. 596): "It is observed that the Law of *Magna Charta* . . . was about a dozen severall times confirmed by this King during the yeares of his raigne."

of Parliament Liberties. Holinsh. [page] 452.²³

the Ld. Chauncellour the cheife justice and the Treasurer elected or depos'd by the parl. of ancient custom Lamb. Archeion. out of Mat. Paris ²⁴

Speed makes the beginning of Parlements in Hen. 1. days. p[age] 449.²⁵

If y^e pope be not greater then a councel, then is no K. to be thought greater then y^e Parliament See de Conciliis.²⁶

²³ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] Holinshed records (1587, III, 452) that in 1386 the two houses of Parliament sent representatives to the king to remind him that he was to call Parliament annually for the hearing and redress of charges and grievances, and that if he absented himself for forty days, not being sick, "it was greate to their discomfort." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649), p. 26, and *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter VI (1649, p. 51), concerning Parliament's demands that Richard come to them at Westminster, lest they choose another king.

²⁴ [Milton, English, 1641–1642(?), 41. Milton wrote "elected by authority of parliament" after "Chauncellour," and then he deleted the phrase. Below "the Ld Chauncellour" he wrote "the chiefe justice and the Treasurer," enclosing the three titles in a bracket, to show that the rest of the entry applied to all three.] In Lambard, *Archeion* (1635, p. 57), is found the passage to which Milton's entry refers. Perhaps the edition he used had no page numbers, so that in his entries from Lambard he gives none. The passage to which he refers is as follows: "It was told him [Henry III] by all his Lords spirituall and temporall, that of ancient time the Creation and Deposition of the chiefe Justice, the Chancellour, and the Treasurer, belonged to the Parliament."

²⁵ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, pp. 448–49), says that in 1116 Henry I, now free from foreign and domestic troubles, turned his thoughts to the "well-governing of his people; for calling an assembly at *Salisbury* caused the Estates both Spirituall and Temporall," and thus (p. 449) he "laid heere the first foundation of our High Court of Parliament . . . Now the Subject, best understanding his owne grievances, hath both liberty in choice of their Knights and Burgesses, as also free voyce to complaine thereof in that honourable assembly." Speed's marginal note is: "The beginning of our Parliaments."

²⁶ Hanford ("Chronology," p. 278, n. 132) suggests that Milton may refer to Spelman, *Concilia, Decreta . . . in Re Ecclesiastica Orbis Britanmae*, the first volume of which was published in 1639 and which Milton refers to in the *History of Britain*, but Hanford adds that he has no assurance of that source, since all Milton says is "See de Conciliis." Considering Milton's practice elsewhere, I believe that this is simply a reference to Milton's undiscovered Theological Index. There he may have referred to Spelman, Sarpi, and other such sources. I have found no statement in Spelman like that in Milton's entry. Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVIII (1649, p. 232): "Certainly if whole Councils of the Romish Church have . . . discerned so much of Truth, as to decree . . . that a council is above the Pope, and may judge him, though by them not deni'd to be the Vicar of Christ, we in our clearer light may be asham'd not to discern further, that a Parliament is, by all equity, and right, above a King."

Tenures of Fief or Feud thought to be brought in by Charles the great Girard. Hist. France Book 4 p[age] 229.²⁷ although the original seem to be unjust. for that w^{ch} was conquer'd land ought freely to be divided to y^e people according to merit, & to hold only by his truth & fidelity to y^e commonwealth. Wherin doubtles the Roman Agrarian laws are more noble. Hence that Historian confesses p[age] 232. that they who hold in fief, are in a manner servants.

[P.] 184

GENTLENESS

Too much gentleness was disastrous to King Sigebert ¹ of the East Saxons. Malmesbur. Book 1. c[hapter] 6.² and Stow ³

prohibition of books not the wisest cours. " 'When ideas are punished, power blazes forth.' and indeed wee ever see that the forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flyeth up in the faces of them that seek to chok and tread it out, wheras a book authorized is thought to be but the language of the time." S^r Fran. Bacon in a discours of church affairs.⁴

²⁷ [Milton, English, 1644–1647(?), 53] Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book IV, p. 229), says. "To Charles the Great is attributed the establishment of fiefs." The second sentence in this entry is Milton's own comment, after which he paraphrases the following statement by Girard (p. 232): "By the name of fealties fiefs were formerly called: and so men of war who hold something in fief are almost in the state of serfs. For although they are not serfs, nevertheless they serve and must serve"

¹ There are a number of King Sigeberts in Anglo-Saxon history. That Milton was interested in two of them is shown in the *Commonplace Book*, pp. 184 and 185, and by his listing of two of them among his "Outlines for British Tragedies" in the Cambridge MS, a listing dated by Masson (II, 104) about 1640 to 1642.

² [Milton, Latin, 1639–1641(?), 35] Malmesbury's account of this Sigebert (on a page printed 14 which should be 18) tells of his upbringing in France, where he put off all barbarism and accepted Christianity, and of his return to his own kingdom, where he imparted Christian doctrine earnestly to his people. Finally, renouncing the world and being shorn as a monastic, Sigebert gave up his throne to Egric, a kinsman, "with whom, when attacked by Penda, King of the Mercians, with his allies, he perished, since that kinsman, stronger in evil and not forgetful of his profession, carried a great stick in his hand." The story of Sigebert is told in the *History of Britain*, Book IV (1670, pp. 156–57); Milton, however, says (p. 157) that he was "slain with *Egric*" because he carried only a wand and fought like a monk. In that Milton follows neither Malmesbury nor Stow.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1639–41(?), 36] Stow records (*Annales*, 1615, p. 66): "In the good proceedings of *Sigebert*, he was slaine by a kinsman of his owne, upon none other occasion, but for that hee used too much clemencie towards his enemies, as the murtherers themselves confessed." Stow's date is 616.

⁴ [Milton, English with Latin quotation, 1641, 65] Of this very important entry Hanford says ("Chronology," p. 276, n. 111) that Milton's source is A

Prohibition of books when first us'd. The storie therof is in y^e Councel of Trent Book 6. strait from y^e beginning p[age] 457.⁵ &c.

What benefit can be derived for the glory of God from the books of our opponents, if we put aside our animosities and clothe ourselves with charity and justice, Thuanus shows by a remarkable example

Wise and Moderate Discourse (1641) and that "Milton must refer to the London reprint of 1641, which alone carries this title. The original is 'Certain Considerations touching the Better Pacification of the Church of England,' 1604." Careful examination of the *Certain Considerations* tract, however, reveals that it contains nothing about the prohibition of books but discusses only the need of unity in the church and the means of achieving it. The tract from which Milton's entry is quoted was called *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* when it was written in 1589 (cf Spedding, *Letters and Life*, 1861, I, 74-95) and was first printed in 1641 under the title *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires*. Since (according to Spedding) no copy was available before that time, Milton must have quoted from the pamphlet of 1641. It was reprinted by William Rawley, Bacon's chaplain, in a volume of Bacon's collected papers called *Resuscitatio*, London, 1657 (CUL and McAlpin, UTSL). Bacon says (*A Wise and Moderate Discourse*, 1641, p. 11) that for those who wish to suppress such controversial writers he "might advise that side out of a wise writer, who hath set it downe, that *punitis ingenus gliscit autoritas* ['when ideas are punished, power blazes forth']." With this Latin quotation from Tacitus, Milton begins his quotation from Bacon, the rest of which is as follows: "And indeed we ever see it falleth out, that the forbidden writing is thought to be a certaine sparke of truth that flieth up in the faces of them that seeke to choke and tread it out, whereas a booke authorized, is thought to bee but *temporis voces*, the language of the time." The differences in Milton's quotation are clear. He used the *Discourse* in *Animadversions* (1641) and again in *Areopagitica* (1644). See above, p. 23, and below, p. 668. For some significant parallels between Milton and Bacon see Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, pp. 267-81.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1641-1643(?), 49] In his *Historia* (1619, p. 457; tr. Brent, 1620, Book VI, p. 467) Sarpi writes that a general assembly of the Council of Trent was held on April 15, 1562, at which arose the question of prohibited books. Beside the marginal note "A discourse of the author concerning the prohibition of bookes," Sarpi says (1620, p. 472). "This place doth require a relation of the beginning of prohibiting books, and with what progresse it was come to that state in which it then was, and what new order was then taken." After this introduction Sarpi records the lack of prohibition in the primitive church, the beginning of prohibition in the Council of Carthage, 400 A.D., the prohibition by later emperors and popes, though such prohibitions were few and far between. Not until 1559, when Pope Paul IV ordained his *Index of Prohibited Books*, was such banning of books widespread. Sarpi's "discourse" concludes as follows (1620, p. 475): "For the prohibition of a Booke, is as the prohibition of a meate, which is not a sentence against it, nor against him that hath prepared it, but a precept to him that is to use it, made by him who has the charge of his health. . . . For howsoever the booke may bee good in it selfe, yet peradventure it may not agree to the infirmitie of the minds of this age." Milton's reading of Sarpi in 1643-1644 must have influenced his writing of *Areopagitica*.

when he tells us that the translation of the Bible, completed by Bibliander and begun by Pellican, was approved by the Spanish theologians to the extent that they themselves did not hesitate to publish it, after concealing the names of the true authors. Thuan. hist. Book 36. p[age] 287.⁶

[P.] 185

THE TYRANT. SEE [P.] 248.¹

Sigerbert, the tyrant of the West Saxons, trampling upon the laws of his country, suffered just punishment Malmesbur. Book 1. Sto.²

Richard the 2d. in his 21 year holding a violent parliament short-

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51. Using a caret, Milton inserted "ostendit" ("shows") before the first "Thuanus," after he had deleted "narrat" ("tells")] Theodore Bibliander (ca. 1500-1564), whose real name was Buchman, in 1532 succeeded Zwingli in the chair of theology at Zurich and served for a long time with distinction. He was a man of great learning, especially in oriental languages. Aided by Conrad Pellican, he did the final work on the translation of the Bible of Leon of Judah and of Zurich in 1545. See Joseph Michaud, *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne* (2d ed., Paris, 1880). Conrad Pellican, born in Alsace in 1478, the son of a furrier, was too poor to go to the University of Heidelberg as he wished to do and so joined the Franciscan order and was sent by them to Basle to study theology. There he studied Hebrew and became so proficient that he made his own dictionary and grammar. Reuchlin was much interested in his work. Pellican read Luther and adopted some of his ideas. Zwingli called Pellican to Zurich to teach Hebrew. There he took off his frock and married, losing thereby the friendship of Erasmus. Pellican began the translation of the Bible which Bibliander finished, a very rare book today, hardly known to Protestants. The Zurich Library has the manuscript. See Michaud, *Biographie Universelle* (2d ed., Paris, 1880). Milton's reference to Thuanus' account (*Historia*, Geneva, 1626, II, 287) of the theft by the Spanish theologians has in it some Miltonic sarcasm as well as commendation.

¹ The reference to *CPB*, p. 248 here and in the *CPB* index is in the hand of Amanuensis F. I am indebted to Maurice Kelley for this information.

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 35 and 36] William of Malmesbury and Stow are paired again in this reference concerning another Sigebert. Here Stow names Malmesbury as his source in a marginal note, along with the date 757. This is the Sigebert whose tragedy appeared in the *Mirror for Magistrates* in 1559. Malmesbury's account is on the back of p. 14 (which, through a printer's error, should be 18) in Book I of Savile, *Regum Anglorum* (1596). Stow's account (*Annales*, 1615, p. 77) parallels Malmesbury's: "And for so much as he continued in his malice, and would not amend, hee was depyrved of all Kingly authoritie, and lastly as a person forlorne, wandring in woods, and hiding himselfe in caves of wilde beasts, he was slaine in Andreads Walde by a Swineheard." Malmesbury dwells on the infamous character of Sigerbert, as he spells it, at greater length than does Stow. Milton tells the story of this Sigebert also in *History of Britam*, Book IV, and lists him in his "Outlines for British Tragedies."

en'd his days. see in Sto. the violences of that parl.³ see other tyrannicall acts an. 22. and of this parl. Holinsh. [page] 490.⁴

his definition see. de Rege out of S^r Tho. Smith. 7. and 8. c[hapters].⁵

and Basil distinguishes a tyrant from a K. breifly thus. "In this respect a tyrant differs from a king; the one considers at every point his own advantage, the other provides what is helpful to his subjects." tom. [vol.] 1. [page] 456.⁶

Tyrannicall practizes of Rich. 2. and his accomplices. see Holinsh. p[age] 456. an. reg. 11. [pages] 457. 458. 462. 487. see also the parl. Holinsh. [pages] 490. 493: ' blanck charters. [page] 496.⁸ and other

³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow tells (*Annales*, 1615, p. 318) the familiar story of the packed Parliament at Shrewsbury in 1398, followed by the deposition and death of Richard II.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 490), describes Richard II's high-handed treatment of his lords, Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, and others, in the Parliament of 1397 at Westminster. The archbishop of Canterbury was accused of high treason.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 39] This entry is a cross reference, referring to the note from Chapter 7 of Smith, *Commonwealth of England*, CPB, p. 182, where, in the quotation of Smith's definition of a king, the definition of a tyrant is included by way of contrast (above, p. 443). Here Milton adds Chapter 8 to his entry, beginning (*Commonwealth of England*, 1621, p. 7) with the heading "Of the absolute King." Smith distinguishes between absolute and limited monarchy and redefines "tyrant," which, he says, means the same thing in Greek, Latin, and English, namely, (p. 9) "an evill King, and who hath no regard to the wealth of his people, but seeketh onely to magnifie himselfe . . . without respect of God, of right, or of the Law." Cf. *An Apology* (below, p. 946): "A slavish obedience without law, which is the known definition of a tyrant."

⁶ [Milton, English comment, Greek quotation, date uncertain, 89. Milton first wrote "defines" after "Basil," deleted it, and wrote "distinguishes."] In the *Opera* (Paris, 1618, Vol. I, p. 456) Basil, in a commentary on the wise sayings of Solomon in the first chapter of Proverbs, says that "All things fall before the tyrant, all fear his power," whereas the precepts of a king worthy of the name "have much value for all, because they consider the usefulness to the common good and not his own advantage." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 19): "A Tyrant whether by wrong or by right comming to the Crown, is he who regarding neither Law nor the common good, reigns onely for himself and his faction: Thus St. Basil among others defines him."

⁷ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 456-58, 462, 487) tells the story of Richard II's extravagances and exactions, his disregard of Parliament, his dependence on favorites as counsellors, his execution of his lords, from 1388 to 1398.

⁸ Holinshed (1587, III, 496): "But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were devised, and brought into the citie, which manie of the substantiall

tyrannical actions. *ibid.*⁹ see also the articles against him in parliament. Holin. [page] 502. also 508.¹⁰

Aiding tyrants. the Black Prince, by aiding the cruel tyrant Peeter of Castile brought himselfe to all the mischeifs that fell on his latter days and his fathers for besides the suspicion of poyson in the voiage, he brought himself into so deep debt, beeing defrauded of his soldiers pay by y^e ingrattfull tyrant, that he was forc't to raise that sharp taxation of fuage in Aquitain wherby he lost the country. see our writers.¹¹ and Spe. p[age] 597.¹²

whether it be lawfull to rise against a tyrant? S^r Thomas Smith prudently answers that "the common people judge of that act according to the event, and successe. and the learned according to the purpose of the doers" &c. *Com-wealth of Engl.* c[hapter] 5.¹³

Ludovicus pius beeing made judge of a certain German tyrant, and wealthe citizens were faine [that is, forced] to seale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abroad into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people: for when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them as well for charging the parties with paiment of monie, as otherwise "

⁹ Such as farming out the realm; and new exactions and fines, called a "plesance" because they pleased the king; and unjust arrests.

¹⁰ This note Milton had already included in *CPB*, p. 183, under Subject See King (above, p 446). It contains the thirty-three articles drawn up by Parliament, showing why he should be deposed.

¹¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?). Milton first wrote "of Arras" after "Peeter," deleted "Arras," and wrote "Castile"] Milton cites Holinshed on this point later. See under Property and Taxes, *CPB*, p 220 (below, p 480).

¹² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p 597), says that Edward the Black Prince's troubles came "as if God had beene displeased for succouring such a *Tyrant*" as Peter of Castile The Prince, in need of money (p. 597), "had in a Parliament in Gascoigne propounded a demaund for fowage, or of money to be levied by the Chimney." As a result, the people turned against him, and he lost France The word "fuage" was derived from the French "feu," meaning "fee," or "fief," or "feudal tax or tenure" Since "feu" also means "fire," there seems to be the added meaning of "hearth tax," as modern histories call it. The reference is to the Black Prince's ill-fated expedition into Spain in 1367 to aid Pedro the Cruel, in which he lost four-fifths of his army.

¹³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 39. The first syllable of "whether" is blurred in this entry.] In *Commonwealth of England* (1621, chap. 5, p. 4) Sir Thomas Smith cites the uprising of Dion against Emperor Dionysius, that of Thrasybulus against the thirty tyrants, that of Brutus and Cassius against Caesar. Then follows the wise remark which Milton quotes with a few minor changes. In *The Tenure* (1649, p. 27) Milton repeats it as follows: "Sir Thomas Smith . . . putting the question whether it be lawfull to rise against a Tyrant, answers that the vulgar judge of it according to the event, and the lerned according to the purpose of them that do it."

approves the people who had depos'd him, & sets his younger brother up in his stead. Girard. *Hist France*. Book 4. p[age] 248.¹⁴

The Scottish nobles, through deputies sent to Elizabeth after Mary had been driven from the kingdom, contend by many examples that this was done legally. Thuan. *hist* Book 50. pag[e] 769.¹⁵

of the deposing of a tirant and proceeding against him. Richard the 2d was not only depos'd by parliament, but sute made by the commons that "he might have judgement decreed against him" to avoid furdur mischeif in the realm. Holinsh. [page] 512.¹⁶

Peter Martyr, in c[hapter] 3. Jud.¹⁷ says: "To those who select an

¹⁴ [Milton, English, 1644–1647(?), 53] In Girard, *Histoire* (Paris, 1576, Book IV, p 248), Milton read the following: "The Emperor received two princes of the Vultzes, the one named Milegast and the other Celeadrage. . . . After the death of [their] father, the Vultzes would have accepted that same Milegast as their King, but inasmuch as he acted too insolently in his kingship, the people . . . debarred him from it, and set his young brother up in his stead. . . . The Emperor, having heard their reasons . . . ordained that the younger should be maintained in his possessions, judging that a just Prince should be preferred to one who is not." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649), p. 25: "And *Ludovicus Pius*, himself an Emperor, and Son of *Charles* the great, being made Judge, *Du Haillan* is my author, between *Milegast* King of the *Vultzes* and his Subjects who had depos'd him, gave his verdict for the Subjects, and for him whom they had chos'n in his room."

¹⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1642–1644(?), 51] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 769), tells of the arrival of the deputies and of the presentation of their case to Elizabeth, asserting that from earliest times the Scots had chosen their kings freely and deposed the unfit. Milton records the same event in *The Tenure* (1649, pp. 30–31), referring it there to Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, Book XX, not to Thuanus.

¹⁶ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] In a marginal note Holinshed (1587, III, 512) cites John Stow as his source for the statement that in 1399 "request was made by the commons, that sith king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might have judgement decreed against him, so as the realme were not troubled by him," an instance that bears out Sir Thomas Smith's statement that the commons are indifferent in such a case so long as they are not injured. See third entry preceding.

¹⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1642–1644(?), 73] Milton's source is *In Librum Iudicum D. Petri Martyris Vermilij . . . Commentarij Doctissimi* (*On the Book of Judges, Most Learned Commentaries by Doctor Peter Martyr Vermilius*), of which the third, enlarged edition appeared in Zurich, 1571 (UTSL), bound with his *Commentary on the Two Books of Samuel* and with Theodore Beza's *Lex Dei*. Peter Martyr's work is a verse-by-verse exposition of the Book of Judges, from which Milton refers to the commentary on Judges 3:30: "So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest fourscore years" Chapter 3 (pp. 50–61) has a number of headings which must have interested Milton considerably: "Whether God Is the Cause of Sin" (p. 52); "Concerning Fraud" (p. 55); "Concerning Truth and Falsehood" (p. 58); "Concerning Dissimulation"

officer of higher rank according to certain laws of the commonwealth which authorize them to place him in command, as the Electors of the Empire do today, it is permitted, if the officer should not adhere to his agreements and promises, to reduce him in rank and even compel him by force to satisfy the conditions and agreements which he had promised, and they may do so by arms if it cannot be done otherwise." And he cites Polydorus as authority for the statement that our people "sometimes have compelled their kings to be brought to a reckoning for public funds badly managed."

Whether it is permissible to kill him. Against a bad ruler there is no other remedy than the sword. "To cure the ills of the people, words suffice, and against those of the prince the sword is necessary." Macchiavel. discors. c[hapter] 58. Book 1.¹⁸

Nor do the Princes of Germany, for shameful acts that he has done, fear to bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor, than whom no king in Europe can be greater or more venerable; and no one should think it is a crime to attack a king with accusations for just reasons. See Sleidan. Book 18. [page] 299.¹⁹

(p. 59); "Whether It Is Permitted To Tell a Lie for the Sake of Saving a Life" (p. 60); "Whether It Is Permissible for Subjects To Rise against Their Rulers" (p. 60). It is from this last section that Milton quotes. Where Polydore, Italian-English historian, says "Anglos," Milton says "nostros homines." As typical tyrants Peter Martyr names Tarquin, Brutus, and Cassius. The naming of Brutus and Cassius corroborates Sir Thomas Smith's statement concerning the error of their ways. See above, p. 454.

Pietro Martire Vermigli, better known as Peter Martyr (1500-1562), a Florentine reformer who, with Ochino (above, p. 412), was asked to come to England by Crammer, served as Regius professor of divinity at Oxford and was consulted about the Book of Common Prayer and reform of the canon law. On Mary Tudor's accession he went to Zurich, where he succeeded Theodore Bibliander as professor of theology. In *The Tenure* (1649, p. 27) Milton speaks of Peter Martyr as "a Divine of foremost rank, [who] on the third of *Judges* approves thir [deposers'] doings." The commentary on the third chapter of *Judges* is the passage cited here.

¹⁸ [Machiavelli scribe, Italian, 1651-1652(?), 102. In this entry, written small in pale ink, two deletions occur before "a quella del principe" ("against those of the prince"), which look like "arq" and "mai." Milton's heading for this entry is a marginal note in Latin.] In the *Discorsi* (*Tutte le Opere*, 1550) Chapter 58 has the heading: "The multitude is more reliable and more constant than a Prince." Beginning with the statement made by Livy that there is no one more vain and inconstant than the people, Machiavelli refutes it by examples from history. Among the tyrants he names Alexander, Clito, Herod, and some of the Roman emperors. He concludes that "the greater the faults, the greater the cure that is needed." Milton's Italian quotation is on p. 113, immediately preceding that conclusion.

¹⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46. In this entry "ut" is changed to "ne" before "quis facinus esse putet," thus supplying the negative in "no one should

Comines, very often as an eye-witness, describes the life of princes as wretched and constantly full of anxiety, even the life of those who, to persons not observing the matter more closely, seem to be happy. Comines. Book 8. c[hapter] 13. p[age] 684. &c.²⁰

Thuanus relates that a plan was considered at Blois by King Charles IX, the Queen Mother, and others for reducing the French monarchy to a Turkish tyranny; and he reports at length the very good reasons for doing this as stated by a certain Poncet. Hist: Book 57. p[age] 970²¹

Kings, stripped of their power by their subjects, or reduced in power, are later reconciled by no reinstatement, not even by the taking of an oath of allegiance. Cases of recent recollection are found in Thuan. hist. Book 71. [page] 423.²²

think it is a crime." Sleidan, *Commentaries* (1555, Book XVIII, f 299), tells how, after the emperor had openly said he would make war in order to destroy the Protestant faith, the Protestant princes, "not only in Italy, but also in Germany, and many of the nobility, descended from the most honorable families . . . united in the Augustan confession, gave aid to each other, and [swore] to expend their lives and blood for this war."

²⁰ [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647, 54. Milton wrote "felices habent," deleted the latter word, and wrote "vident" instead ("seem to be happy")] In Milton's second entry from Commines, *Memoires* (above, p. 384), he said he was using the Gallot du Pré edition, and his "p. 94" fitted the Paris, 1552, printing. In this entry, however, the page number does not fit. Folio 160 (written "F clx") in Book VIII, Chapter 13, contains the passage to which Milton refers here. Following the marginal note. "Des Nobles malheureux" ("Some Unhappy Noblemen"), Commines says: "For if I should wish to put in writing the passions that I have seen sway the great, men as well as women, during only thirty years' time, I should have a large book . . . I have often seen that their displeasures and sorrows are founded on so little reason that with great difficulty the people who did not frequent them would be willing to believe them."

²¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51. The numeral after "Charles" is blotted out in this entry.] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 970), says: "After these things had been set forth at length by Poncet, he also studied how it seemed they should proceed to establish an absolute royal power in France from the example of Turkey." The year was 1574. The Poncet referred to was probably Peter Poncet, a legist who wrote several books on law in the sixteenth century. See the *Universal Lexicon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1735). Poncet's plan is referred to in the *Observations on the Articles of Peace* (1659, p. 52), where Poncet is called "a certain Court projector" and the phrase "a Turkish tyranny" appears three times. It is also used in *Eikonoklastes*, Chapters X and XXVII, where Charles I is said to have tried to establish a Turkish tyranny and to have prophesied, unwittingly, (1649, p. 95) the "death and burial of a Turkish Tyranny" in England.

²² [Milton, Latin, 1644-1647(?), 52. Milton wrote "reconsili," but not clearly. He deleted it and wrote "reconciliatione" very clearly (for "by no reinstatement").] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, III, 423), cites such examples as

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his right to France, and the falsehood of the Salick law shewing how divers Ks of France came in by the female side. see Holinsh. Hen. 5. p[ages] 545. 546.¹ and Speed in Hen. 5. [page] 638.²

but ratifi'd in full parliament at Paris by oaths of all the nobles. Speed. p[age] 657 ³

The King of France considers it necessary, as Claude Sesellius writes, to submit to the decrees of his general parliament, which Sesellius calls the "bridle" of the King, in his *de repub. Gallor.* Book 1. The accounts of the royal disbursements are laid before the State treasurers, who "have the power to reduce them, if they should consider them to be excessive or useless." *ibid.*⁴

Christian II, King of the Danes, Maximilian, and Charles IX of France, all of whom are mentioned by Milton in *The Tenure* (1649, p. 44) as princes who broke their oaths. Milton urges the Presbyterians to be "warn'd in time they put no confidence in Princes whom they have provok'd, lest they be added to the examples of those that miserably have tasted the event."

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 545-46), relates that in 1414 the archbishop of Canterbury inveighed in Parliament against the Salic Law: "*In Terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, that is to saie, Into the Salike land let not women succeed" This law, the archbishop explained, had been interpreted by French glossers to mean France, whereas the Salic land is in Germany, between the rivers Elbe and Sala, now called Meisen. Consequently Henry V's claim to France was undisturbed by the Salic Law, even though his claim came through a woman. The scene is familiar from Shakespeare's *Henry V.*

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 638), gives the archbishop's speech in Parliament in full, adding such details as that it was made to divert Henry V's attention from suppression of religious houses and that the territory in Germany, properly called Salic, was conquered by Charles the Great, "who placing the French there to inhabite, for the dishonest lives of those Germane women made this Law."

³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 657) tells how, after the siege of Melun, Henry V's right to France was ratified by both the king of France and his nobles. "This execution of Iustice on those Murtherers [of the Duke of Burgundy], was a great, but not the onely act of King *Henry* at this great Parliament of three Estates of *France* in *Paris*. For therein also was the finall accord betwixt the two Kings openly acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free assent, and with the advise of all the Councell of *France*; whereupon it was there also ratified by the generall states of *France*, and sworne unto particularly upon the holy Evangelists, by all their Nobles and Magistrates, spirituall and secular, who also set their seales to the Instruments thercof, which were sent into *England* to be kept in the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster*. King *Henries* glory thus ascended to the highest verticall in *France*."

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 60] Milton began to write "decretis" after "parlamenti sui," and the *d* is clearly visible. He deleted it, wrote "perpetui"

the wealth of y^e crown without oppression of subjects may be seen in the expences which Q. Eliz. was at in maintaining warre with her monies in divers places abroad, and at the same time paying her debts at home. Camd. vol. 2. p[age] 20.⁵

A book entitled *Franco-Gallia* shows that ordinary women are excluded from all public administration of affairs, according to Thuan. hist. Book 57. p[age] 969.⁶

("general"), and then "decretis"] Claude de Seissel (ca. 1450–1520), professor of law, ambassador, counsellor of King Louis XII of France, translator, and historian (see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, Paris, n.d.), is best known for his treatise on French government, published in French under the title *La Grand Monarchie de France* in 1519 and translated into Latin in 1545 by Johannes Sleidan as *De Monarchia Franciae Sive De Republica Galliae et Regum Officiis*. Milton's three Latin entries from De Seissel (Latinized Sesellus) are from the Latin translation. Since Milton gives no page numbers, his edition is undetermined. In the *De Monarchia* (Lyons, 1626, NYPL) De Seissel says (p. 19): "There are, however, three bridles, so to speak, by which the supreme power of the kings of France is restrained: religion, law, and the state." After discussing the first, religion, at some length, he turns to the law (p. 22): "The second is the law, which in France is very powerful; and for that reason a senate and courts of justice have been established, which in our language are called *parlements*, since they can do no more than is permitted them by law. For this is a body of judges, and such is their power that even the king must obey their decrees, and their judgments in lawsuits, whichever way the verdict falls, nor can he pass sentence on his opponents with whom he is in litigation." Concerning the powers of the state treasurers De Seissel says (p. 24). "For although it is granted to kings to enjoy the possessions and powers of kingship according to their own judgment, nevertheless the accounts of disbursements are laid before the treasurers and the directors of the public funds, who have the power to reduce them, if they should consider them to be either excessive or useless." Milton changes "omnium expensarum" to "regiarum expensarum." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649), p. 10 "Therefore saith *Claudius Sesell* a French Statesman, *The Parliament was set as a bridle to the King*" Cf. also *A Defence*, Chapter VIII. "For it [Parliament] is called the king's bridle"; and *Brief Notes on a Late Sermon* (1660, p. 11). "Parlements, which by the Law of this Land are his bridle."

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 44] This entry is from Camden, *Annales* (1615–1627, II, 20). The "divers places" are Germany, Scotland, Ireland, the Netherlands. The page is dated MDXC (1590).

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1642–1644(?), 51] In his *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 969) Thuanus states that *Franco-Gallia* was written by a jurist of great reputation in his own day, who "labors to prove" and "greatly stresses" the point that women have, "during all time," been excluded "from succession as well as all public administration." Coming directly after Milton's note on the efficiency of Elizabeth, this entry has a significance it would not otherwise have. At the time of his two entries concerning this book (see below, p. 501) Milton seems curious about it and desirous of seeing it but apparently has no copy of it. By 1651, however, when *A Defence* appeared, he knew the book, for he cites it in Chapter IV, along with Girard, to prove that the Pope did not unthrone Chilperic, and he says

I should say that it is proper for a king to be temperate in his diet if I did not read in Cuspinian that the Franks would not tolerate a king who breakfasted on cheap viands, costing ten drachmas. See in his life of Berengarius. p[age] 221.⁷

The King of the Hebrews was not free from obedience to the laws. see Schickard. *jus regium*. Theor. 7.⁸

Scotland was at first an elective kingdom for a long time see Hist. Scot.⁹

that it was written by Francis Hotman, "both a Frenchman and a lawyer and a very learned man." Cf. Beatrice Reynolds, *Proponents of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth-Century France—Francis Hotman and Jean Bodin* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1642–1644(?), 61. In this entry Milton began to write "legerem" ("I did read") too soon. He wrote "leg," deleted it, and wrote "apud Cuspinianū legerem."] Cuspinian, *Historia Caesarum* (Frankfurt, 1601, pp. 220–28), gives the account of Berengarius II of Italy, whom the Franks derided for his modest diet, as follows (p. 221): "The Franks do not endure a king who eats basely ten drachmas' worth. He [Berengarius] should go back where he came from, no one will embrace this king, no one will love him." A drachma was a small Greek coin worth about an English shilling.

⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1639–1650(?), 82] William Schickhard (1592–1635), German orientalist and mathematician, was made professor of languages at the University of Tübingen in 1619 and professor of mathematics in 1631. The years preceding his premature death were saddened by the Thirty Years' War. He longed to emigrate to Switzerland or France. His scientific writings concern optics, meteorology, astronomy. As a mathematician he was one of the first to recognize the importance of the theory of logarithms. He contributed much to map-making by writing a short work on how to construct maps exactly. Finally, as an orientalist, he wrote his *Jus Regum Hebraeorum e Tenebris Rabbinicis Erutum & Luci donatum* (*The Law of the Kings of the Hebrews Dug out of Rabbinical Shades and Brought to the Light*) (Strassburg, 1625; UTSL). The different chapters in this little book deal with the following aspects of the Hebrew king's life: election, justice, court, subjects, war, death and succession. Theorem VII (chap. 2, on justice, pp. 54–66) has the heading: "Nor was he entirely free from the laws." The book is in Latin, but there are numerous quotations from the Hebrew of Maimonides, Josephus, the laws of the Sanhedrin, and so forth. After citing examples from the Old Testament of kings who broke laws (David, Solomon, Ahab, and others), Schickhard says (p. 55) that among pagans it was customary to accept tyrants, since they give laws but do not receive them. But "among the people of God, where all from least to greatest were esteemed as brothers, the King came under the same yoke of law, in that he was of the same origin as the others, with whom he was said to have all human things in common." Milton cites this reference from Schickhard in *A Defence*, Book II. "But that the Hebrew kings 'were liable to be judged, and even to be punished with stripes,' Sichardus shows at large out of the writings of the rabbins; to which author you are indebted for all this erudition."

⁹ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 59] This entry may be from Book XX of

France an elective kingdom either to choose or to depose. Bernard de Girard. Hist. Franc. "It should be noted that until the time of Hugh Capet all the kings of France were elected by the French, who kept for themselves this power, to choose, to exile, and to drive out their kings." Book 1. p[age] 19. in [the] folio [edition]. and Book 3. p[age] 123 [where] the election was conditional. and p[ages] 129. 134¹⁰ see the book entitled *Franco-Gallia*. [quoted] in Thuan. hist. Book 57. p[age] 969.¹¹

By Parliament of three estates, first then found out Charles Martel was chosen Prince of y^e French. Bern. de Girard. Book 2. p[age]

George Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582), which Milton cites in *CPB*, p. 198, in the hand of an amanuensis. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, II, 35), also has an account of the choosing by the Scotch of their first king, Fergus, and of their choosing, after his death, of his brother Feritharis: "After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was enthronized." Similarly, after the death of Feritharis (p. 36), "the nobles assembled together for the election of a new king," and they agreed upon the younger son of Fergus. Since this entry is in English and in Milton's handwriting, among his own entries from Schickhard, Girard, and Thuanus, it is likely that it was made from Holinshed rather than from Buchanan. Cf. *The Tenure* (1649), pp. 30-31: "The Scots were a free Nation, made King whom they freely chose, and with the same freedom unkingd him if they saw cause, by right of ancient laws . . . *Buch. Hist.* l. 20."

¹⁰ [Milton, English comment, French quotation, 1642-1647(?), 50 Milton inserted "et" after "fol." (for "in the folio edition"), using a caret] Most of Milton's entries from Girard's *Histoire* are in Latin. In this one and in the two notes from Girard immediately following, he uses English, except where, in two of the three entries, he introduces a French phrase or sentence, showing that he is quoting. The phrase "as the History saith" also shows that he is quoting. On p. 19 of Book I Milton read. "After the death of Clodian the knight, Meronee was chosen King by the French," and Milton's quotation follows. On p. 123 of Book III he read the terms of the oath taken at coronation, whereby "the crown was by no means hereditary." On p. 129 the three estates are said to have enjoyed "the ancient and immemorial right" to choose their kings. On p. 134 Milton read the solemn warning of the Pope to Pepin at his coronation, that misconduct would lead to the deprivation of his crown by his people, as had just been the case with Childeric. Cf. *A Defence*, Chapters IV, VIII, XII, on the deposing of Childeric and the election of Pepin.

¹¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51. This reference to Thuanus is in the margin.] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 969), makes some very interesting statements about the book *Franco-Gallia* (see above, p. 459). The author of the book, says Thuanus, stresses the fact that that kingdom among the Christian principalities is most flourishing which is governed not by the law of heredity or as private property but by the judgments and suffrage of the nobility and the people; also that the power of choosing kings as well as of deposing them has been from ancient times in the possession of assemblies elected by the people. Examples are Philip of Valois, Charles V, Charles VI, Ludwig XI.

109.¹² & Pepin, King. Book 3. p[age] 134 ¹³ Afterward Charles y^e Simple, though of y^e race of Charles y^e great, depos'd, and Robert crown'd in his stead by the French, "preferring," as saith the History, "to have a new king, an able man, rather than a hereditary fool and idiot." Girard. Hist Franc. Book 5. p[age] 298.¹⁴

Read also the excellent speech of an ambassador from y^e french to Charles duke of Lorraine shewing reason why they had rejected him the right heir to y^e crown, & chosen Hugh Capet. Girard. Book 6. p[age] 327.¹⁵ see also the like speech before of Pope Steevn, crown- ing Pepin. Book 3. [page] 134.¹⁶

The School of the Sorbonne in an assembly of sixty theologians announces that "arms can be taken up against the king for the defense of religion." Thuan Book 94. [page] 391 ¹⁷

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COURTIERS

what trust great courtiers may have in præsent pleasing y^e K. with violence & undue courses against the people on prætence of maintain-

¹² [Milton, English, 1644–1647(?), 53] This entry is repeated See above, p. 446, n. 7.

¹³ Girard records (*Histoire*, Paris, 1576, Book III, p. 134) that, at the crowning of Pepin, the Pope said. "Pepin, the French people, with the common consent of the three estates and by my hand, place this royal crown on your head . . . Put all your care and thought on the safety and preservation of your people"

¹⁴ Girard records (Book V, p. 298) that, while Charles the Simple was king, "almost all the nobility, preferring to have a new king, an able man, rather than a hereditary fool and idiot, began to favor his competitor Robert. . . . Said Robert with the consent of all was received and crowned king"

¹⁵ [Milton, English, 1644–1647(?), 53. In this entry "why" is blotted. After "they had" Milton first wrote "y^e," deleted it, and wrote "rejected" instead.] Girard (Book VI, p. 327) quotes the speech of the ambassador sent by the French to Charles of Lorraine as follows. "What have we to hope for from you or your reign who have . . . adopted the vile and evil ways of the Germans and have aided them in their wars against France? . . . We have chosen Capet, believing that we shall be happier living according to our laws, customs, privileges, and franchises under a possessor of the realm of France than under the heir of the realm, in a state of tyranny, oppression, and cruelty."

¹⁶ Milton had already made this entry. See above, n. 13.

¹⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1644–1647(?), 52] Thuanus, *Historia*, records (Geneva, 1626, IV, 391), that the "libellus" ("little book" or "pamphlet") which Thuanus has been reading gives an account of the "assembly of sixty theologians in the School of the Sorbonne, [where], after the sacrament of the Holy Spirit had been celebrated in a solemn manner with expenses fitting the occasion, it was declared by a dean of the college that the people were freed from their oath of allegiance and that arms could be taken up against the king in the defense of religion." Cf. *A De-*

ing regal right the downfall of Hubert may testifie. see Speed.¹ see also of y^e Judges in Rich. 2. in the chapter Leges in this book.²

See also an excellent description of such an Oligarchy of nobles abusing the countenance to the ruin of royal sovranty Arcad. Sidney. Book 2. p[age] 119. &c.³

That the just deserts of courtiers are soon forgotten, Boiardo, the Italian poet, shows in witty verses in *Orlando Innamorato*. Book 2. cant. 21st.⁴

—————Every service of a courtier

Is pleasing in the evening and has no effect in the morning.

To these lines his reviser, Berni of Tuscany, adds

They are accustomed in Spain to use a certain saying

(Certainly those Spaniards have some fine thrusts)

fence, Chapter III: "The Sorbonne, a College you know to be utterly given over to the teachings of popery"

¹ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, pp. 503–29), tells the story of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate, and his pretense of support of King John and the commonwealth while secretly working with the Pope and Philip of France to thwart John's plans to regain his French possessions. The king's indignation at Hubert's pretenses of loyalty made him conclude in 1201 that "the man had too much riches and too little Discretion (which seldome lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwels in the Heart)." Consequently John levied a series of heavy taxes upon him. Later, in the reign of Henry III, Hubert was imprisoned, all his holdings were seized, and he died of grief or a fever. Thus, says Speed, John learned (p. 503) "a Lesson fit to be learned of all Princes, whom the fawning World enstieled most *Mighty*, that this their *might* is not only violable to the checke and dispose of that Highest all-ruling power, who unthrones them at his will; but even depends of the waving humours, and wils of those inferiour Vassals, of whom they thinke themselves un-resistable Commanders." Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapters I and IX (1649, pp. 1–2, 82), on Charles I's dependence on courtiers.

² Another of Milton's cross references, referring to CPB, p. 179, the seventh entry, beginning "Lawyers opinions turn with the times." See above, p. 426.

³ [Milton, English, 1641–1642, 85. Milton wrote "of soverantie" after "countenance," deleted the phrase, and wrote "to the ruin of sovranty." Then, with a caret, he inserted "royal" before "sovranty."] Milton's page reference fits the London, 1633, edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*, where Dorus is telling Pamela (p. 119) the story of Enarchus, King of Macedon, and his son Pyrocles, in which he says that there "the name of a king was growne even odious to the people" and that "the worst kinde of *Oligarchie*" was brought in.

⁴ [Amanuensis A, Latin comment, Italian quotations, date uncertain, 99 and 100] This entry is quoted from Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, Book II, Canto 21, stanza 40 (Venice, 1608) and from Berni's revision, Book II, Canto 21, stanzas 40 and 41 (Venice, 1541). As the entry indicates, Berni made his own additions to Boiardo's narrative whenever he saw fit. Concerning Berni's revision of Boiardo, see above, p. 385, n. 3.

That a service that has still to be done
Is worth more than a hundred thousand million of those already
done.

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POLITICAL ADROITNESS

Leicester was an artist at "smiting and destroying men through honors done them." See the account of Walter, Earl of Essex, in *Camd.* [page] 264. Elizab.¹ And that of the Duke of Norfolk, who through Leicester's crafty plots was tricked into marriage with Mary of Scotland. See the same source p[age] 475.² Just so another Essex was destroyed by the same deceits *Camd.* vol. 2. [page] 176.³

such art us'd the stepdam of Plangus excellently set out by Sidney. Book 2. [page] 356.⁴

Randolph in a letter to Walsingham advises him "now finally to say farewell to the schemes of the Secretaryship as he himself would to those of Legate . . . and penitently to pray for divine compassion." *Camden.* vol. 2. p[age] 27.⁵ Nevertheless they were considered up-

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was powerful at Elizabeth's court and was frequently suspected of infamy. In the *Annales* (1615, I, 264) Camden tells of the return of the Earl of Essex from Ireland and of his threatening Leicester, whom he suspected of trying to injure him. Essex, "who feared Leicester and his peculiar skill at court in smiting and destroying men through honors done them, was sent back to Ireland with the empty title of Deputy Marshall of Ireland."

² [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] The Duke of Norfolk, son of the Earl of Surrey who was suspected of designs on the throne of Henry VIII and executed, was the tool of Northumberland, Leicester's father, and his party, in their plot to marry Norfolk to Mary Queen of Scots and place her on the English throne, with the help of Spanish forces. When Burghley discovered the plot, Norfolk was tried, convicted of treason, and executed in 1572. This part of Elizabeth's reign is described by Camden (*Annales*, 1615-27, I) on pp. 158 ff., not on p. 475 as Milton's entry says.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Camden, *Annales* (1615-27, II, 176), gives the account of the 1599 rebellion of the Earl of Essex and of his imprisonment and execution. Like his father, he had been sent to crush the Irish, had failed, and resented Elizabeth's rebukes.

⁴ [Milton, English, 1641-1642(?), 85] Sidney, *Arcadia* (1633, Book III, not II, p. 356), describes the art of the stepdame of Plangus as follows: "*Dorus* came to *Miso*, whom he found sitting in the chumneys end, babbling to her selfe, and shewing by all her gestures, that shee was loathsomely weary of the World, not for any hope of a better life, but finding no one good, neyther in minde nor bodie, whereout shee might nourish a quiet thought, [p 357] having long since hated each thing else, beganne now to hate her selfe."

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Milton's entry here gives p 27, but as in others he gives the page on which the material ends rather than begins. In the

right men in affairs of state and zealous in religion; whereby anyone may learn with how much disturbance of conscience affairs of state are carried on.⁶

The wicked policies of divers deputies & governours in Ireland see Spenser dialogue of Ireland.⁷

Trustworthiness in promises dangerous. Trustworthiness in promises should be required of princes in so far as they are free to maintain it. Thus the ruler of Scotland replied to the representatives of the Protestants. Thuanus. hist. Book 21. p[age] 647. A statement which she regretted too late. p[age] 649.⁸

Annales (1615-27, II, 26-27) Camden writes as follows: "He [that is, Thomas Randolph, Elizabeth's ambassador] a little before his death seriously advised Walsingham . . . that he should now finally say farewell to the schemes of the Secretaryship as he himself would to those of Legate, and that both should think of their heavenly home and penitently pray for divine compassion." Milton's note omits the fact that the letter was written "a little before his death" and the clause "that both should think of their heavenly home." He corrects the misspelled "tanem" to "tandem." Cf. *A Brief History of Moscovia*, Book V, for an account of Randolph's embassy to Muscovy. Milton lists Randolph's *Journal* as one of his sources.

⁶ This is one of Milton's very interesting and significant comments on his reading.

⁷ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 64] Spenser's prose treatise, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, written in dialogue form, sets forth the many evils existing in Ireland in the last decade of the sixteenth century and also his plans for removing them. Though entered in the Stationers' Register by Matthew Lownes, a London bookseller, in 1598 (see A. C. Judson, *The Life of Edmund Spenser* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945], p. 187) it was not printed until 1633, in Dublin, in the volume called *History of Ireland*, by Hanmer, Campion, and Spenser. See above, p. 389. Milton's page number in a later entry from Spenser's *View of . . . Ireland* fits that volume. Here there is no page number, but Milton's entry no doubt concerns Irenaeus' account of the shortsighted and selfish policies of the governors of Ireland on p. 63. "[These governors], being martiall men, will not doe alwayes what they may for quieting of things, but will rather winke at some faults, and suffer them unpunished, lest they (having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might) should seeme afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her Majestie And therefore they doe cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another do bandie the service like a Tennis-Ball, which they will never strike quite away, for feare lest afterwards they should want." Thus they often make peace with the rebels, so that war may not break out in their time, and "what comes afterwards they care not, or rather wish the worst." Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapters XII, XIII (1649, pp. 115-27); *Observations on the Articles of Peace*; and above, pp. 168-70, for Milton's attitude toward the Irish.

⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51. Milton's heading for this entry is in the margin in Latin.] In 1559 Mary of Guise, widow of James V and Regent of Scotland, joined forces with the bishops against the Protestant Lords of the Congrega-

The secrets of princely power and the slippery promises given to the people are distinctly shown in the warning letter sent to Coligny shortly before the slaughter at Paris. If he had heeded it, he would not have perished with his people in so deplorable a massacre see Thuan. hist. Book 52. from the very beginning. p[ages] 805. 806.⁹

"This is the sagacity of that age, which they call political: what they consider useful they do not hesitate to choose rather than the honorable; what they judge to be useful, they consider necessary, and what is necessary is permissible." Rivet. in Exod. cap. 1.¹⁰

tion. To conciliate the Protestants she permitted the saying of prayers and the giving of the sacraments in the language of Scotland, but later reversed her decision. Representatives of the Protestant nobles, sent to the regent to remind her of her promise, were told that "the keeping of promises should be required of rulers in so far as they are able," according to Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, I, 647). The representatives' reply was a warning of the "train of ill consequences" that would follow. By January 10, 1559, with the aid of troops, the Protestants had secured their demands, and the regent remembered "how through violation of former covenants she had recently been reduced to these pressing difficulties." She secured the aid of French troops, against whom Elizabeth sent her fleet with troops to aid the Lords of the Congregation. The French were defeated, Mary of Guise died, and a treaty was signed in Edinburgh, by which the French left Scotland. Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626), I, 649.

⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 51. In this entry Milton wrote "exp" of "expresse" (for "distinctly"). He deleted it and then wrote "expresse" in full. Probably his deletion was due to the fact that he was near the edge of the page and thought that he could not get the whole word on.] The warning letter of which Thuanus tells (*Historia*, Geneva, 1626, II, 805, 806) was misinterpreted by Coligny, leader of the Huguenots in the civil war of 1562: "All that it said Coligny, full of faith and good hope, interpreted to mean that the King, zealous for public tranquillity, was gathering forces to put down rebels." The night of St. Bartholomew's Massacre, August 24, 1572, Coligny was murdered at his home by a servant of the Duke of Guise. Coligny's papers were seized by the queen mother and burned. Cf. *Tenure* (1649, p. 44): "That credulous peace which the French Protestants made with Charles the ninth"

¹⁰ [Amanuensis C, Latin, ca. 1658-ca. 1660, 103. Amanuensis D (Jeremie Picard), in quoting Rivet, omitted "Sed" before "hæc" at the beginning of the quotation, changed a semicolon to a colon after "appellant," and at the end of the quotation placed a colon instead of Rivet's period.] André Rivet, celebrated Protestant theologian and historian, was born in the year of the massacre in which Coligny died, 1572. This entry is a direct quotation from Rivet's *Commentarius in Librum Secundum Mosis, qui Exodus apud Græcos Inscriptur* (*Commentary on the Second Book of Moses, Which among the Greeks Is Called Exodus*). It is found on p. 728 of Vol. I of the Rotterdam, 1651, edition of the *Operum Theologicorum Quae Latine Edidit* of Rivet (PUL and UTSI). The running heading to pp. 728-29 reads. "Commentarius in Exodus. Cap. I." Since Milton's entry from Rivet's *Praelectiones in Caput XX Exodi* in CPB, p. 160, did not come from

[P.] 189 OF LAWS, DISPENSATIONS FROM THEM, AND
INDULGENCES

Dispensations from man-made laws are permitted because of the imperfection of the law-maker who has not provided satisfactorily for all things. Accordingly, they have no place in the laws of God, to whom nothing is hidden. For this reason dispensations cannot be indulgences to sin, but being born of the most honorable motives they are therefore themselves honorable. Otherwise they are utterly unworthy of being granted by God. see concil. Trident. what things were soundly treated there by John Verdun. p[age] 658. Book 7. edit. Lond.¹ He adds that a dispensation is only an interpretation of the law.

Against laws. The kings of Spain have strictly forbidden lawyers and solicitors to go to the Indies. Boccalini ragguagl. di Parnas.

the 1651 edition of the *Opera*, as the page number there shows, he may have used a separate edition here also. However, he may have secured the handsome three-volume folio edition of Rivet's works by the time this late entry was made and may have had no page number recorded because the text was easily accessible. The frontispiece is an engraved portrait of Rivet; and preceding Rivet's dedication to the Estates General of Holland there is a poem in praise of Rivet by Alexander Morus, friend of Salmasius and Milton's opponent in controversy. The work appeared in the same year as Milton's *A Defence*, with its attack on Salmasius. The entry is from Rivet's commentary on Exodus 1:9 and 10, the account of how the new king of Egypt, who had never known Joseph, began to fear and hate the Israelites. He sought to destroy their male children and afflicted them with harsh labors, all of which he excused, says Rivet, because it was expedient. For the identification of the source of this entry, I am indebted to Maurice Kelley.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49 Milton first wrote "in legibus divinis," deleted "divinis," and inserted "dei" after "legibus," using a caret.] His entry from Sarpi, *Historia*, summarizes the following (1619, p. 658; tr. Brent, 1620, pp. 675-76). In 1563 Adrian, a Dominican friar at the Council of Trent, "sayd that authoritie to dispence in humane lawes, was absolute, and unlimited in the Pope, because hee was superiour to them all. . . . *John Verdun* . . . came to the matter of dispensations, and seemed to have none other aime, then to contradict Friar *Adrian*, labouring to weaken the Popes power. . . . Hee granted, that in humane lawes a dispensation might lie, in regard of the law-makers imperfection, who could not foresee all cases, and, making generall lawes, must needes reserve power to him that governeth the Common-wealth, because of sundrie occurrences. . . . But where God is the Law-giver, from whom nothing is concealed, and by whom no accident is not foreseene, the Law can have no exception. . . . And, in conclusion, he said, that a dispensation was nothing but a declaration or interpretation of the Law." Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, v, where Milton cites Sarpi and quotes the conclusions of Verdun noted in the *Commonplace Book*.

ragguagl. 79.² The study of the laws, by an edict very well known, being considered not as a liberal art but as a "trade and a really mechanical art, brought into the world to harass the human race" &c. *ibid.* see also ragguagl. 72.³

See also the Life of Petrarch by Thomasinus of Padua,⁴ where young Petrarch scorns the study of law.

² [Milton, Italian, 1643–1644(?), 79. The S in "Spagna" in this entry is written over what looks like a d. Milton's heading, "Against laws," is a marginal note in Latin.] The most important work of Trajano Boccalini (1556–1613), Italian satirist, is the *De' Ragguagli di Parnasso* ("Advice from Parnassus"), printed in Venice, 1612–1613, and frequently thereafter. In the *Ragguagli* he represents Apollo as receiving the complaints from people down on earth and then deciding each case according to its merits. Since Milton's entry gives no page numbers, the edition he used is uncertain. The edition cited here is that of Venice, 1630 (CUL), which may have been the one he used because of a peculiar printer's error reflected in his entry. Though the title page boasts that this fifth edition has been "carefully freed from many errors," *Ragguaglio* LXXIX, from which Milton makes his first entry, should be *Ragguaglio* LXXXIII (except that earlier the numbers jump from LXXVIII to LXXXI), and Milton copied accurately, putting down an Arabic 79, which in a correctly printed edition would have been 83. This *Ragguaglio* begins (p. 387) with the heading "Apollo having in the highest degree commended the decree of the Kings of Spain that advocates and solicitors could not go to the Indies, the doctors and lawyers gravely wrangled with his Majesty." Milton paraphrases part of this heading and paraphrases and quotes from the following (pp. 388–89). "Throughout the whole world the Delphic Edict is well known that the study of the laws is called not a liberal art, but a trade and a really mechanical art, brought into the world to harass the human race." Cf. *Colasterion* (1645, p. 25) for Milton's reference to his opponent as a "cock-braind Soliciter."

³ [Milton deleted "non essendo," wrote "pereditto assai noto" ("by an edict very well known"), then rewrote "non essendo" ("being considered not"). There is a slight deletion after "per," of what looks like a d.] Boccalini's *Ragguaglio* LXII (which is correctly numbered) begins (p. 311) with the heading. "Some people urgently beg their rulers that the great multitude of laws with which they live be reduced to a few and that the Governors of the Provinces prohibit the abuse of publishing each day new rules." The whole section is a strong denunciation of the avarice and confusion of the practice of law in that day.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1643–1644(?), 80.] Jacob Philipp Tomasini (1597–1654), a native of Padua, early developed strong literary interests. His chief purpose in writing his life of Petrarch was to revive memories of great writers. See Michaud, *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne* (2d ed., Paris, 1880). The full title of his biography is *Petrarcha Redivivus . . . Accessit Nobilissimae Foeminae Laurae Brevis Historia (Petrarch Revived . . . to Which Is Added a Short History of the Most Noble Lady Laura)* (Padua, 1635; CUL). Concerning his later studies Tomasini quotes Petrarch as follows (p. 15): "Then at Mt. Pessalanus I spent another four years in the study of law; then to Bononia, and there I spent three years and heard all the body of civil law, a youth promising great development, as many thought, if I should keep on as I began. I indeed forsook

"Nor would so many interpreters be required, so many lawyers that go about with their plausible arguments, now here and now there twisting the sword of justice, already become a sword of lead, all day long staining papers with treatises and counsels and readings and troubles that have burdened Italy in such a way that whole libraries are required for them and there no longer remains head or tail of anything; since there are in every case a thousand teachings, a thousand ideas, a thousand decisions, each contrary to all the others, made in the interest of friendship or of gain or of honor, and derived by force of subtle skill and adroitness." *Pensieri di Tassone* Book 7. quest[ion] 8.⁵

He writes also that "even today in Ruvo, a city in Apulia, doctors of law are not permitted to enter the Council or to hold public office . . . And in Norcia, a province of the State of the Church, when the Council meets, it orders the men of learning outside, and offices are not given either to Doctors or to men of learning, and with all that, the province, during the past misfortunes which afflicted Italy . . . , was governed so carefully that neither its inhabitants nor any of the country houses of that district felt the pinch of such a general distress. And Lilio Gregorio Girardo in that discourse that he wrote against learning says that the people of Velletri at one time made a law that no man of learning in their city could hold office. . . . This was what, according to another writer, the people of Lucca similarly decreed at one time against doctors of law." *Tassoni* *ibid.*⁶

all that study, since presently the care of my parents took me away, not because the authority of the law did not please me, which is no doubt great and full of Roman antiquity, in which I delight, but because the practice of it is corrupted by the negligence of men . . . It irked me to learn by heart what I was unwilling to practice dishonorably."

⁵ [Milton, Italian, 1643-1644(?), 78] Alessandro Tassoni (1565-1635), Italian poet, secretary, and envoy, is chiefly remembered for his burlesque epic *La Secchia Rapita* (*The Rape of the Bucket*), concerning a raid made by the people of Modena on the people of Bologna in 1325, when the only booty was a bucket. His *Dieci Libri di Pensieri Diversi* (*Ten Books of Various Thoughts*), from which Milton's two long Italian entries are made, was first published in 1620. In it he discusses philosophical, literary, historical, and scientific questions with considerable freedom. In the Venice, 1636, edition (CUL), Book VII, Question 8, begins with the heading (p. 269): "Whether letters [that is, writings or treatises] be necessary in a republic for the administration of justice." Milton's entry quotes exactly. It is interesting to note that the passage which Milton quotes is preceded by the same quotation from Tacitus which Tassoni's contemporary Boccacini cited "For in the most corrupt republic there are the most laws."

⁶ [Milton, Italian, 1643-1644(?), 78. Here Milton seems to have begun to

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LIBERTY

It is not likely that a city, led by love of liberty, should do very noble deeds and then regain its freedom when it has been lost. Just as Crescentius of Nomentum was unsuccessful when he tried to restore the old form of the Roman republic. Cuspin. Otto. 3.¹ Just as later Niccolo Rienzo, who longed to be called tribune of the people.²

For what lawyers declare concerning liberty and slavery see Justinian. Book 1. institut. tit[le] 3.³

write "ne havere" too soon He deleted it, added "in consilio" to complete the meaning of "entrar," and then wrote "ne havere"] In his second entry from Tassoni (*Pensieri Diversi*, Book VII, Question 8, p. 272) Milton quotes almost exactly. He changes "Puglia" to "Apulia"; he omits "and the scholars of Naples are infamous" at the first omission indicated, he omits the phrase "with extermination of its people" at the second omission indicated; he omits "or position as magistrate" at the third omission indicated; and he omits "Signori" before "Lucchesi," making the phrase read "people of Lucca" instead of "men of Lucca" Their omission makes little difference in the meaning of the passage as a whole Though Milton plainly wrote "Lilio" Gregorio Giraldo, the Columbia edition gives "Silvio" Gregorio Giraldo in the translation of this passage. Giglio Gregorio Giraldo (or Lilius Gregorius Giralduus as he Latinized it) was an Italian scholar and an elegant Latin poet, who published a number of books and treatises and was a friend of Sannazaro

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 61] Cuspinian, *Historia Caesarum* (Frankfurt, 1601, pp. 253-54), records the story of Crescentius. After the death of Emperor Otto II on December 7, 983, a Roman patrician, Crescentius Nomentanus, argued that the empire should again have a Roman head. Otto III, who had appointed his cousin as Pope Gregory V and was crowned by him, learned that Gregory had been driven out of Rome and that a new pope, John XVI, had been chosen on the authority of Crescentius. Otto III marched on Italy, led Gregory V back, took Rome, and put Crescentius to death. Cf. concluding pages of the *Second Defence* (1654, p. 169). "This is what very frequently happened even to the ancient Romans, after they had become effeminate and unnerved through luxury: and much more did it happen to the modern Romans, when, after a long interval, they affected—under the auspices of Crescentius Nomentanus, and afterwards of Nicolaus Rentius, who got himself nominated tribune of the people—to renew their ancient glory, and to restore the republic. . . . For know . . . that as to be free is precisely the same thing as to be pious, wise, just, and temperate . . . so to be the opposite of these is the same thing as to be a slave."

² Niccolo Rienzi (Cola di Rienzo) (ca. 1313-1354) was a barber's son who, on May 19, 1347, led the uprising to restore the city of Rome to its ancient glory. The nobles fled, Rienzo was elected tribune, he proclaimed the sovereignty of the Roman people over the empire and celebrated the unity of Italy. In October, 1347, he lost his power but regained it in August, 1354. The disgruntled mob by this time had lost faith in his leadership, and he was murdered on October 8, 1354. Cf. concluding pages of the *Second Defence*. Milton's reference to Rienzi is his own comment, since Cuspinian gives no account of Rienzi

³ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 71] Milton's "title 3" should be "title 5."

Civil law favors liberty. see Justinian. institut. Book 1. tit[le] 6. §. 2. on appointing a slave as heir without giving him his freedom. and §. 5.⁴ The reason for manumission, once it has been approved, cannot be reconsidered. and see *ibid.* Book 2. tit[le] 7. §. 3.⁵

Tyrants attempt to destroy in the people an eagerness for arms. "Kings in the past, fearing an attack by the people, have kept them disarmed and estranged from military practice" &c. Guicciard. Book 2. toward the end.⁶

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NOBILITY

From the spirit of God it must be derived, not from forefathers or man-made laws, as the high-born Roman martyr in Prudentius is of

Title 5, in the unnumbered pages of the Louvain, 1475, edition of the *Institutes* is "Concerning Freedmen." Justinian writes: "This thing [manumission] affirmed by law the origin of peoples; as, for example, under natural law all men are born free, nor would manumission be known if slavery were unknown. But after slavery invaded free birth by man-made law, there followed the boon of manumission." Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter X (1650, p. 95): "For liberty of persons and the right of selfpreservation, is much neerer, much more natural, and more worth to all men, then the propriety of thir goods, and wealth." Also *The Tenure* (1649, p. 11). "[Power] cannot be tak'n from them, without a violation of thir natural birthright." Also *Tetrachordon* (1645, p. 56). "Prime Nature made us all equall, made us equall coheirs by common right."

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 71] Sections 2 and 5 of title 6, Book I of the *Institutes*, state that a master making his slave his heir should also give him his freedom, since only a free man can appoint an heir. Cf. *Tetrachordon* (1645, p. 55): "Tutelage . . . [according to] the *Institutes* of Justinian . . . the civil law calls . . . *permission*. So likewise to *manumise*, to adopt, to make a will, and to be made an heire is call'd *permission* by law"

⁵ [Milton first wrote "probatâ" as a modifier of the subject, "causa" He deleted the ^ over the a, to provide the nominative case] Section 3 of title 7, Book II of the *Institutes*, repeats a statement made in Book I, titles 5 and 6: "But once the reason [for manumission] has been approved, whether it be true or false, it cannot be reconsidered." This statement Milton's Latin entry practically quotes, with the omission of the clause "whether it be true or false." Cf. especially *Tetrachordon* (1645, p. 32) "The civil Law, though it favour'd the setting free of a slave, yet if hee prov'd ungratefull to his Patron, reduc't him to a servil condition. If that Law did well to reduce from liberty to bondage . . . much more became it the Law of God to enact the restorement of a free born man." Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter II "For even a slave foreign-born had the law of God to his defender against a cruel master."

⁶ [Milton, Latin comment, Italian quotation, date uncertain, 93] In Guicciardini, *Historia* (Florence, 1636, pp 126-27), an oration given by William of Orange discusses the low quality of the armed forces of the Italian cities and the "great multitude of Swiss" that were being hired by the tyrants of those cities as mercenaries. Milton's quotation is part of that oration.

noble spirit: "Let it not be that the blood of my parents proves me noble, or the law of the Curia," &c; and then, "We first had our being from the mouth of God, our Father; whoever serves Him, he is truly noble." Prudent: peristeph: the Roman martyr's prayer.¹

Dante the Florentine treats very well of true nobility canzon. 4.²

See Chaucer wife of Baths tale fol. 36.³ and Romant of y^e Rose fol. 118.⁴

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 14] Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (358-ca. 410), the most important of the early Christian poets of the West, has been called the Christian Horace and the Christian Virgil. Milton probably used the *Opera* (Antwerp, 1564; NYPL). The editors, Theodore Cranenburg and Victor Giselin, record in the preface that Prudentius came of a noble family, had a liberal education, practiced law, and held some high office under Emperor Theodosius. At fifty-seven he retired to a monastery and died soon after. The preface also lists his works, among them the fourteen hymns of the *Peristephanon*, concerning fourteen Christian martyrs, mostly Spanish, but some suggested by church images. Milton's Latin entry quotes from "Hymn Ten to the Roman of Antioch" (*Opera*, pp 95-211), called "The Faithful Old Man." The poem relates that after torture the martyr, in the midst of a hail of blows, stood erect and recited the prayer to which Milton refers (p 163): "Let it not be that the blood of my parents proves me noble, or the law of the Curia, for the noble path of Christ ennobles men If our origin be in our descent, you may inspect it in our pedigree We came from the mouth of God, our Father; whoever serves Him is truly noble, and the rebel to the Father becomes base."

² [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 13] Milton's entry concerns Dante's canzone on nobility prefixed to the fourth treatise of the *Convivio*. Dante writes (l 81) "I say that any *vertu* [see below, p 499, for Machiavelli's definition] comes mainly from one source: from virtue, which makes man happy in its working." Such nobility never vaunts itself, saying, "I am the law." Its aim is the good of others. Its source is God. Cf. *Comus*, ll. 322-26: "Shepherd, I take thy word, And trust thy honest offer'd courtesy, Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds With smoky rafters, than in tap'stry Halls And Courts of Princes, where it first was nam'd, And yet is most pretended"; marginal note on William Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, Book II, Song 4: "Vertue is the only nobility"; *Paradise Regained*, IV, 297 ff: "Others in vertue placed felicity"; *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 170-75. "For him I reckon not in high estate Whom long descent of birth Or the spear of fortune raises," and so forth

³ [Milton, English, 1640-1642(?), 67] Milton's second entry in *CPB*, p. 150, cites the same page in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* (*Workes*, ed. Speght, 1602) as the one cited here. Here Milton refers to ll. 1113-30 (unnumbered) of the loathly lady's speech on "gentillesse," which may be summed up in the two following:

Christ wold we claimed of him our gentlesse,
Not of our elders for our old richesse.

⁴ Here Chaucer may have been influenced by Dante's canzone on nobility and by the *Romance of the Rose*, ll. 6579-92 and 18607-896. See *The Complete Works of Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1938), p 808, nn. 1109 ff In those lines from the *Romance of the Rose* and in Chaucer's transla-

And our English herald Guillim, though his office consist chiefly about titular dignity, and gentry by birth, yet confesses, speaking of those whose first ancestors were raised for thire worth, that if they "vant of thire linage or titular dignity, and want thire vertues, they are but like base serving men who carry on thire sleeves the badge of some noble family, yet are themselves but ignoble persons." p[age] 410.⁵

Dukes, counts, Marquises &c. were not hereditary at first, but only places of government, & office in y^e time of Charles y^e great. Girard. Hist France. Book 3. p[age] 163. Book 6. [page] 316. and so continu'd without much difference between gentlemen & nobles till the time of Charles y^e Simple. about y^e year 900. when this corruption (for so the historian calls it, though himself a french lord) took beginning and receav'd accomplishment afterward in the time of Hugh Capet. Girard. Hist France. Book 6. p[age] 316. taking example from his usurpation, they made themselves proprietaries of those counties & dukedomes w^{ch} they had as offices, not inheritances. idem. Book 6. [pages] 329. 330. except those who were natural lords, as of Normandy, Toulouse, Flanders &c. idem. p[age] 333.⁶

tion (*Workes*, ed. Speght, 1602, p 118) the God of Love is preaching a sermon, the gist of which is that "he [anyone] is gentle, because he doth As longeth to a gentleman," and not because of "his lnages." Cf. *Of Reformation*, Book II. "Men so wise as our *Chaucer* is esteem'd"

⁵ [Milton, English, date uncertain, 86 Milton first wrote "not" after "consist," deleted it, and wrote "chiefly" instead.] John Guillim (1565-1621) was born in Gloucestershire, studied at Oxford, became a member of the College of Arms in London, where he served as pursuivant at arms and herald. His *A Display of Heraldrie* appeared in 1610, and many other editions followed. Milton's page reference fits the second and third editions, London, 1632 (HLH) and 1638 (Hanford, "Chronology," p. 279, n. 134). Guillim writes (p. 410): "The temple of honor (amongst the Ancient Romans) had before it a stately Porch dedicated to vertue: to notifie, that in that common-wealth there was no hope to attaine to place of dignity, but by treading the path of desert. Doubtless this was the best policy that could be to uphold a State: for so, places of importance were best discharged, and persons well affected were most encouraged to deserve well' and out of question, such was the reason of the advancing of noble families in most States: whose first raisers were honored for their good services, with titles of dignity, as badges of their worth, and therefore if their offspring vaunt of their Linage," and the rest of Milton's quotation follows, exactly as Guillim wrote it

⁶ [Milton, English, 1644-1647(?), 53] Milton's long entry records correctly the book and page numbers of the details of how titles were acquired in France from the time of Charlemagne to that of Hugh Capet. Milton notes with satisfaction Girard's veracity, though himself a titled nobleman. Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 26): "And so much I find both in our own and forren Storie, that Dukes, Earles,

[P.] 193

SEVERITY

Severity in morals is of little use in trying to obtain authority or command. So Lambert, a stern supporter of integrity, and a source of terror to the more unrestrained conduct of his age, was by no means acceptable to the princes of Italy. Cuspin. on Berengarius. p[age] 222.¹

[P.] 195

KING

Concerning the kings of Britain, Gildas says that they were anointed as kings, but not by God. p[age] 119.¹ Contrary to what the people now think, namely, that all kings are the anointed of God.²

If in governmental rule there is any servitude, actually the one in authority is the slave, rather than he who is subject to him: August. de Civit. Dei Book 19. chap[ter] 14.³

and Marqueses were at first not hereditary, not empty and vain titles, but names of trust and office, and with the office ceasing, as induces me to be of opinion, that every worthy man in Parliament . . . might for the public good be thought a fit Peer and judge of the King "

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 61] In *Historia Caesarum* (Frankfurt, 1601, p 225) Cuspinian tells the story of Lambert, a follower of Berengarius II "Meanwhile the dissolute princes were saying that they should kill this man as a spy. When he had to come to Novaria on his way to Eporregia, he was cruelly torn to pieces by those incited to the deed, and his attendants, fleeing to the temple, were dragged out and offered as sacrifices" [Following this entry is a five-line note from Machiavelli's *Discorsi*, with the title *Successio* in the margin. It is deleted by means of three large X's and reappears on p. 195 under "Rex," where it belongs. Both entries are in the hand of a scribe.]

² [Milton, Latin, 1640-1642(?), 83] In Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum* (both Heidelberg, 1587, and Lyons, 1587, editions), Milton's page 119 is the second of two pages numbered 117 In this case he corrected the printer's error, as he did not do in his entries from Boccalini. Gildas writes, in his *Epistle Concerning the Overthrow and Conquest of Britain* (second p. 117): "Kings were anointed, not by God, but as those who stood out as more fierce; and a little later they were slain by the anointers, not according to trial of the truth, and others more fierce were chosen." In *The Tenure* (1649, p 27) Milton quotes Gildas as follows. "They [the British] anointed them Kings, not of God, but such as were more bloody then the rest." Cf. also *Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon* (1660, p. 5): "But who is his Anointed? not every King"; and *A Defence*, Chapter IV. "But that all kings are the Lord's anointed . . . this you will never force me to grant you."

³ Milton here makes his own significant comment.

³ [Amanuensis C, Latin, 1658-1660(?), 104] Augustine (354-430), author of *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei* and Bishop of Hippo in Numidia, made the small seaport famous through his sermons, commentaries, tractates, and voluminous correspondence. His purpose in writing the *De Civitate Dei*, which he began in

Succession. "After it became customary for the ruler to rule by right of succession, and not by election, the heirs soon began to degenerate from the standards of their ancestors, and leaving off virtuous deeds they thought that rulers had to do nothing but surpass others in luxury and in lust and in every other form of pleasure." Machiavelli: *discorsi*. Book 1. c[hapter] 2.⁴

"One may also see, by reading Roman history, how a good realm can be ordered; because all the emperors who succeeded to the rule by heredity, except Titus, were evil, and those who ruled by adoption were all good, as were the five from Nerva to Marcus." Machiavelli. *discorsi*: Book 1. c[hapter] 10.⁵

[P.] 197 OF RELIGION. TO WHAT EXTENT IT
CONCERNS THE STATE

Among the most excellent of all mortals are those who instruct the minds of men in true religion, more excellent even than those who

410 AD and completed in 426, was to describe an ideal realm Milton's entry, in the Venice, 1475, edition (PML), summarizes the closing sentences of Book XIX, chap. 14 (pages unnumbered): "Those who command serve those whom they seem to rule For they do not rule through the desire of commanding, but in the office of counselling; nor in the haughtiness of authority, but with the compassion of providing for their subjects" Milton quotes this passage from Augustine in *A Defence*, Chapter IV, as well as another passage from Book IV, chap 4 of *De Civitate Dei*. Milton cites Augustine in numerous places, sometimes to controvert him.

⁴ [Machiavelli scribe, Italian, 1651-1652(?), 102. The amanuensis, in transferring this note from *CPB*, p. 193, apparently wrote "in" or "si" after "Come dipoi"; he deleted it and then rewrote it. The heading "Succession" is in the margin in Latin] Milton's entry is an exact quotation from the *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, chap. 2, p. 5) except for the fact that Milton puts *e* where Machiavelli has &, Milton writes "principe" with a small *p* and Machiavelli writes it with a capital, and Milton has "pensarono" where Machiavelli has "pensavano." The heading of chap. 2 is "Of the kinds of Republics and of the nature of the Roman Republic." Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter V. "No man by the law of nature has right to be king, unless he excel all others in wisdom and courage."

⁵ [Machiavelli scribe, Italian, 1651-1652(?), 102. The scribe making this entry started to write "idem," to indicate its source; he deleted it and wrote "Machiavelli. discorsi:" instead] Milton again quotes exactly from the Italian of the *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, Chapter 10, p. 29). The heading of chap. 10 is. "By as much as the founders of a Republic or a Kingdom are laudable, by so much are those of a Tyranny blameworthy." Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter II. "So little did he [Marcus Aurelius] arrogate aught to himself by virtue of a royal right. When he was dying he offered the Romans his son for his successor, to rule upon condition he should prove worthy."

have founded, however well, kingdoms and republics by man-made laws. Machiavel. discors Book 1. c[hapter] 10.¹

That the combining of ecclesiastical and political government (when, that is to say, the magistrate acts as minister of the Church and the minister of the Church acts as magistrate) is equally destructive to both religion and the State, Dante, the Tuscan poet, shows in his *Purgatorio*. Cant. 16.²

Rome, that made the good world, used to have
Two suns, which made clear to see
The one way and the other: that of God and that of the world.
The one has extinguished the other; and the sword
Is joined with the crozier; and the one and the other
Must perforce go ill together:
Because, being joined, the one does not fear the other.

And a little further on.

Say henceforth that the Church of Rome,
By confounding in herself two powers,
Falls into the mire, and fouls herself and her burden.

The opinions of men concerning religion should be free in a republic, or indeed under good princes. While Machiavelli praises such princes, he says, among other good things, that under them you will see golden times, "where each man can hold and defend the opinion

¹ [Amanuensis B, Latin, 1651-1652(?), 101] Milton's entry summarizes the main idea in chap 10 of the *Discorsi*, the first sentence of which says "Among all praiseworthy men, the most praiseworthy are those who are heads of states and organizers of religion. After them come those that have founded either republics or kingdoms"

² [Amanuensis D, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1650-1667(?), 105. In writing the parenthetical part of this entry, the amanuensis became confused. He first wrote "cum scilicet magistratus ministrum Ecclesiae, magistratum agit" He deleted "ministrum" and rewrote it above, using a caret Then he added "minster Ecclesiae" before "magistratum," using a caret and thus completing the meaning of the remark. In the quotation from Dante a word, which is indistinguishable, is deleted after "vedere" ("to see").] Milton quotes exactly from Daniello, *Dante* (Venice, 1568, p 349, ll. 106-12, 127-29, unnumbered). The spirit of Marco Lombardo reveals itself to Dante in Purgatory and, in answer to Dante's questions, makes the reply which Milton quotes. Cf *Of Civil Power*, near the end "There can be no place left then for the magistrate or his force in the settlement of religion."

that he wishes." discors. Book 1. c[hapter] 10³ See the Theological Index, Of Not Forcing Religion.

[P] 198 VARIOUS FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Republican form. Machiavelli much prefers a republican form to monarchy, citing reasons by no means stupid throughout the 58th chapter of Book 1 of his discors.¹ and in Book 3. c[hapter] 34,² where he argues that a republic makes fewer mistakes than a prince does in choosing its magistrates or councillors.

To return a republic to the very source of government, either by enacting good laws or by reducing magistrates to the ranks of ordinary citizens or by restoring the control of things to the decision of the people, is often beneficial. see Machiavel. discors: Book 3. c[hapter] 1,³ where he says that this is very healthful for a republic just as it is for a mixed government &c.

James Kennedy, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, censured and rejected government by women in a long speech, Buchanan. Hist. Scot. Book 12. p[age] 403. Edit. Edinburg.⁴

³ [Amanuensis B, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1651-1652(?), 101 The scribe wrote "liberas esse" too soon after "in Repub" He deleted it, wrote "vel sub bonis principibus," then rewrote "liberas esse."] Milton's entry quotes briefly from the *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, chap. 10, p. 27). The marginal note accompanying this entry refers to Milton's undiscovered Theological Index

¹ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651-1652(?), 102. The heading, "Republican form," is a marginal note in Latin. The scribe corrected "adductus" to "adductis" by inserting an *i* with a caret Also what looks like "suis" before "aligendis" is deleted and then inserted with a caret after "magistratibus" The writing is very small and difficult to read At the end a word is deleted which is indistinguishable] Milton's twelfth entry in *CPB*, p. 185, has already cited Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, Book I, chap. 58, concerning the need of using the sword against a bad ruler. In *CPB*, p. 177, he cited Machiavelli's preference for a commonwealth, because more excellent men come from a commonwealth than from a kingdom (from the *Dell'Arte della Guerra*).

² The *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, Book III, chap. 34, p. 282) considers the question: "What report or words or opinions make the people begin to favor a citizen; and whether they choose their magistrates with greater wisdom than a prince does." Milton's entry paraphrases Machiavelli's affirmative answer

³ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651-1652(?), 102. The scribe changed "bonis legibus ferendis" to "bonas leges ferendo" by writing over the original forms.] The *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, Book III, chap. 1, p. 203) discusses the topic: "To expect a realm or a republic to live long, it is often necessary to return it to its principle." Again Milton's entry summarizes Machiavelli's position in the matter.

⁴ [Amanuensis E, Latin, after 1652, 107. In this badly written entry the

Tributes of fodder, provisions, and lodgings were imposed by Charlemagne upon the Italians; by which he wished a certain power of his over them to be indicated. see Sigon: reg: Ital: Book 7. 175 p[age].¹ For this reason, perhaps, a tribute of this kind is paid to the Kings of England through whatever places they make their way.²

scribe began with "Reprehendit" and then put the object "Gynæocratiam" in front of it. He apparently began to write "Kennedus" after "Reprehendit," but wrote "longa" over the K. He wrote "Hist. Soct." for "Hist. Scot.," deleted "Soct.," and then rewrote the error. He wrote the page number, p. 131, correctly; then he deleted it and wrote "403" above it.] Though Milton must have studied George Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582) along with the English chronicles and uses it throughout his prose tracts, this entry was made much later by a scribe and is different from the other entries in being badly and inaccurately written. The page number, as Horwood noted (*CPB*, 1877, p. 41 n.), should be 131, not 403. There (pp. 131-32) Buchanan cites the statements of Kennedy, Archbishop of St. Andrews from 1461 to 1483, as follows: "If you search all the names of things, you will not find among them the word for 'rule by women'. . . . So to this very day there has been no rule by a woman in public administration." It is interesting to note that, whereas Buchanan uses the Latin phrase "muliebre imperium," Milton's entry, as if to correct Kennedy's statement that there is no name for it, uses the word "gynaecocracy." Writing shortly after the rule of a queen and a woman regent in Scotland and during the rule of a queen in England, Buchanan was doubtless struck by the difference between his own and Kennedy's times, a difference denounced in 1558 by John Knox's *Monstrous Regiment of Women*.

George Buchanan (1506-1582), Scottish humanist and historian, had an eventful career as student and teacher on the continent before returning to Scotland to serve as tutor of Queen Mary and later as an aide in her trial and deposition. In his last years Buchanan wrote *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579), asserting that the source of power is the people and that it is lawful to resist and punish tyrants. Concerning the rule of women, cf. *History of Britain*, Book I (1670, p. 25): "Else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, then that a Woman should give Laws to Men", *A Defence*, Chapter VII: "What if it should overthrow a gynaecocracy too, under which state, they say, you go near to being beaten at home?"

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 9] Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae* (Frankfurt, 1591, p. 175) tells how Otto the Great in 973 continued Charlemagne's levying of tribute. "The tribute which had been established by the Franks, he [Otto] retained, tribute of fodder, provisions, and lodgings. The fodder was a certain amount of grain, which the people were required to give to the king when he came into Italy, and for which often the estimated cost was paid."

[In making this entry, Milton first placed a tilde over the last letter of "imposita" ("imposed"), the equivalent of adding an *m*, but later deleted it.]

² Milton's own comment.

Fifteens and subsidies what they are see Camden. Elizab. p[age] 80.³

the cruel tribute exacted by Hardiknut to be given to his shipmen stow speaks of, and his end was answerable. Sto. [page] 94.⁴ read also the storie how K Ed. Confessor saw the devill dauncing on the heap of monie exacted from his subjects, wheron he sent all back to y^e owners. Sto. p[age] 95.⁵ against unjust exactions with intent to enrich the K's coffers Canutus the dane inveighs. Speed. in his life.⁶

³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 44] Under the date 1563 Camden defines these terms in the *Annales* (1615, I, 80) as follows: "Fifteens and tens (as I note for the benefit of foreigners) is a certain tax formerly imposed on cities, boroughs, and towns, not separately, but generally on the reckoning of a fifteenth part of the wealth of the places Subsidy we call what is imposed separately on individuals on the basis of their goods and their lands. Nor indeed is this tax or the other tax ever imposed except by consent of the representatives in parliament" Concerning all Milton's entries on taxation, cf. *A Defence*, Chapter IX, where, after citing authorities from Aristotle to Fortescue, he concludes: "The king of England . . . can neither alter the laws, nor lay taxes without the people's consent."

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow tells (*Annales*, 1615, p. 94) of Hardicnute's coming to England and of his determination to have revenge for the exile of his mother by Harold. First he brought his mother home; then he had Harold's body dug up and thrown into the Thames "Which done, the king appointed eight markes to be paid to everie sailer in his navie, and twelve markes to every pilote or master, which tribute was to be payd of all England, so grievous, that scarce any was able to beare it. Shortly after . . . at a mariage feast pleasantly drinking with the Bride and other persons, in the midst of his cups hee fell sodainly down to the ground, and so remayning dumbe, departed this life the third yeere of his raigne, and was buried by his father at Winchester." Stow's account of his death agrees with that of Holinshed (above, p 367). Milton records these details in the *History of Britain*, Book VI.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] William of Malmesbury is cited in the margin as the source of Stow's story (*Annales*, 1615, p 95) that in the year 1051, when famine prevailed, Edward the Confessor, moved by compassion, released England forever from the Dane geld, a grievous tribute. His clemency was the result of a vision of the devil dancing on the heap of money brought in by his "exactors," or "treasurers (as wee call them)."

⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38. The "Ca" in "Canutus" is blurred in this entry] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed, 1623, p. 401), records Canute's inveighing against exactions as follows: "He first gives commaund to his Counsellours, that thence forward they dare not, for whatsoever respect, to give way or connivence to any the least injustice in his Kingdome, and next to his Officers of Iustice, that as they tender his royall favor and their owne lives, they swerve not from Equity in execution of their places, in respect of any man whosoever, no not, for the enrichment of the Kings owne Coffers, because (saith hee) *I hold it not needfull, that treasure should bee heaped together for mee, by any unjust exactions*" Milton, in the *History of Britain*, Book VI (1670, p. 272), follows Speed, telling

the exaction of Hardiknute was thought to be devised by Godwin on purpose to bring him in hatred with the people.⁷

and Harold harefoot by exacting ship monie lost his subjects love. Speed. in his life.⁸

Peeter pence ordaind to be given to the Pope by Inas the west-saxon the ignominious price of our damnation. Holinshed. Book 6. c[hapter] 1. vide leges. [See Laws.]⁹ an disanull'd by the noble Edward. 3. stow. an. 39.¹⁰ but after by others permitted. Holinsh. p[age] 397 till Hen. 8.¹¹

K. John lost his subjects love by taxing & powling them. Holinsh. p[age] 161.¹² and the black prince lost the love and obedience of his

how, in a letter from Rome, Canute "charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the King, they suffer injustice to be done in the land."

⁷ [This sentence, for lack of space, was put in the margin of the manuscript.] Concerning the exactions of Hardicnute, Speed says (*Historie*, 2d ed, 1623, p. 407): "Therefore, to separate the hearts of the subjects from the Prince (then which, there can be no greater a wound unto both,) hee [Godwin] caused the King to impose heavy tributes upon the *English*."

⁸ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38] Speed records the ship-money incident as follows (*Historie*, 2d ed, 1623, p. 405). In 1036 Harold Harefoot "sought so to secure himselfe, and with sixteene shippes of the *Danish* Fleete kept the seas, which continued ever in a readnesse, and waffed from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, hee charged the *English* with great payments, to their no little grudge and repining; whereby he lost the love of his subjects before it had well taken root in their hearts." Milton, *History of Britain*, Book VI, says: "Harold in England, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every Port at 8 marks of Silver to 16 Ships, dy'd at London."

⁹ Milton's cross reference to *CPB*, p. 179, the fourth entry (above, p. 425). The reference to Holinshed, which is in the margin of Milton's manuscript, gives the same book and chapter as on p. 179 for the account of Inas' ordaining of Peter pence.

¹⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow writes (*Annales*, 1615, p. 266) that in the year 1365 "The king [Edward III] commaunded that Peter-pence should no more be gathered nor paid to Rome Saint *Peters* pence is the kings almes, and all that hadde thirtie peny woorth of goods, of one manner cattell in their house of their owne proper, should give that peny at Lammass."

¹¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed's account (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 397) agrees with Stow's, but concludes as follows: "But howsoever this paiment was abrogated at this time by king Edward, it was after renewed againe, and the monie gathered in certeine shires of this realme, till the daies of king Henrie the eight"

¹² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed writes (1587, III, 161) that in 1199 King John taxed every gallon and hogshead of wine and every plowland in England.

subjects in Guien by raising fuage Holinsh. p[age] 400. &c.¹³ Rich.
2. a farmer of his kingdom. Holin. [page] 496.¹⁴

promooters and exacters worthyly punisht in beginning Hen. 8. an.
1. Sto.¹⁵ a good course also taken by Hen. 3^d to the same effect wherby
punishing those that had bin fraudulent under him in his offices by
fines and accounts taken of them, he spar'd his honest subjects of a
subsidie. Holinsh. p[age] 215.¹⁶ see also the moderation of Elizab.
Camd. p[age] 107.¹⁷ and vol. 2. p[age] 21.¹⁸

¹³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] This entry from Holinshed (1587, III, 400) parallels that from Speed concerning the Black Prince, *CPB*, p. 185. There the aid given by the Black Prince to Peter of Castile forced his levying of fuage (above, p. 454). Holinshed says that in 1368 the Black Prince, to get money for his soldiers, first taxed Aquitaine (in a tax called fuage), a tax of one franc yearly for five years on every chimney or fire. But when he was to tax Guien, the people refused to pay and "were so much offended with the notion, that they sought occasion forthwith to revolt from the English obeisance and submission."

¹⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 496) says that in 1398 "the common brute [rumor] ran, that the king had set to farme the realme of England."

¹⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36. Milton inserted the third *o* in "promooters," using a caret.] Stow tells (*Annales*, 1615, pp. 487-88) that, after hearing the people's complaints, Henry VIII "thought it best to commit those to prison, by whom y^e complainants pretended themselves to have beene wronged, and thereupon was sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmond Dudley esquire, by a politike means brought into the Tower, where they were accused of treason, and so remained prisoners, thereby to quiet mens minds, that made such suite to have their money againe restored. And shortly after were many of their promoters (for so they termed themselves) called in to a reckoning, and cast into sundry prisons."

¹⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 215) records that when Henry III asked Parliament for a subsidy and was refused, the bishop of Winchester advised him not to tax his poor people further but to take back his vast gifts to his nobles; so Henry III "caused his receivers, treasurers, and other such as had medled with anie of his receipts to come to a reckoning." He found much fraud, and thus a subsidy was spared.

¹⁷ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 44. This reference, for lack of space, is in the margin of the manuscript.] Camden says (*Annales*, 1615-27, I, 107) that, in the early days after the reign of Mary, Elizabeth showed her magnanimity by remitting subsidies. "She rejected altogether the extra tax offered her [by Parliament], she accepted the ordinary tax, after praising their good will, and she remitted wholly a fourth of the subsidy granted as a solution, saying repeatedly that the money in her subjects' coffers was thereby in hers."

¹⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44. This reference is also in the margin of the manuscript.] Camden relates (*Annales*, 1615-27, II, 21) that in 1590 Elizabeth declared herself "Queen of the least no less than of the greatest" and reduced the taxes, a deed which "greater kings call by the flattering names of *liberality to the people, benevolence, friendly concession*, and others of the same kind."

Commissions out of Parliament devis'd by Wolsey demanding the sixt of every mans goods Holinsh. p[age] 891.¹⁹ without the knowledge of the K. which caus'd divers commotions the which the K. knowing the cause therof instantly pardon'd, utterly disavowing the unlawfull oppression of his commons.

The Emperor Anastasius, with excellent judgment, abolished the tribute that was usually scraped together by courtesans, which was called *chrysargurum*. as Evagrius tells us at length, Book 3. hist: Eccl: c[hapter] 39.²⁰

That no king or prince hath due power to raise a penny on his subjects without thir consent Comines a great statesman and courtier affirms, and answers the common objections that the cause may be suddain, and secret. Memoires Book 5. p[age] 403 &c.²¹

Subsidies granted with condition not to be spent at the pleasure of the prince but by order and appointment of certain Lds appointed by the parliament, by them to be receav'd and kept. Rich. 2. Holinsh.

¹⁹ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] Holinshed (1587, III, 891) tells how Wolsey, in 1525, in preparation for Henry VIII's war with France, sent commissioners into every shire to order the people to his purpose, "which was, that the sixt part of everie mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the king without delaie, for the furniture of his war." When Henry heard of Wolsey's action he assembled a great council in the cardinal's palace and "openlie protested, that his mind was never to aske anie thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his lawes." For three and a half centuries it was believed that this demand for money originated with Wolsey and was checked by Henry VIII. Modern histories assert that the idea was Henry VIII's and that, when the realm rebelled, he was glad to have Wolsey take the blame. Cf Samuel R. Gardiner, *A Student's History of England* (3 vols., New York, 1905–07), II, 372.

²⁰ [Milton, Latin, 1637–1638(?), 7] In *EHA* (Paris, 1544, f. 155v) Evagrius gives his account of the action of Anastasius recorded in Milton's entry. Anastasius I (ca. 430–518), a Roman emperor of high character, gained popular favor by wise remission of taxes

²¹ [Milton, English, 1644–1647(?), 54. In this entry Milton inserted "due," using a caret. With a long guiding line he added the clause after "objections" and the reference to the *Memoires*, which are squeezed in above the rest of the entry.] Milton's entry translates a portion of the question asked by Commynes: "Now to continue my proposition, is there any king or lord on earth who has the power in his domain to levy a penny on his subjects without the authority and consent of those who must pay, without tyranny or violence?" In case of war, Commynes says, levies may be sudden and necessary, and good subjects will respond; but otherwise not. Milton's entry is from Book V, f. 94v and not from f. 403, of Commynes, *Memoires* (Paris, 1552). When Milton used f. 94 before, he said it was in Book II, which was also an error. Since Milton was taking his own notes on Commynes, the error is his and not that of an amanuensis.

[page] 452. and in other pages ²² which also K. James of his own accord offer'd to the parliament in thire aids to be gather'd for recovery of the palatinat. Chesne. Hist. D'Angle. p[ages] 1178. 1179.²³

That not every sea is free, the Emperors of the city of Constantine were accustomed to say very euphemistically of the ships passing through the narrow straits of the Black Sea, as Nicephoras Gregoras bears witness Book 5. c[hapter] 3.²⁴

what the revennews of the custom house were to Q. Eliz. see Camd. Eliz. vol. 2. p[age] 21. See the King of England. [P.] 186.²⁵

Moderation in exactions, or subsidies gains more then rigor. seen

²² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed records (1587, III, 452 and "other pages") the appointment of commissioners of regency in 1386 to regulate expenditures of the realm and of the king's household.

²³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 42] Milton's entry is from André Du Chesne, *Histoire* (Paris, 1634, pp. 1178-79). When in 1624 James I called his last parliament to ask for funds to restore the Palatinate, Prince Charles addressed them Du Chesne records the event as follows (p 1178): "The Prince of Wales also thanked the Parliament for the great affection and friendship that they had showed and prayed that they would pursue with diligence what they had so well begun, saying that after they had decided to carry the matter to a state of war, he did not doubt that the means necessary for so important an enterprise would be found He added that the King, his father, did not wish in his old age to be embroiled in a war, but that necessity required it and that he was sure their aid and good counsel would lead to a good conclusion" Nevertheless (p 1179), beside the marginal note, "Money subsidy for reestablishing the Palatinate stopped," Du Chesne tells of how Parliament, debating finances for war, stopped the subsidy to the Palatinate, granting instead a subsidy for home expenses and for troops in Ireland and the Netherlands, to be handled by treasurers appointed by Parliament.

²⁴ [Milton, Latin with Greek for "euphemistically," 1637-1638(?), 10] Milton's entry is from the *Eleven Books of Byzantine History* of Nicephoras Gregoras. The statement concerning the freedom of the seas seems to be Milton's, for Gregoras' Greek-Latin text has no such remark. Milton uses Gregoras simply to provide an illustration (Basle, 1562, Book V, p. 63), an account of the attack, in a great naval battle, by the Greek emperor Paleologus on Genovese pirates as they attempted to pass "the promontory of the temple of the Argonauts, as the mouth of the Black Sea is called."

²⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 44] Milton's "See the King of England. 186" is a marginal note in Latin referring to the entry on p. 186 (above, p. 459), in which Camden praised Elizabeth's ability to pay her debts at home and abroad without oppressing her subjects. Here (*Annales*, 1615-27, II, 21) Camden says: "The Queen, not long before, having been taught by Caermardine, a very skillful man, concerning the mysteries of public revenues, brought it about that Thomas Smith, the customs officer, as they call him, who had collected duties amounting to thirteen thousand pounds of English money each year, now indeed was collecting forty-two thousand pounds, no small sum from such profitable collecting for so many years, and later he was collecting fifty thousand."

in the Londoners forwardnes Sto. Eliz. in [15]88.²⁶ and by the subsidies granted Camden. p[age] 55. vol. 2. and [page] 56.²⁷

A people well furnished with money keeps more quiet; therefore it is to the advantage of a king that he should not reduce his people to poverty by taxes, since "need, if anything, plunges the English into revolt," as Camden, among others, tells us. Eliz. vol. 2. p[age] 224.²⁸

[P.] 221 OFFICIAL ROBBERY OR EXTORTION
SEE POPE, [PAGE] 42, IN ANOTHER INDEX ¹

William Rufus an extreme powler ² of his subjects for so much ³ that he durst compell certain converted Jews to forsake the faith of Christ beeing brib'd to that purpose by other Jews with a summe of mony. but see the wise and godly answere of a converted Jew to him wherwith he was confounded. Holinsh. p[age] 27.⁴

²⁶ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36] Stow says (*Annales*, 1615, p. 743) that in 1588, in preparation for the war with Spain, the Londoners doubled their quota of men and ships. Following Stow's marginal note, "Englands readinesse, love and forwardnesse to defend their prince and country," is the account of how, when London was asked for five thousand men and fifteen ships, the city asked for two days to consider the matter and then, "in signe of their perfect love, & loyaltie to their prince, and countrey," asked the lords kindly to accept ten thousand men and thirty ships, "amply furnished"

²⁷ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 44] Camden says (1615-27, II, 25, 26) that in an address to Parliament in 1593 Elizabeth expressed her desire to avoid excessive taxation.

²⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44. In the quotation in this entry, Milton first wrote what looks like a *d* (for "defectionem"?) and then wrote an *r* over it (for "rebellionem")] While discussing Essex's rebellion, Camden says (*Annales*, 1615-27, II, 224) that the people followed him as he entered London because of need. Then in a parenthesis he adds: "(& inopia; si qua res alia Anglos in rebellionem praecipitat)," which Milton incorporates in his Latin entry as a quotation.

¹ A reference to Milton's undiscovered Theological Index.

² The word "pol" in Middle English meant "to cut short," from which came the derived meaning of "to plunder." In the sixteenth century it was used frequently, with various spellings but with the meaning "to plunder."

³ Though the Columbia edition prints "Insomuch," the manuscript facsimile looks to me more like "for so much."

⁴ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37. Milton inserted "he" before "durst," using a caret] Holinshed (1587, III, 27) records that in 1100 King William Rufus, among others, sought to make a young Jewish convert renounce his Christian faith, after the young man's father had paid the king to do so. When the king commanded him, the youth replied, "Your grace (as I gesse) dooth but jest." The king angrily ordered him out, saying that if he did not recant, he would have his eyes plucked out. Calmly the youth said: "Trulie I will not doo it, but know

King Ri. 1. to maintain his warrs unholie in the holy land p[ages] 119. 120. and p[ages] 143. 144. other devises p[age] 145. after his comming home.⁵ besides that of the seale lost with prætence of necessity to seale again. this devise of a new seale to bring in new fees Holinsh. p[ages] 208. 209.⁶ Hen. 3^d also practis'd a trick more befitting a cheater then a K. for which he is boldly reprov'd of his nobles p[age] 240.⁷ feins also a feare of warr in Gascoine from the Castilians [page] 249. and through his whole reigne an improvident spender, and a shamlesse exacter. [page] 253. another shift. [pages] 251: 253.⁸

Richard. 2. a continual poller. see [page] 185 of this table.⁹ also Holinsh. [page] 496.¹⁰ Henry the 7th not free of this fault in his latter days. Holinsh. [page] 791. by Empston and Dudly. p[age] 794.¹¹ His policie by shew of warrs to raise monies. Speed [page] 713. be-

for certeine, that if you were a good christian, you would never have uttered anie such words." The king commanded him to get out of his sight. The father, seeing his son's determination, asked to have his money back. The king at first refused, but finally gave him half of it.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Milton's reference is to Holinshed (1587, III, 119, 120, 143, 144, 145) where Richard I, on his return from the Holy Land, is said to have repudiated his debts and levied more taxes on land, on the church, and so forth. The bishop of Durham, who dared to protest, lost the earldom which he had bought. Richard seized the lands of Crusaders who did not return, as well as the properties of Jews that were slain.

⁶ [Milton's reference to Holinshed is in the margin] As a result of the loss of the king's seal at Cyprus when the carrier was drowned, Richard ordered a new seal and then decreed that all papers, to be valid, must bear the imprint of the new seal. Such imprints brought many fees

⁷ In 1258, in the reign of Henry III, after he had demanded for the Pope one-third of all the revenue of England, the Parliament at Westminster appeared in arms and demanded a committee of twenty-four to reform the realm.

⁸ In 1255 the bishop of Hereford, with Henry III's and the Pope's permission (Holinshed, 1587, III, 251), "devised a shift to helpe the K. with monie." The scheme was to collect all the seals of the prelates in England so that with them the king could sign certain instruments and writings and then collect money from them for dispatching their business.

⁹ A reference to the section of *The Tyrant*. See above, p. 452. The second and fifth entries refer to Richard II and his tyrannical practices.

¹⁰ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed records (1587, III, 496) Richard II's use of blank charters, covered by Milton's fifth entry in *CPB*, p. 185.

¹¹ Holinshed tells (1587, III, 791, 794) how in 1503 Henry VII, in his old age desiring more treasure, decided to enforce the penal laws and thus secure money from the fines imposed. He hired Empson and Dudley, well versed in the laws, to check on those who had violated them. They hired "promoters" or "informers," and few escaped. The king's treasury was filled, in spite of all complaint.

low.¹² Henry the 8th lesse touch't with this fault then his prædecessors disclaiming like a noble prince the exactions devis'd by Wolsey without his privy. Holinsh. p[age] 892.¹³

Emston & Dudley see. Speed. p[age] 762.¹⁴ thire deaths. Speed. p[age] 766.¹⁵

Hen. 3. a catalogue of y^e supply's, exactions, and wastings of Hen. 3. Speed p[age] 537¹⁶ ending in a most beggerly humor of inviting himself to feast on others cost, where to his diet he must be præsentèd and his queen, and son with guifts if they would please him. Speed. p[age] 540.¹⁷

¹² [Milton, English, 1639–41(?), 38 Milton's reference to Speed is in the margin] Though the manuscript of the *CPB* reads "Speed 713 infra," Milton's page number is incorrect, for page 713 tells of Richard III's sending Edward V and his brother to the Tower and says nothing of "Official Robbery or Extortion" The position of the note in the margin seems to indicate, moreover, that it refers to the note about Henry VII and his war-making policy, which Speed discusses again on p. 753. It seems quite probable, therefore, that Milton wrote "713" hastily for "753" and that his "infra" refers, not to Speed, but to his own later entry on the same page of the *CPB*. Concerning Henry VII's policy of raising money by show of making war, see below, p. 487, n. 19.

¹³ [Milton first wrote "He" in this entry, but changed it to "His" before "police."] Milton's eighth entry, *CPB*, p. 220, covers this same point.

¹⁴ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Speed (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 762) describes the practices of Empson and Dudley as follows. "The instruments whom the King [Henry VII] set on worke, (or who perhaps set the King on worke) were two Lawyers, *Richard Empson*, (afterward Knighted) and *Edmund Dudley* Esquier, their employment was to call the richer subject into question for breach of old penall lawes, long before discontinued and forgotten, wherby they brake in upon the people, as it were at unaware, like a kinde of authorized robbers, masked under the pretext of *service for the King*, and the names of *Delators*, or *Promotors*, a familiar sicknesse in the times of ancient Tyrannies."

¹⁵ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Speed gives a succinct account (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 766) of the deaths of Empson and Dudley: "The King sent a speciall writ for their executions, which with great joy of all was performed upon Tower-hill, by taking from them their heads."

¹⁶ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38. Milton's "Hen. 3." is a marginal note] Speed's account of Henry III's exactions agrees with that of Holinshed (see notes on p. 429), though Speed is more specific. Speed gives (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 537) "The Catalogue of pecuniary aids in 28. yeeres raigne" They were. the carrucage (a tax on plow land); a fifteenth of all moveables; taxes on the clergy, monastics, burgesses, Jews; escuage (a tax on every shield, called knight's fee); and so forth.

¹⁷ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] In 1251, says Speed, (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 540), the king, "to spare his owne charge . . . invites himself sometime to this man, and sometime to that, but no where contenting himself with his dyet and hospitage, unlesse both hee, his Queene, and Sonne *Edward*, yea and chiefe favourites in Court, were presented with great and costly gifts, which they tooke not as of Courtesie, but as due."

by a noble ladie Countess of Arundel gravely reprov'd Speed.
p[age] 542.¹⁸

Hen. 7. making of intendments for just and necessary warrs and therupon demaunding and obtaining great summs of his subjects, with a small parts therof florisht over a seeming præparation, and the remainder therof (peace insewing which he always foreknew how to bring about) was clearly his own without account. an unkinglik paltering w^{ch} should be provided against in such cases by parliament. Speed. p[age] 752.¹⁹

Commotions for these reasons want not a stout captain as a plebeian wittily answerd the duke of norfolk (sent against the commons in Suffolk and asking that who was thire captain) that Poverty was thire captain with his cozin Necessity. Holin. p[age] 891. Hen. 8.²⁰

¹⁸ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Milton here adds another “noble ladie” to the list of those in *CPB*. In 1251, when Henry III proposed to go to the Holy Land on a “martiall Pilgrimage” and the people rebelled behind his back, Isabel, Countess of Arundel, when rebuffed by the king in an appeal for her rightful property, dared to speak out in what Speed gives as a verbatim oration on justice. Boldly (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 542) she said: “*I therefore though a woman, and all the naturall loyall people of the Land, appeale aganst you to the Tribunal of the fearefull Judge, and Heaven and Earth shall beare us witnesse, that we are used unjustly, and God the Lord of revenges right us.*”

¹⁹ [Milton, English, 1639–41(?), 38. Milton’s reference to “Speed p. 752” is a marginal note Milton wrote “his own” twice in this entry and then deleted the second “his own.”] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 752) tells of the attempt of Perkin Warbeck, the Pretender, to seize the throne of England in 1495. As Milton read on, he found (p. 753) the statement which he makes in this entry, using several of Speed’s words and phrases, but in slightly different constructions. After recording that, in order to invade Scotland, where Perkin had raised an army, Henry VII called a Parliament and asked for help, Speed says that this request “was generally assented unto, there being scarce any more gratefull propositions to the *English* in those swording times, then warre with *French* or *Scots*: an humour, upon which this King did practice to enrich himselfe. For the publike monies by these occasions came into his Exchequer, with a small part whereof he flourished out a show of hostile provisions, and the Remainder thereupon (if peace ensued, which he alwaies knew how to bring about with honour) was clearly his owne without account . . . But the levie of this money so granted in this Parliament, kindled a dangerous blaze in *England*” It is interesting to note Milton’s omission of the phrase “with honour” after “bring about.” His use of “foreknew” instead of Speed’s “knew” may be the result of his reading of Speed’s account (pp. 748–49) of Henry’s very profitable plan to invade France in 1492, when, says Speed, “King Henry, before hee set forth out of England, was secretly dealt with,” so that no war ensued and his Exchequer was well filled by the French. Milton’s last sentence, concerning Henry’s “unkinglik paltering,” is his own.

²⁰ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] The phrase “commotions for these reasons” refers to all the protests aroused by the cases of extortion that Milton has previously listed. In the *Chronicles* (1587, III, 891) Holinshed tells of the

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PLAGUE

A plague was sent from Heaven in the times of Justinian, in which certain monstrous shapes of demons appeared, attacking all that they met; who, moreover, were supposed to have told several persons in a dream that they, too, were numbered among those who would die of this pestilence. Procop: persic: Book 2.¹

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ATHLETIC GAMES

The joust and the tournament, equestrian games, were invented by the Latins, games whose regulations and practice Niceph: Gregoras describes [in] Book 10. the chapter on the birth of King John the Younger.¹ These games the nobles of Savoy first taught the Greeks,

turmoil caused by the attempts of the commissioners sent out by Cardinal Wolsey to tax every man a sixth. They stirred up such a commotion in Suffolk that the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk set out to quell it. The Duke of Norfolk, willing to confer with the rebels, asked who was their captain "It was told him by one John Greene a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Povertie was thei captaine, the which with his cousine Necessitie, had brought them to that dooing"

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1635-1637(?), 5] Milton's entry summarizes from the Greek of Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, in *Historiarum Libri VIII* (Augsburg, 1607), pp. 46-90. The plague of which he writes occurred in 542 in Constantinople and is one of the few nonmilitary events recorded in his books on the wars that he saw as secretary to the commander of Justinian's army. So widespread and so virulent was the pestilence that weird superstitions arose as to its causes (p 50): "But in the case of some . . . they saw a vision in a dream and seemed to suffer the very same thing at the hands of the demon who stood over them, or else to hear a voice foretelling to them that they were numbered among those who were to die." Cf *A Defence*, Chapter III, where Milton says that "there is no evil in the state that the Lord hath not let in, Amos 3. Famine, plague, sedition, a public enemy." But no one doubts, he adds, that the state should shake them off, unless God command the contrary.

¹ [Milton, Latin comment, Greek chapter heading, 1637-1638(?), 10] In Nicephoras Gregoras, *Historia* (Basle, 1562, pp 216-19), the games Milton mentions are described, following the marginal notes. "Equestres concursiones" ("The rushing together of horsemen"), "Cintzustra" ("Duel"), and "Torne" ("Tournament"). Gregoras' account in part is as follows: "Then he [the emperor] held two contests in imitation of the Olympic games, which, although he had often proclaimed them before, he now embellished with greater splendor. These games were invented by the Latins for exercising the body when not in war, of which one, having the nature of a duel, is called Cintzustra. They are divided according to tribes, cities, curias. Then each part is armed, individual against individual, whomever they wish, and they are completely covered with armor. Then, with spears accepted and javelins forbidden, they rush violently together, and each side strongly presses the other. Whoever strikes another from his horse is decorated with a small wreath. Such a duel, indeed, took place even with the Emperor, and it was not impossible that he might receive a fatal wound" Cf *Paradise Lost*,

as Cantacuzenus bears witness Book 1. c[hapter] 42 ²

They are condemned by Pope Innocent, Sigon: Book 11. de regn. Ital: [page] 273. and by Eugenius. p[age] 283.³

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PUBLIC SHOWS

Tertullian, in the book which he wrote on public shows,¹ condemns their use and closes them to Christians. And indeed not merely with

IX, 36-37 "Gorgious Knights at Joust and Torneament." These, Milton says, he was "not sedulous by Nature to indite."

² [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 11] Milton read John Cantacuzene's *Historiarum Libri IV* (*Four Books of History*) along with those of Nicephoras Gregoras, as they should be read, since they amplify and correct each other. John Cantacuzene (ca. 1292-1383), who became Emperor John V or VI of the East, was born in Constantinople, a relative of the reigning emperor, Andronicus III. Appointed regent for Andronicus' son John, he was crowned emperor of Thrace but was overthrown by John's troops after a six-year civil war. Cantacuzene then entered a monastery and wrote his *Historia*, dealing with the years 1320 to 1356. It was published in 1603 in a Latin translation by Jacobus Pontanus (1542-1626), a Bohemian Jesuit scholar. Milton must have used the Pontanus translation of Cantacuzenus since the Greek text was not edited until 1645. In the Ingolstadt, 1603, edition (Book I, chap. 42, p. 146; BML), Cantacuzene records the arrival in Constantinople of Anna of Savoy to marry young John, the emperor, on February 9, 1326, and the games that were held after the marriage: "With the emperor, they [the Savoy nobility] engaged in hunting, and they were the first to teach the Romans [that is, those of the Roman Empire, of which the Greeks were a part] the *tzustria* (a kind of game) and tournaments (that is, a dashing together of horses)." The same account is found in the Paris, 1645, edition (CUL) on pp. 126-27.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 9] In his *De Regno Italiae* (Frankfurt, 1591, Book XI, p. 283), under the date 1149 (in the margin), Sigonius tells of the calling of a council, in which "the old decree of Innocent was confirmed that tournaments should not be held without punishment." The following sentence tells of Bishop Eugenius' presence at the council. At this point, Sigonius is writing of the days of Emperor Conrad II (ca. 990-1039), descendant of Otto the Great, a time when, with strong church influence prevailing, the games of feudalism were giving way to the Crusades.

¹ [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 23] Milton, in this entry, wrote "ut" too soon after "optime facit." He deleted it and was obliged to write "in epologo libri ut" in the margin, before "mentem Christiani." This entry from Tertullian, like the first in *CPB*, p. 4, is from his work *De Spectaculis*. On p. 4 Milton quotes Tertullian's statement concerning the inseparable mixture of good and evil as shown in the public games and shows of pagan Rome. Here he returns to that work, summarizing at length Tertullian's argument. Part of the epilogue, which Milton commends for its "concise and powerful style," is as follows (*Opera*, Paris, 1634, p. 102): "What spectacle, indeed, is anything like that of the advent of the Lord, now certain, now glorious, now triumphant? What one is like that of the exultation of the angels? or the glory of the arisen saints? or the kingdom of the just?"

arguments (which tear to pieces only the pagan games) does he show that he ought to fetter with scruples of conscience the mind of the careful and wise Christian so that he would not venture to see any dramatic poem composed by a poet by no means unskilled. Nevertheless he does that best in the epilogue of his book as, for instance, with concise and powerful style he stirs up the mind of the Christian to better plays, that is, divine and heavenly plays, which, in great number and of great value, the Christian can anticipate concerning the coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. Cyprian,² or someone else³ rolled the same stone⁴ in a book composed on the same theme, vol. 3. And Lactantius Book 6. c[hapter] 20.⁵ with arguments by no means stronger considers the whole dramatic art in moral error. Not even once does he seem to have reflected that, although the corruptions in

or the city of New Jerusalem? And there are other spectacles besides, that last and everlasting Day of Judgment, that day [p. 103] unlooked-for by the nations, that day derided, when such antiquity of time and so many of those already born will be consumed in one fire."

² [Milton, Latin, 1637-1638(?), 20] Cyprian discusses the danger of public spectacles (*Epistles*, Book I, Epistle 2, in *Opera*, Paris, 1593, p. 3) as follows "The gladiatorial game is prepared so that blood satisfies the lust of the eyes of the cruel. . . . Man is slain for the pleasure of man, and since the skill lies in who is able to kill, that is its method, its art Crime is not only carried on, but it is taught. What, I say, can be more inhumane? What more violent?" Cyprian then discusses the theaters, and, like Tertullian, whose work preceded his, he suggests religious spectacles.

³ In this reference Milton may have been thinking of what he read in Chrysostom's *Opera*, for Chrysostom has a "Sermon to those who, having left communion, rush to the theaters, and concerning the fact that what is done in church is not only more useful but more healthful than what is done in the theater." *Opera* (Venice, 1549), V, 305.

⁴ The expression "to roll the same stone" is fairly frequent in these fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century books, used with the meaning of "to take up the cudgel for" or "to argue the same theme" or even, with a critical tone, "to do something just to keep busy," as when Machiavelli in 1513 wrote to his friend Francesco Vettori "I wish these Signori Medici would begin to make some use of me, if it were only to set me to the work of rolling a stone" Cf. *A Defence*, Chapter IX. "What follows is but turning the same stone over and over again—a sport at which I believe you able to tire out Sisyphus himself—and is sufficiently answered by what has been said already" Milton's reference to Sisyphus no doubt explains the origin of the expression

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 32] Milton's reference to Lactantius is mainly his own very significant comment on the purposes and possibilities of the theater. Book VI of Lactantius' *Divine Ordinances* is the one "Of True Reverence," and Chapter 20 is one "Of the Senses and Their Pleasures Both in Beast and Man and of the Pleasures of the Eyes and of Public Shows" For Lactantius' discussion of public shows, see *Divine Ordinances*, in *Opera* (Lyons, 1548), p. 503.

the theater deservedly should be removed, it is by no means necessary for that reason that all practice of the dramatic arts should be completely done away with; on the contrary it would rather be absurd beyond measure. For what in all philosophy is more important or more sacred or more exalted than a tragedy rightly produced, what more useful for seeing at a single view the events and changes of human life? The same writer likewise in the following chapter⁶ seems to wish that the whole art of music might be carried from our midst.

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OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE

Naval affairs. Edgars noble custome to defend the coast with his yearly navie.¹ K. Ed. the 3. commandment for the exercise of arms in every shire. Stow Ed. 3 an. reg. 17.²

⁶ The heading of chap 21 of *Drvine Ordmances* (in *Opera*, Lyons, 1548, pp 507-09) is: "Of the Pleasures of the Ears, and of Sacred Literature" It begins. "The delight of the ears is derived from the sweetness of voices and songs, which is certainly as vicious as that pleasure of the eyes of which we have spoken" Later, however, Lactantius says (p. 509) that "the singing of praises to God, and the hearing of them, should be pleasing." He does not, therefore, "wish that the whole art of music might be carried from our midst," as Milton says he does.

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36. Milton's heading, "Naval affairs," is a marginal note in Latin.] Milton gives no source for the first half of this entry, unless Stow is understood to cover both parts of it Stow does record (*Annales*, 1615, p 83) Edgar's plan of defence in the year 959 as follows: "King *Edgare* prepared a navie (as divers authors have written) of three thousand and six hundreth shippes, of the which, after Easter every yeere, one thousand two hundred, he appointed to come into the East part of the realme, one thousand two hundred, into the West parts, and one thousand two hundred into the North parts . . . With the East navie, hee sayled into the West, and sending that backe, hee would sayle with the West navie into y^e North, and that being sent backe, with the North navie hee would sayle into the East parts; and after this sorte, he used to sayle round about y^e whole Island every Sommer, by the which doing, hee provided for the defence of his kingdome against strangers, and practised himselfe, and his people in exercises of warre." Stow thinks the number should be three hundred ships instead of 3,600. Milton tells of Edgar's navy in *History of Britain*, Book V There he cites Matthew of Westminster, who says that Edgar had 4,800 ships, divided into four squadrons.

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 36. The K. before "Ed." is blurred in this entry. Milton seems to have written "Stowe" and then deleted the *e* with a vertical stroke.] Stow tells (*Annales*, 1615, p. 239) how Edward III raised an army in 1343, in the seventeenth year of his reign. Milton's "an. reg. 17" is in the margin: "Anno reg. 17. 1343." In that year a general survey of the realm was made, and all were enrolled who held land to the value of one hundred shillings. "Also certaine other were put in authoritie to signifie how many sufficient and noble bowemen

Q. Elizabeths excellent care to furnish her fleet with implements out [of] her own country. Camd. [page] 70.³

If a magistrate shall order the leader of an army into a sally or a battle with certain danger for all, it seems to be a part of the commander's duty to state his own decision. If, however, the magistrate, having no part in war, shall more firmly pursue the matter, it is nevertheless not honorable for a commander to destroy his own army on account of the inexperience and determination of one man or even of a whole people. See the case of Malatesta, who refused to comply with the ruinous advice of the Florentine dictator. Jovius. Book 29. p[age] 170. &c.⁴

justice and abstaining from spoile in the armie of Hen. 5. Holinsh. p[age] 552.⁵ and the benefit therof. ibid. and [page] 560.⁶

were in every shire: also what other sufficient men were able to beare armour for the defence of their Country & to see them practised with such kind of weapon wherein they hadde best skill and being thus assembled in all parts of the realme, specially such as were of lawfull age, commandement was given out they should bee ready at the kings commaundement to fight against their enemies."

³ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 44] Camden tells (*Annales*, 1615-27, I, 70) of Elizabeth's preparation for war with Spain. She ordered both arms and ships to be provided. The native implements were of iron and copper from the neglected mines of Keswick in Cumberland and elsewhere. Calamity stone was for the first time found in England, and powder for guns now first made at home. Berwick was fortified. Ships were built. No longer did England need to bring ships from Hamburg, Lubeck, Danzig, Genoa, or Venice.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 48] Milton's entry from Jovius, *Historia* (in *Opera*, Basle, 1578, Vol. II, Book XXIX, pp. 170 ff.), reveals that Jovius presented Malatesta Baglioni in the light of a hero, whereas modern accounts say that "Malatesta was a traitor at heart and hindered the defense of the city" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). The year of Malatesta's defiance was 1527, at the time when Italy lacked all unity, and the fragments were in the hands of warring foreign powers. Malatesta was placed at the head of the Florentine army that was to resist the forces of Emperor Charles V. Instead of resisting, however, he acted like the governor of the city, and when loyal troops marched to arrest him, he turned his guns on them. On August 9 the Florentines were forced to make terms with the imperial commander, and the De Medicis were restored. Jovius (Paolo Giovio), who had long served Giulio de Medici, presented Malatesta, therefore, as a brave general, daring to defy the wishes of an ignorant magistracy who were fighting a losing battle.

⁵ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] Holinshed, at several points in his account of Henry V's reign, commends him for his justice and clemency in battle. For this entry Milton read (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 552). "Yet in this great necessitie [after several battles], the poore people of the countrie were not spoiled [that is, despoiled] . . . nor anie outrage or offense doone by the Englishmen, except one, which was, that a souldiour tooke a pix [the vessel in church in which the host is preserved] out of a church, for which he was apprehended, & the king not once

The soldiers of Selim, even after a victory, remained so loyal to the strict rules of their discipline that "in a most fruitful autumn gardens were safely left without guards." Jovius. Book 17. [page] 359.⁷

Commanders who seek true honor in service and would acquire fame from the thorough goodness of a noble mind and detest the cruelty of thieving soldiers ought not to condone the wantonness of their troops. And the rest is in Jovius. Book 12.⁸ which Prosper Columna urged uncommonly well in camp at Bergamo.

the vantgard due to the Kentish men by ancient custome. Speed. in Harold. p[age] 416.⁹

How harmful avarice is in war. See Avarice.¹⁰

Provinces situated near the borders are chosen. Below. Since there is danger of insurrections and civil war in employing a whole people in battle, therefore Sesellius advises that a certain few in the indi-

remoooved till the box was restored, and the offendor strangled " The French people, impressed by such discipline, supplied the English with food and other necessities, though forbidden to do so.

⁶ Milton refers to a passage in which Holinshed commends Henry V (1587, III, 560) for his "rare example of equitie," after the taking of Caen, in returning the looted plate and money belonging to the citizens but found in the castle. For Henry's thus abstaining from spoil, many Normans renounced their allegiance to France and swore allegiance to him.

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 48] This entry is from Jovius' account, in his *Historia* (in *Opera*, Basle, 1578), of the conquests of Selim I (1465-1521), Sultan of Turkey, who was noted for his firmness and courage and before whom fell Syria, Egypt, and Persia. At the point of Milton's entry, Selim had just had a victory over Damascus, and the opening of Damascus gates to him was an example followed by Tripoli, Beirut, and Sidon. "Yet such was the camp discipline," says Jovius (*Opera*, Basle, 1578, I, 359), "based on the most strict rules of a very severe leader, that, since the soldiers knew that nothing was permitted them from a victory, in a most fruitful autumn gardens were safely left without guards."

⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 48] The speech of Prosper Columna, leader of the troops of the Duke of Sforza in 1428, is recorded by Jovius (*Opera*, Basle, 1578, I, 207) as a warning against the cruelty and wantonness of thieving soldiers.

⁹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 38. Milton began to write a word beginning with "rig" (perhaps for "right"). He deleted it and wrote "custome," as Speed had it.] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 416), relates that on October 14, 1066, in William the Conqueror's attack on Harold, "Harold also with the like forwardnesse [like that of the Normans], marshalled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the *Kentishmen* (who by an ancient custome had the front of the battell belonging to them) with their heavy axes, or halberts."

¹⁰ [Milton, Latin, 1643-1645(?), 95] Milton's cross reference to *CPB*, p. 12, the second entry (above, p. 366), concerning the avaricious caliph who refused to pay for the defense of his country and was starved to death.

vidual provinces, chosen for their loyalty and character and honored by certain military privileges, should be taught to use arms. Sesell. de repub. Gallia Book 2.¹¹

The English standard. that of Harold was wrought with gold and precious stones in form of an armed man. Speed. p[age] 435. hist.¹² Edward 3 at Cressy erected his standard of the dragons gules Speed. p[age] 590¹³

of Castles whether profitable in England see Holinshed descript. of England 2 book. c[hapter] 14.¹⁴

¹¹ [Milton, Latin, 1642–1644(?), 60. Milton seems to have written “delectos viros” first; then he wrote “quos” over the “viros” and added “dam” to “quos” for “certain.” The first syllable of “privilegiis” is blurred. Milton wrote “ad artem mili” before “instructos,” deleted “artem mili,” and wrote “arma tractanda” instead. The heading for this entry is a marginal note in Latin.] Milton’s entry paraphrases De Seissel’s Latin statement, in his *De Monarchia* (Lyons, 1626, pp. 73 ff.): “It has been said above [p 73] that the use of arms belongs to the nobility and ought not to be permitted to the people; but that matter demands further discussion For . . . it cannot be denied that a people accustomed to arms can be easily incited to rebellion. . . . A certain few [p 76] should be selected from the many, the least vicious, and those who seem by nature to be fit for arms.” They should be “upright men,” the “least greedy.” “These [p. 78] should be rewarded by grants of money and other privileges, beyond those of the rest of the men of their rank ”

¹² [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 435), tells of William the Conqueror’s building a monastery on the spot where King Harold had pitched his standard and was slain “The Standard it selfe curiously wrought all of gold and precious stones, made in forme like an armed man.”

¹³ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 38 Being short of space at the edge of the page, Milton wrote the “rd” of the second “standard” above the *a*, with a curved line before it] Speed (*Historie*, 2d ed., 1623, p. 590) first calls “ridiculous” the account in Stow’s *Annales* of the etymology of the name of the design on the French banner at Crecy: “the *Oiliflame* (as he calls it) advanted at this battle, as a sign of taking none to mercy, no more (as he saith) then *Oile* doth use to extinguish fire; when indeed it was an hallowed Banner of red silke, whereof the *French* had a wonderful high conceit, as of that which was sent from heaven, and called *Oreflame* or *Auriflames*” Then Speed adds. “King *Edward* on the contrary side, is reported for signe of like rigour, to have erected there his unconquered Standard of the *Dragon-Gules*.” Gules, in heraldry, is red, represented by parallel vertical lines. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, V, 588–90: “Ten thousand thousand Ensigns high advanc’d, Standards and Gonfalons, twixt Van and Rear Stream in the Air.”

¹⁴ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] In the section of Holinshed’s *Chronicles* called “Description of England” (Milton specifies the section for the first time), there is a discussion “Of castels and holds” It begins as follows (1587, I, 194): “It hath beene of long time a question in controversie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels neere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Nevertheless it seemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogether unneedfull.”

And of fortresses in generall. "That fortresses generally are much more expensive than useful," Machiavell: says discors: Book 2. c[hapter] 24 ¹⁵

Those districts or provinces that lie near the borders of a kingdom should not only be granted the use of arms and constant practice in them, but should also be encouraged in the skills of war by prerogatives and exemptions. Sessel. de repub. Galliae.¹⁶

The office of Knighthood Harding sets out in Arturs round table to use thire bodies to defend where law would not redresse. Cronicle in Arture.¹⁷

¹⁵ [Machiavelli scribe, English title, Italian quotation, 1651-1652(?), 102. The scribe began to write this entry on the same line as the preceding one, deleted "And of," and began the new entry on the next line, close to the left edge of the page as in other entries.] The Columbia edition, for this entry, gives the translation "Machiavelli says that it is useful that fortifications be not too expensive." I see no such meaning in the Italian, which Milton quotes exactly from Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, Book II, chap. 24, p. 179, in *Tutte le Opere* (1550).

¹⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 60. Milton first wrote what looks like "eps" or "eis," deleted it, wrote "iis," for the dative after "permittenda"] Again Milton paraphrases the statement of Claude de Seissel, *De Monarchia* (Lyons, 1626, pp. 70-72): "For no one [p. 71] is ignorant of the fact that it is necessary to have defenses on the borders as secure as possible." The king himself should inspect the border provinces to encourage and reward those who are chosen to man such defenses.

¹⁷ [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 58] John Hardyng (1378-1465), English chronicler, wrote his rhymed *Chronicle*, "from the first begynnynge of Englande, unto ye reigne of Edwarde ye fourth," from knowledge of service in battle as well as from antiquarian study. Born in the north country, he joined the forces of Harry Percy and fought with him at Shrewsbury in 1403. He fought with Henry V at Agincourt in 1415 and in the sea fight at Harfleur in 1416. He was constable of some of the feudal castles in England and was asked by Henry V to make a study of the feudal relations of Scotland to England. He performed the task at great expense and effort but with little financial reward. His *Chronicle* was a work of many years, mainly because he rewrote it several times to fit the Lancastrian or Yorkist in power at the time. The original version was completed in 1436. Two very different editions of the poem were printed in London in 1543, and Stow berated Richard Grafton for the discrepancies, which were due to Hardyng and not Grafton. Milton no doubt read the *Chronicle* for the history in it and not the poetry, for it is scarcely literature. He used one of the 1543 editions (NYPL film). Rhyme royal stanzas are used throughout. Chapter 73, containing the chronicle of Arthur, begins on p. 62 (written lxii). The stanza from which Milton paraphrases one line is as follows:

The thre kynges foresayde of Scotlande
Two kynges also of Walys, full chyvalrous
Nowell the kyng of lesse Briteyne land
And duke Cadur, of Cornwayle corageous
And worthy Gawen, gentyll and amarus
And other fel, theyr rule was wronges to oppresse
With their bodies, where lawe myght not redresse,

Provision for souldiers after y^e warrs to be consider'd. Spenser dialogue of Ireland from p[age] 84. &c.¹⁸

Whether it is better to begin hostilities or to await the enemy, Machiavelli considers in his discors: Book 2. c[hapter] 12.¹⁹

Machiavelli, in his Discors: Book 2. c[hapter] 18.²⁰ argues that strength in infantry is far more important in war than strength in cavalry.

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OF WAR

not to be furnisht out by rapine and pilling the people. as that voiage of R. the first to the holie land most unholily set out with monie dishonorably and impiously got. see Holinsh. R. 1. p[ages] 119. 120.¹

¹⁸ [Milton, English, 1642–1644(?), 64] In Spenser, *View of . . . Ireland* (in *History of Ireland*, Dublin, 1633, pp. 84 ff.), Irenaeus, one of the speakers in the dialogue form which Spenser uses in his treatise, explains his plan to Eudoxus as follows (p. 85): "For it is one speciall good of this plot, which I would devise, that 6000. Souldiers of these whom I have now imployed in this service, and made thoroughly acquainted both with the state of the Countrey, and manners of the people, should henceforth bee still continued, and for ever maintayned of the Countrey, without any charge of her Majestie, and the rest that either are olde, and unable to serve any longer, or willing to fall to thrift, as I have seene many Souldiers after the service, to prove very good husbands [that is, farmers], should bee placed in part of the landes by them wonne, at such rate, or rather better than others, to whom the same shall be set out." Cf. *Second Defence* (1654, p. 108): "Now he [Bradshaw] relieves, from his private fortune, brave men of the military profession who have been reduced to want"; *History of Britain*, Book II (1670, p. 56): "*Camolodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Souldiers*"; and Book V (1670, p. 214), on Alfred's care to pay his soldiers.

¹⁹ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651–1652(?), 102] Milton's entry paraphrases the heading of chap. 12 of the *Discorsi*, Book II (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, p. 146): "Whether it is better, when fearing to be attacked, to begin or to await the battle." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 35): "Have they not levied all these Warrs against him whether offensive or defensive (for defence in Warr equally offends, and most prudently before hand)." Cf. also *Christian Doctrine*, II, xvii.

²⁰ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651–1652(?), 102] Milton's entry paraphrases the heading of chap. 18 of the *Discorsi*, Book II (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, p. 163): "How, from the authority of the Romans and by the example of ancient armies, the infantry should be more esteemed than the cavalry." Cf. *Second Defence* (1654, p. 158): "You, Overton, . . . keeping your ground with your infantry."

¹ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37. Milton first wrote "R. 2," then wrote a broad black "1" over the "2."] Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 119–20) describes Richard I's devices in 1189 as follows: "Moreover, the king understanding that Hugh Putsey or Pudsey bishop of Durham, being a verie aged man, had much monie, he sold to him the manour of Seggesfield or Sadberge, with the wapentake [territory] belonging to the same, and also found meanes to persuade him to buy his owne province, which he did, giving to the king an inestimable

of holy warre as they call it. to fight with Turks, & Saracens. See Gower. Book 4. fol. 61. 72.²

Mercenary troops, with which someone, induced by a fee, brings aid to anyone at all, are condemned by Zwingli. Sleidan. Book 3. p[age] 36.³ and Book 4. [page] 60.⁴ and by the Republic of Berne. Sleidan. Book 6. p[age] 89.⁵

summe of monie, and was thereupon created an earle by the king for the same: whereupon he was intituled both bishop and earle of Durham, whereat the king would iest afterwards and saie; What a cunning craftsman am I, that have made a new earle of an old bishop?" Similarly the same bishop gave him a thousand marks to be made Chief Justice of England, so that he would not have to go to the Holy Land; and he secured a sum from the apostolic see for Richard's journey. Also Richard sold things belonging to the crown, though warned about such action by his ministers.

² [Milton, English, 1642-1644(?), 69] John Gower (ca 1330-1408), after listing the classes of society and their faults in his *Mirour de l'Omme* and *Vox Clamantis*, turned to writing love stories in English in his *Confessio Amantis* in 1383 or 1384. Even in that immense compilation of stories, however, the "moral Gower" often pauses to preach a sermon on vice and virtue, as in this brief entry in the CPB. Milton's folio numbers show that he used the edition published by Thomas Berthelette, London, 1532 (NYPL film). Milton's entry has one slight error: f. 61 is in Book III, not IV. There Gower says.

I pray you telle me nay or ye
To passe over the great see
To warre and sle the Sarasyn
Is that the lawe? Sonne myn
To preche, and suffer for the feyth
That have I herd, the gospel seyth
But for to sle, that here I nought

Milton's "fol 72" is in Book IV, and there Gower again preaches the doctrine of love as opposed to hate in the world.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46] Milton's entry from Sleidan's *Commentaries* concerns the state of affairs from 1521 to 1528, when Charles V and Francis I were at war over the Duchy of Milan, a quarrel in which Henry VIII joined Charles V and invaded France. The French, in need of troops, made an alliance with the Swiss, who were to supply mercenaries. Sleidan tells (Strassburg, 1555, Book III, f. 36 v.) of the opposition of Zwingli, the great Swiss reformer, to such an alliance: "Zwingli, before an assembly, strongly opposed it and showed that this military service was not only shameful but even sinful, and he exhorted them by telling of the many troubles that would be added to the habits and frugality of the majority, who had cared for their cattle and farms and had done many things very well; but in vain."

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46] When Clement VII of the Medici family came to the papacy in 1523, only the Swiss of Zurich, says Sleidan (*Commentaries*, Strassburg, 1555, Book IV, f. 60), were following Zwingli's teachings about mercenaries. The people of Berne accused him of stirring up hate and of saying that they were selling their blood. In a letter to them Zwingli cleared himself, asserting that he had said nothing about them in particular, but only that it was wrong in general to fight for a fee.

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46] Sleidan records the change of heart among

Victory is based, not on strength or military experience, but on whether he who begins the war has God on his side. Admirably, therefore, did Trajan, as commander, say to the Emperor Valens, who had upbraided him because, when sent with an army against the Goths, he had not fought successfully: "Not I, O King, have been defeated, but you, who wage war against God, have surrendered the victory." For Valens was a follower of Arius. Theodorit. hist. Book 4. c[hapter] 29. see also c[hapter] 30.⁶

moderate and christian demeanour after victory see in Hen. 5. after the winning of Harflew.⁷

Machiavelli denies that riches are the nerves of war, and he disproves the belief of the people concerning this matter. discors: Book 2. c[hapter] 10.⁸

the people of Berne as follows (*Commentaries*, Strassburg, 1555, Book VI, f 89): "Having changed their religion [to Protestantism], the people of Berne renounce their alliance with the French king, and they prohibit mercenary military service, content, like the people of Zurich, with what money they have, which, for the sake of preserving peace, the king derives annually from the separate cantons "

⁶ [Milton, Latin summary, Greek quotation, after 1639, 88. Milton wrote what looks like "ve" (for "vel"?) before "he who begins the war." He deleted it and wrote "qui bellū suscipit" Milton wrote "contra" after "prodidisti" (for "surrendered"), deleted it, wrote "qui deo ipso bello infer," and then deleted the "ipso"] Theodore, Bishop of Cyrrhus near Antioch and author of one of the six Greek church histories written in the fifth century, was born about eight years after Emperor Valens was killed in battle with the Huns. Valens (364-378) had many wars with the Goths, the Persians, and the Huns. Before his campaign against the Goths, he was baptized by Eudoxus, Arian Bishop of Constantinople. Some victories were won by his generals, and a peace was concluded with the Danube as the dividing line. On his return to Constantinople, Valens began to persecute his Greek Orthodox and Catholic subjects but was not strong enough to carry out his decrees. Theodore's account of Valens (*EHA*, Paris, 1544, ff. 322v-35) tells of his Arianism, the denial that Christ was the Son of God and therefore divine

⁷ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 37] The fourth entry in *CPB*, p. 242, praises Henry V's just behavior after the taking of Caen, from the account by Holinshed (above, p. 492). Here, though Milton gives no source, it is again Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 550), concerning the taking of Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine in 1415, a victory that opened the whole Seine valley to the English. After the victory Henry V turned out the French populace and gave English folk homes there gratis. "But before his departing thence, he entred into the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of saint Martines, and there offered [that is, made an offering]. All the men of warre which had not paid their ransoms, he sware them on the holie evangelists, to yeeld themselves prisoners at Calis by the feast of saint Martine in November next." Holinshed's marginal note is: "The kings mercifull dealing with the French prisoners."

⁸ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651-1652(?), 102] Milton made this same entry in *CPB*, p. 148, under the heading "Riches" (above, p. 414).

It is not the duty of every state to enlarge the boundaries of its power and to bring other nations under its rule. On the contrary, Machiavelli wisely shows that it is dangerous to do so unless that state is rightly ordered and unless the addition of that new realm is justly administered. *discorsi* Book 2. c[hapter]: 19: ⁹

[P.] 244

OF CIVIL WAR

the danger of calling in forraine aids besides the storie of the Saxons & Danes comming in, is evident by the purpose of Lewis reveal'd by the Count of Melun to the Barons of England. Holinsh. p[age] 193.¹ also by his and his Frenchmens carriage toward the English. Holinsh. p[ages] 197. 198.²

The German princes renounce their loyalty and their duty to the Emperor because of their religion, which he has tried to destroy. see Sleidan. Book 17. p[age] 296. &c.³

⁹ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin, 1651–1652(?), 102] Milton's entry summarizes Machiavelli's position as expressed in chap. 19 of the *Discorsi*, which begins (*Tutte le Opere*, 1550, p. 167) with the heading: "That the acquisitions of a state that is not well ordered and that does not proceed according to Roman virtue will be to its ruin, not to its greatness." Concerning Machiavelli's use of the word "virtue," Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* (London, n.d., I, 134), says: "Machiavelli's use of the word *virtù* is in this relation most instructive. It has altogether lost the Christian sense of *virtue*, and retains only so much of the Roman *virtus* as is applicable to the courage, intellectual ability, and personal prowess of one who has achieved his purpose, be that what it may."

¹ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 193) records that in 1216 the Viscount of Melune, one of the English barons' French mercenaries, ill unto death in London, called certain nobles to him and told them of the plan of Louis IX of France, if he were crowned king instead of John, to "kill, banish, and confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now doo serve under him, and persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels, and furthermore [he] will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they now hold in England." On pain of loss of his soul, he swore that he spoke the truth, and he died straightway. Cf *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXI (1649, p. 182): "They [Charles I's letters] reveal'd his endeavours to bring in forren Forces."

² [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 37] Shortly after the death of the Viscount of Melune, John died, and the barons, fearful lest the prophecies come true, rallied to the support of John's nine-year-old son Henry, who was crowned Henry III. Louis was defeated and left England. At the crowning of Henry III the barons presented a list of the faults of Louis: he had allowed them no share of authority, he did not call them to council as he had done when he first entered England, he and his Frenchmen assumed an air of arrogance, and he kept no promises made.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1641–1642(?), 46] Sleidan, *Commentaries* (Strassburg, 1555, Book XVII, f. 296 v.), beside the marginal note (NYPL copy), "Protestantes renunciant Caesari fidem," records the writing of a letter to Emperor Charles V by the Protestants, in which they declared their inability to serve him longer, since

Also the French Protestants, on the advice of their ministers, &c. see Concil Trident. p[age] 408. See Of a King, [P.] 186.⁴ Thuanus. hist. Book 24. p[age] 732.⁵ and of their lawyers, and theologians Also the Scottish reformers of the church, Thuan. hist. Book 21. p[age] 647.⁶

At the time of the siege of Magdeburg a book was written, and he, though proclaimed their emperor, worked against them and their religion: "We renounce that by which we were bound to you, our allegiance and duty; not indeed that we may lessen the law and the welfare of the Empire, but that we may keep them the stronger." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 28), where this reference to Sleidan, Book XVII, is repeated. Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter IX (1649, p. 85). "So that however the German Emperors, or other Kings have levied all those Warrs on their Protestant Subjects under the colour of a blind and littler observance to an Oath, yet this King [Charles I] had least pretence of all."

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 49] Sarpi, *Historia* (1619, p. 408; tr. Brent, 1620, p. 418), records the advice given by Protestant theologians that French Protestants might renounce their loyalty to the king in the civil war that broke out in France in 1562 between Huguenots and Catholics. Milton's marginal cross reference, to CPB, p. 186, probably concerns the last note in that section, which says that sixty theologians of the Sorbonne declared that arms might be taken up against the king in defense of religion. Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 44): "How the massacre at Paris was the effect of that credulous peace which the French Protestants made with Charles the ninth thir King."

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 51] Thuanus, *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, p. 732), approves of the conclusions of the Protestant theologians as follows: "Deliberations and consultations were held concerning this matter by the most distinguished and expert men of that day in Germany and France, [who said that] the decisions of the Protestant theologians were excellent, as to whether a sound conscience might be permitted, short of the crime of violating majesty and lawful authority, to take up arms in defense of the welfare and liberty of the fatherland, to seize Francis of Guise and Charles and the Cardinal, his brother, and to devise a plan for restoring the usurped authority and its management."

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1643(?), 51] On the death of Mary of Guise in Scotland and the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots from France in 1561, the Scotch reformers saw their opportunity to disclaim the Pope's authority and make it punishable to attend mass. John Knox organized the church on a democratic basis, with representative presbyteries in every group of parishes and a representative general assembly for all Scotland. The nobles, working with the bishops, opposed this reform; they permitted it to go on so far as the worship was concerned, but they retained the bishops to hold the church lands and to pass the rents on to them. When, therefore, as Thuanus (*Historia*, Geneva, 1626, p. 647) tells, proposals were sent by the nobles to the Edinburgh theologians concerning reform, they replied that matters must be decided on the basis of canon law and the decrees of the Council of Trent, then in session. When the theologians thus showed themselves completely opposed to the desires of the Protestants, the latter sent an envoy to make a temporary peace. Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p. 29), where Milton cites Buchanan, *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, Book XVI, as the source for his account of the renouncing of allegiance by the Scotch Protestants.

was again brought out in France in the year 1574, enlarged with many theories and examples, in which it is shown that subjects are at liberty to ward off by force a force advanced against them contrary to the law, even by the magistrates. Thuan. hist. Book 57. p[age] 909.⁷

Tyrants pretend that they do not make war on anyone because of religion, but on certain ones who under that pretext are rebels against their rulers. Charles V ensnared many Protestant states by these artifices and kept them from the use of arms. Hist. Concil. Trident Book 2. p[age] 170.⁸

To those who on account of their religion defend themselves with arms, many persons slyly attach themselves for other reasons, not the best. Concil Trident. p[age] 408.⁹

⁷ [Milton, Latin, 1641–1643(?), 51. In this entry part of the last word, “magistratibus,” and also the “0” in “909” are blurred.] In his *Historia* (Geneva, 1626, II, 909) Thuanus mentions the book to which Milton’s entry refers and reveals that its name is *Franco-Gallia*, the book referred to by Thuanus on p. 969 also and noted twice by Milton in *CPB*, p. 186. There the author of the book, mentioned as a “legist of great reputation in his own day,” is given as authority for the statement that women have been excluded from administration of public affairs. Here, where the author is called simply “some man of Paris,” the tone of the book sounds much more revolutionary. Thuanus says that Philip of Hesse commended the book and the author and said it had been neglected, as the title of it showed. Milton’s reference to the book and to its author as Francis Hotman occurs in *A Defence*, Chapters IV, VIII, and in *Second Defence* (1654, p. 134).

⁸ [Milton, Latin, 1641–1644(?), 49. Milton wrote “sic” before “Carolus 5^{tus}” and then deleted it.] Milton’s entry from Sarpi’s *Historia* concerns the year 1546, when, on June 26, the cardinal of Trent completed the formation of a league between pope and emperor, whereupon the Pope wrote to the Swiss, asking them to send representatives to the Council of Trent to settle their differences and threatening them with armed force if they did not. Though he was in league with the Pope, writes Sarpi (1619, p. 179; tr. Brent, 1620, p. 189), “the Emperour made shew he undertooke the warre, not for religion, but for matters of State; for that some [as he said] denied him obedience, plotted with strangers against him, and refusing to obey the lawes, usurped the possessions of others, especially the Churches, going about to make Bishopricks and Abbacies hereditarie; and that having proved [tried] divers gentle meanes to reduce them, they ever became more insolent.” Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter IX (1649, p. 85): “To colour which [war], he [Charles I] cannot finde wherewithall, but that stale pretence of *Charles* the fifth . . . that the Protestants had onely an intent to lay hands on the Church-revennues.”

⁹ [Milton, Latin, 1641–1643(?), 49] Milton’s entry, from Sarpi’s *Historia*, concerns the year 1559, when the new French king, Francis II, imitating the severity of his father, persecuted the Protestants, both men and women. Some were imprisoned, and many fled. On December 18 Anne du Bourg, one of the king’s counsellors, was burned, at the queen’s demand, because of Lutheran tracts in

[P.] 245

OF ALLIES

Our league and union with the Scots a thing most profitable, & naturall ever by the Pope sought to be hinderd. See Ascams *Toxophilus* Book 1. p[age] 38.¹

by the Cardinal of Scotland. Speed. p[age] 794.²

From a league with just any Protestants, no matter which ones, not all things are to be hoped for. As is proved by those agreements which were reached at Franciscopolim (newhaven). Camden. Elizab. [page] 82 ³ and passim. There was crafty action in the case of the

his possession, attacking the king and queen. His death so impressed many (1619, p. 408; tr. Brent, 1620, p. 418), "to know what religion that was, for which hee had so courageously endured punishment," that they craftily set about detecting who the reformists were. To this end they put pictures of the Virgin and the saints on every corner in France and men there to sell candles. Whoever did not "stand with reverence at those corners, or did not give the almes that were asked, were helde suspected." The least that happened to them was "boxes and spurnings" by the people; but many were imprisoned, and the great conspiracy of Geoffrey Renaut followed.

¹ [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 47] Roger Ascham (1515-1568), English humanist, tutor, and prose writer, is chiefly remembered for his two prose works, *Toxophilus, the Schole of Shootinge*, printed in London in 1545, "in aedibus Edouardi Whytchurch," and *The Scholemaster*, printed in 1570, two years after his death. Milton's page reference fits the 1545 edition of the *Toxophilus* (NYPL film), for on p 38 of that edition begins the statement which Milton tersely summarizes: "Yet one thyng woulde I wysshe for the Scottes, and that is this, that seinge one God, one faythe, one compasse of the see, one lande and countrie, one tungue in speakyng, one maner and trade in lyvyng, lyke courage and stomake in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning, hath made Englande and Scotlande bothe one, they wolde suffre them no longer to be two. but cleane gyve over the Pope, which seketh none other thinge (as many a noble and wyse Scottish man doth knowe) but to fede up dissention & parties betwixt them & us, procuring that thyng to be two, which God, nature, and reason, wold have one." Cf. *Of Reformation*, Book II: "Had it [the prelates' treason] tooke effect . . . the happy union of this Iland had bin frustrated."

² [Milton, English, 1639-1641(?), 44] Speed, *Historie* (2d ed., 1623, p. 794), records that in 1542, in the reign of Henry VIII, a peace to last ten years was made between England and Scotland, based on a proposed marriage between Prince Edward and young Queen Mary of Scotland. "But Cardinall *Beton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, fearing lest *Scotland* would change the Church Orders, as *England* had done (the *Bible* already read in their owne language, and the Popes usurped power called in Question, as then it began to be . . . to the great liking of most of the Lords) made some exceptions against the Earle *Arraine* the new-chosen Governour, being nearest in blood to the young Queene. And the French *King* not liking this union with *England*, sought by all meanes to breake the same match."

³ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44. The name "newhaven" in this entry is written in the margin, with an asterisk to show that it explains "Franciscopolim"]

English who brought assistance to Henry IV, though they were exposed to the greatest dangers and were led in haste hither and thither. See where Essex pitches camp at Rouen, and Norris in Britain. Cam. vol. 2. [pages] 49. 50.⁴ But this is to be seen in earlier expeditions also, after that king sought the aid of the English. in Camden. also vol. 2 p[ages] 61. 64. 65. 77. 79. 89. 90.⁵

The Dutch give zealous and excellent aid to the English when the fleet of the Catholic Spaniards, which was prepared by Alva to confound the affairs of the English, is destroyed. Camden. Eliz. p[age] 232. The Prince of Orange reveals the plans of John of Austria to invade England to Elizabeth, who as yet has perceived scarcely anything of that matter. Cam. Eliz. [page] 267. see also Camden. p[age] 274 Elizab.⁶

in the text] Camden, *Annales* (1615-27, I, 82), tells of the offer made to Elizabeth by the French Huguenots in 1562 for her help in the civil war that broke out between Huguenots and Catholics. The leaders of the Huguenots secured Elizabeth's aid by offering her Le Havre, called Franciscopolim (the city of Francis II) and Newhaven in Milton's entry. Elizabeth's purpose in accepting the offer was to exchange Le Havre for Calais, after the war ended. The Huguenots, however, were defeated, and a peace was made. Elizabeth refused to give up Le Havre until a plague broke out among the soldiers there and the survivors were obliged to return home.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Camden, *Annales* (1615-27, II, 49, 50), tells of the assistance given by Elizabeth to Henry of Navarre in his efforts to secure the French crown after the murder of Henry III in 1589. Henry of Navarre was a Huguenot, and the Catholic League in France had declared that no Huguenot should be king. Philip of Spain sent the Duke of Parma to aid the league, and the French resented Spanish interference. Elizabeth sent aid to Henry in 1589 and again in 1591, both men and money. However, in 1589, after she had fortified the islands in the Channel and points on the coast of France and had commended the French Protestants for their resistance, the danger of a Spanish invasion in Ireland was renewed, and she was forced to call Norris back to Britain, while leaving Essex in France. Then, in 1593 Henry became Catholic, and his title to the crown became secure.

⁵ See note preceding.

⁶ [Milton, Latin, 1639-1641(?), 44] Camden, *Annales* (1615-27, I, 232, 267, 274), records the successive stages of Dutch resistance to Spain. In 1572 they placed at their head the Prince of Orange. The Duke of Alva took town after town, sacking and butchering as he went. In 1574, however, Leyden was saved by the opening of the dykes, and Alva returned to Spain. The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands drove out the Spaniards and formed the Dutch Republic. The Duke of Parma was sent to replace Alva, and the Prince of Orange formed a new republic of seven northern Protestant provinces. Against his life, as well as that of Elizabeth, plots were discovered, and in 1584 he was assassinated. The attack planned by John of Austria ended with John's death. Meanwhile Elizabeth was pretending to be about to marry Alençon, as a means of protection against Spain.

Ed. 6. aids the protestants abroad Hayward. Ed. 6. p[age] 115.⁷

That a federation or league formed with a republic can be trusted more than one formed with a prince is shown by Macchiavell: discors. Book: 1. c[hapter] 59.⁸

[P.] 246 OF SEDITION. SEE IDOLATRY AND THE CHURCH¹ AND OF CIVIL WAR²

Luther speaks very well against those who undertake to advance the Evangelical cause by means of sedition and rebellion, in Sleidan. p[age] 69. Book 5.³

Cf. Of Reformation, Book II (below, p. 586), on the need of the United Provinces as allies on the continent, and on the Dutch as "the faithfull watchmen, and discoverers of many a Popish, and Austrian complotted Treason."

⁷ [Milton, English, 1639–1641(?), 45] *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixt*, by Sir John Hayward (ca. 1560–1627), English historian, was published in London after his death, in 1630 and again in 1636. Milton used the 1630 edition (PML and UTSL), as his page reference proves. Edward VI's aid to Protestants abroad followed a series of disputes between Edward and Emperor Charles V over whom Mary Tudor, Edward's older sister, was to marry. Charles V said she wished to marry his Catholic son, Philip of Spain, and Edward replied that he would arrange such a marriage as suited his Protestant needs. Then, says Hayward (p. 115), "In short time after under pretence of preparing for sea matters 5000 £ were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the seas, and further because the *Emperor* made divers streight lawes against those of the religion." Hayward's *Edward the Sixt* is cited several times in *Of Reformation*, Book I, where the matter of Mary's religion and of Edward VI's "awful repulse" of Charles V is related, and also in *Animadversions*, Section 2.

⁸ [Machiavelli scribe, Italian, 1651–1652(?), 102] Milton's entry uses Machiavelli's own words from the *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550), but in different constructions and order. The heading of Chapter 59 (p. 114) is. "In which federation or other league greater trust can be placed, in that formed with a republic or that formed with a prince"; and the chapter closes with the sentence. "Therefore I believe, for the reasons given, that the people make fewer errors than the prince and that more trust can be placed in them than in a prince." Milton's complete agreement is seen in *The Readie & Easie Way*, for which Machiavelli's *Discorsi* may have been an important source.

¹ The two headings, Idolatry and The Church, are references to Milton's undiscovered Theological Index.

² A cross reference to *CPB*, p. 244. See above, p. 499.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1641–1642(?), 46] Luther's warning against sedition, in Sleidan, *Commentaries* (Strassburg, 1555, Book V, f. 69), first took the form of a letter to one Mulhusius of Saxony concerning Muncerus, who was put out of Saxony: "He is a seditious man, who thinks of nothing but force and robbery. . . . The teaching of such men is not only seditious but futile, inept, and full of stupidity: therefore let them diligently beware, for it will come about that soon their deceit will be uncovered." Luther then issued an edict, warning all to refrain from sedition and saying that, though some seem to be able to stir up a ter-

Against all sedition Luther writes most justly and most wisely, now to the people, now to the magistrate, saying that together they should do away with the causes of sedition: the people by waiting patiently and by settling the matter quietly through highly esteemed arbiters; the magistrate by at last leaving off cruelly oppressing, robbing, and ruining the people. Sleidan Book 5. p[age] 71. &c.⁴

The Emperor loads with many charges the leaders of the Protestants, when they defend themselves; charges, namely, of rebellion, contempt of magistrate, &c. Sleidan. Book 17. [pages] 292. 293. &c.⁵ as happens today.⁶

The rebellion of a people has often been the means of their regaining their freedom, and therefore they should not be blamed, because very often they act from just causes and complaints. Witness Macchiavelli: "I say that those who condemn the riots between the nobles and the common people thereby, in my estimation, blame those things that were the principal means of keeping Rome free." For good laws were derived from those disturbances, &c. discors. Book 1. c[hapter] 4.⁷

rible tumult so that a present peril threatens the church, nevertheless "let them believe him or no one, because . . . Paul foretold that by no human force, but by the advent and spirit of Christ, servant of God, would tyranny fall." Cf. *The Tenure* (1649, p 47), where Sleidan's quotation from Luther's *Liber contra Rusticos* is repeated by Milton.

⁴ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46 After "causas . . . seditionis" Milton wrote what looks like "reservient" or "rescribant." He deleted all but "re" and then added "cidant" after the deletion, for "recidant" ("should do away with").] Sleidan, *Commentaries* (Strassburg, 1555, Book V, ff. 71, 72), gives Luther's reply to the protests which were drawn up in 1525 by the German small landholders against the exactions of church and state, but which chiefly concerned Christian liberty. Luther's reply was: "Therefore watch carefully, and do not trust the harangues of all you hear; for under the pretext of evangelism Satan has stirred up in these days many seditious and bloodthirsty teachers."

⁵ [Milton, Latin, 1641-1642(?), 46] This entry concerns the account in Sleidan, *Commentaries* (Strassburg, 1555, Book XVII, ff. 292-93), of Emperor Charles V's long letter to the Protestant states, accusing them of sedition and of inciting riots leading to war. The entry concerns action preceding by a few pages the reply of the German princes to the emperor, renouncing their loyalty to him because of his attempts to destroy their religion, found in the second entry in *CPB*, p. 244. Opposite the handwritten marginal note on f. 292v (NYPL copy), "Caesar Saxonem + Lantgravium proscibit," is the account of how, on July 20, 1525, "the Emperor, in public documents, outlaws the Elector of Saxony and Landgraf Philip of Hesse." This note is significant because of Milton's account of the two Protestant leaders in *The Tenure* (1649, p. 28).

⁶ This is Milton's own brief, but significant, comment.

⁷ [Machiavelli scribe, Latin comment, Italian quotation, 1651-1652(?), 102. The scribe first wrote "Liberi" as the initial word in this entry, after which he

[P.] 247¹OF BESIEGING A CITY AND
OF A CITY BESIEGED

For the manner in which Hicardus defended Brescia, attacked on all sides, with a few soldiers against two armies, see Jovius Book 18. p[age] 349.²

For the manner in which M. Antonius Columna defended Verona against the French and the Venetians, see Jovius Book 18. [page] 397. &c.³

[P.] 248

TYRANT

Whether it is permissible to withdraw one's allegiance from a tyrant. Rinaldo, Count of Caserta, when Manfred, King of Naples, had committed adultery with the wife of the Count, sent to Rome to the Pope and to King Charles of Anjou, who were there together, a friend of his to determine before the College "whether it was per-

deleted "Liberi" and wrote "Populi" with a capital "P." He seems to have written a "6" for the chapter number and then to have written a "4" over it.] Milton quotes exactly from the *Discorsi* (in *Tutte le Opere*, 1550, Book I, p. 12), except for the substitution of "et" for "&." The heading of chap 4 (p. 11) is "That the dissension between the people and the Roman senate made that republic free and strong." After the sentence which Milton quotes, Machiavelli adds "They should consider, rather than the rumors and outcries that are born from such tumults, the good effects, such as all the laws that they produce in favor of liberty." Milton then summarizes that idea in Italian.

¹ Milton first wrote his page number as "277," deleted it, and wrote "247."

² [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 48] The similarity in form of the two entries in *CPB*, p. 247, leads one to believe that they were made together, and one is not surprised, therefore, to discover that the first should have p. 394 after it instead of p. 349. The second entry, from p. 397, follows the first closely in Jovius, *Historia* (in *Opera*, Basle, 1578, Vol. I, Book XVIII). The facsimile of the manuscript shows that Milton first wrote what looks like p. 402, then deleted it and wrote p. 349, a fact which suggests that he was reading in the 390 pages rather than the 340's. Brescia, which with Bergamo was lost by the Visconti to Venice in the fifteenth century, was attacked by the armies of Ferdinand of Spain and Emperor Maximilian, allies of Louis XII of France, in their efforts to despoil the powerful state of Venice. Hicardus defended the city with a handful of men, "so small that the soldiers scarcely made up the number of two cohorts." Their ammunition and supplies were almost exhausted. "They fought in five places at once for many hours. . . . But in the great fortress there were almost a hundred horses," on which they rode against the foot soldiers who scaled the walls.

³ [Milton, Latin, 1642-1644(?), 48. Here Milton wrote "397" for the page number, deleted it, and then rewrote "397."] Antoninus Columna sent troops (Jovius, *Historia*, I, 397) to set fire to the stock of gunpowder of the enemy, so that their instruments of warfare were useless. Milton's book and page numbers are both right.

missible for a vassal in such a case to be resentful toward his king and to withdraw allegiance from him; what was decided by both knights and scholars [was] that as the vassal is bound to sacrifice his life and blood for his king, so likewise the good king is bound to maintain loyalty to his vassal, and that since the King had injured him in such a heinous wrong, it was permissible for the vassal to withdraw his allegiance, because in such a case the king loses the title of king and acquires the name of tyrant." Angelo. di Costanzo histor. di napoli. Book 1. p[age] 16.¹

[P.] 249 OF NAVIGATION AND SHIPWRECKS

The evill custom in England, of seiseing all shipwracks as forfeit to the Lord of the Mannor, or the inhabitants of that shoar, where the ship was wrackt, was also among the Greeks of Constantinople, but condemn'd & forbidden by a severe edict of Andronicus Comnenus ¹ the Emperour, though otherwise a most cruell tyrant. see

¹ [Amanuensis F, Latin question, Italian summary and quotation, date uncertain, 109 The scribe wrote "il re" after "havendo" He deleted it and wrote "Manfredi re," and so forth] Milton's source was Angelo di Costanzo, *Historia*, Aquila, 1581 (HCL), or the duplicate edition, 1582 (HCL). Milton's page number fits both editions. The entry concerns Manfred, illegitimate son of Emperor Frederick II, who succeeded his father as king of Sicily and Naples in 1250. Manfred was an able ruler and warrior and was famed for his handsome appearance and his abilities as a troubadour as well. The story told by Angelo di Costanzo (p. 16) is of Manfred's love for the Countess of Caserta. Manfred had commanded Rinaldo d'Aquino, Count of Caserta, and Count Giordano, a Piedmontese, to hold the pass of Garigliano There the Count of Caserta learned that King Manfred, "against both human and divine laws, was keeping the Countess of Caserta as his concubine." The Count abandoned the pass to go to Manfred to renounce his allegiance, but first he sent a friend to the Pope and King Charles to ask whether in such a case he would be free from his oath. Milton quotes the question and answer exactly.

¹ [Amanuensis D, English, ca 1665, 106. A few letters in this entry are slightly blurred. The "in" before "his life" is deleted, and what looks like "and" before page "209th" is deleted.] This entry is a kind of reprimand of the English, based on a twelfth-century account of the superior justice in such matters of a Greek emperor otherwise known for his cruelty. Andronicus Comnenus, or Andronicus I, Emperor of the East, was born in the early twelfth century and died a terrible death on September 12, 1185, at the hands of his outraged subjects. After seizing the throne he ruled for three years, during which he suppressed many abuses but won the hatred of the rapacious nobles. He was defeated by Isaac Comnenus, who ordered his torture and execution Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter I (1649, p 10): "Andronicus Comnenus the Byzantine Emperor, though a most cruel Tyrant, is reported by Nicetas to have bin a constant reader of Saint Pauls Epistles; and by continual study had so incorporated the phrase and stile of that transcendent

Nicetas Choniates his life, page 209th of his history. Edit: Paris. [in the] fol[io text].²

Apostle into all his familiar Letters, that the imitation seem'd to vie with the Original. Yet this availd not to deceive the people of that Empire; who notwithstanding his Saints vizard, tore him to peeces for his Tyranny."

² Nicetas Acominate or Choniate was born about the middle of the twelfth century at Chones in Phrygia, from which his surname is derived. He was educated in Constantinople and held important posts in the administration of the empire. The history he wrote in twenty-one books concerning the period from 1118 to 1206 has great value because he was an eyewitness of many of the events he recorded and because he was a true historian in his impartiality in recording those events. Milton's page reference fits the Paris, 1647, edition of his *Imperii Graeci Historia* (CUL), containing both Greek and Latin texts. His account of the life of Andronicus Comnenus (Book II, p. 209) has the marginal note: "He curbs the despoilers of shipwrecks, but he does not give the right care to one suffering a shipwreck on account of the many monstrous deeds of the Empire." Nicetas records Andronicus' justice as follows: "When among the Romans [that is, the Greeks, who were part of the Roman Empire, a fact which Milton's entry clarifies by simply calling them Greeks], and among them alone, I believe, the most unjust custom prevailed that ships cast upon the shore by storms were not only aided by no one but were torn to pieces by neighbors more cruel than the storm, if the floods had left any remains," Andronicus, hearing of this evil, denounced it vigorously before his senate, and the abuse was stopped. When Milton read the phrase "among them alone, I believe," he must have paused and had his amanuensis record the fact that the same unjust custom prevailed in England.

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OF REFORMATION

May, 1641

PREFACE AND NOTES BY DON M. WOLFE AND
WILLIAM ALFRED

Milton's first antiprelatical tract appeared probably in May, 1641.¹ Mention of the pamphlet in *A Compendius Discourse*,² which is dated May 31, 1641, shows that *Of Reformation* must have appeared some days before May 31. On the other hand, his reference to the Oxford University petition shows that part of his pamphlet was written after April 24, when this petition probably appeared in print.³ From Milton's oblique references to the speeches of Digby and Falkland, we judge that about seventy-four of the ninety pages were written by the first weeks of February. "Here I might have ended," he wrote, "but that some objections, which I have commonly heard flying about, presse me to the endeavor of an answer."⁴ It is likely, then, that the pamphlet could have appeared by March had not Milton wished to take issue with two distinguished opponents of the London Petition and an official protest from Oxford University. The additions delayed publication until May, though much of the pamphlet probably had been written in January and February.

The edition of May, 1641, which was sent forth anonymously by the printer Thomas Underhill, was the only edition published in Milton's lifetime. Since that time *Of Reformation* has been published in nine main collections and one annotated edition:

1. *A Complete Collection of the . . . Works of John Milton*, ed. John Toland (3 vols., London, 1698).
2. *A Complete Collection of the . . . Works of John Milton*, ed. Thomas Birch (2 vols., London, 1738).
3. *Prose Works with a Life of the Author, Interspersed with Translations and Critical Remarks*, ed. Charles Symmons (7 vols., London, 1806).

¹ Masson, II, 239 n.

² Above, p. 104; below, p. 611.

³ The petition was not presented in the Commons until May 12. Thomason dated it, however, as appearing April 24. It is not listed in *Stationers' Registers*.

⁴ Below, p. 601.

- 4 *The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. George Burnett (abridged version of *Of Reformation*) (2 vols., London, 1809).
- 5 *The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Robert Fletcher (London, 1833).
- 6 *The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. Rufus Griswold (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1845).
- 7 *The Prose Works, with Preface, Preliminary Remarks, and Notes*, ed. J. A. St. John (5 vols., London, 1848-53).
- 8 *The Works of John Milton in Verse and Prose*, ed. John Mitford (8 vols., London, 1851).
- 9 *Of Reformation*, ed. Will T. Hale (New Haven and London, 1916).
- 10 *The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson and others (18 vols., New York. Columbia University Press, 1931-38).

The edition of *Of Reformation* by Will T. Hale (New Haven and London, 1916) is the only edition before the present one to attempt full annotations, historical setting, or analysis of Milton's sources. The present editors have found it (despite minor errors) a model of scholarly precision and imagination. In no other polemic tract are Milton's sources so diverse and difficult to trace. Hale's identification of these sources, which proved valuable to Hanford in his research for "The Chronology" and to Whiting in his work on *Milton's Literary Milieu*, has been equally helpful in the present edition. Masson's belief that *A Postscript* was written or compiled by Milton is concretely enhanced by Hale's notes, which have led to more substantial verification in this edition. Nor is Hale's interpretation of *Of Reformation* and the history around it less accurate than his facts. One example is that, though the authorship of Bacon's *A Wise and Moderate Discourse* was unknown to him, Hale identifies it as the most balanced, constructive tract of the period, antithetical to both Milton's and Laud's extreme positions. As Hale points out, however, Milton in *Of Reformation* does not misquote in order to twist an argument. Hale's judgment that Milton is unfair to the prelates but not dishonest is just. Milton's fault, as pointed out in this edition, is that all the bishops suffer at his hands for the extreme faults of a few. His main weakness is that he does not treat them as individuals.

The present text of *Of Reformation* is based on one of the copies of the McAlpin Collection, 1641/M65/copy 1. It is referred to in the Textual Guide as "A."⁵ It is a quarto measuring 19.4 by 14.8 cm. Collation: 4^o, [A1], A², B-L⁴, N¹ [\$2 (+B3, C3, E3, H3, I3, K3) signed], 47 leaves, pp. [4] 1-90. Contents: [A1]: title page⁶ (verso blank). A2:

⁵ Below, p. 1041

⁶ The device of the title page, consisting of a scroll between rows of fleur-de-lis in horizontal position, is not listed in Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640* (London, 1913). Of the numerous variations of the fleur-de-lis device, the small ornament here corresponds

"*Faults escap't in the printing.*" B1-N1v: Text.⁷ In some copies A2 is missing. A few variations in punctuation and spelling have been discovered in collation with the following copies: "B," McAlpin 1641/M65/copy 2; "C," McAlpin 1641/tM65/copy 2; "D," McAlpin 1641/tM66/OR; "E," New York Public *KC 1641; "F," New York Public *KC 1641, p.v. 32; "G," Thomason Collection E208(3); "H," Houghton Library *EC65/M6427/641/(A); "I," Houghton Library *EC65/M6427/641/(B); "J," Yale University Library, Ij.M642.641.

The editors wish to thank the following for help in tracing Milton's source references: Tullia Gasparrini Leporace, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; Michel Durand, Library of the Sorbonne; and Sylvia England, of the British Museum. For special help on historical and theological sources we are indebted to Douglas Bush, F. P. Magoun, Jr., George La Piana, and Arthur Darby Nock of Harvard University.

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most closely to Device 216 (McKerrow, *Devices*, p. 82). The scroll has no counterpart in the McKerrow list. At St. Paul's Churchyard the sign of Thomas Underhill was the anchor and Bible (Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641 to 1667* [London, 1907], p. 185) On Wood Street the sign of his stall was the Bible. See title page of *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, below, p. 623.

⁷ We are here following the principles of bibliographical description as outlined in Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928) and Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

MCALPIN
COLLECTION

OF
REFORMATION
Touching
CHVRCH-DISCIPLINE
IN
ENGLAND:

And the CAUSES that hither-
to have hindred it.

TWO BOOKES,
Written to a FREIND.

6



Printed, for Thomas Underhill 1641.

*Faults escap't in the printing are heer
corrected.*

Page 1, l. 5. at frequent must be a comma, p. 2. l. 27. sensual. p. 4, l. 31. exorcism. p. 5. l. 9. at adoration a comma. p. 6. l. 4 in ignorance there wants an a. l. 29. She taught. p. 7. l. 9. adde in Discipline, which is the execution. p. 19. l. 4. colleagues. l. 13. known. p. 70. l. 6. yea other nations. p. 72. l. 5. each other state l. 7. at common is no period, but a comma.

Of Reformation in England

AND THE CAUSES THAT HITHERTO HAVE HINDERED IT

Sir,

Amidst those deepe and retired thoughts,¹ which with every man Christianly instructed, ought to be most frequent, of *God*, and of his miraculous *ways*, and *works*, amongst men, and of our *Religion* and *Worship*, to be perform'd to him; after the story of our Saviour *Christ*, suffering to the lowest bent of weaknesse, in the *Flesh*, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of *glory*, in the *Spirit*, which drew up his body also, till [1] we in both be united to him in the Revelation of his Kingdome: I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole passion of pitty, on the one side, and joy on the other: then to consider first, the foule and sudden corruption, and then after many a tedious age, the long-deferr'd, but much more wonderfull and happy reformation of the *Church* in these latter dayes. Sad it is to thinke how that Doctrine of the *Gospel*, planted by teachers Divinely inspir'd, and by them winnow'd, and sifted, from the chaffe of over-dated Ceremonies, and refin'd to such a Spirituall height, and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumstances of time and place, were purifi'd by the affections of the regenerat Soule, and nothing left impure, but sinne; *Faith* need-

¹ Notice the richness of this sentence with its ascendant parallel metaphor in which the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ are figured forth as having been repeated in the suffering, death, and resurrection of his church. Notice, too, the governing image of the pamphlet, that of the members of the true church as members of the mystical body of Christ. It is in accordance with that image that the metaphors used when Episcopacy is treated tend to be metaphors of nausea, disease, and deformity; and it is in accordance with that image that the pamphlet ends with a vision of the fates of both parties in the dispute after the resurrection of the dead and the final judgment.

ing not the weak, and fallible office of the Senses,² to be either the Ushers, or Interpreters, of heavenly Mysteries, save where our Lord himselfe in his Sacraments ordain'd; that such a Doctrine should through the grossnesse, and blindness, of her Professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards, as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggery, of old cast rudiments,³ and stumble forward another way into the new-vomited Paganisme⁴ of sensuall Idolatry, attributing purity, or impurity, to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the *Spirit* to the outward, and customary ey-Service of the body, as if they [2] could make *God* earthly, and fleshly, because they could not make themselves *heavenly*, and *Spiritually*: they began to draw downe all the Divine intercourses, betwixt *God*, and the Soule, yea, the very shape of *God* himselfe, into an exterior,⁵ and bodily forme, urgently pretending a necessity, and

² Since faith is, by Pauline definition (Hebrews 11:1), "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen." Cf. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, III, ii, 7; (1561), f. 175v: "But mannes wit, as it is blinde and darkened, is farre from attaining and climbing up to perceive the very will of God and also the hart of man, as it wavereth with perpetuall douting, is farre from resting assured in that perswasion. Therefore it behoveth both that our wit be lightened and our hart strengthened by some other means, that the word of God may be of full credit with us."

Milton is speaking in his first two paragraphs of the Roman Catholic Church before Luther. But he nowhere mentions it by name and evidently means his readers to apply his description to the Anglican Church of Laud's day as well. In Milton's mind both the Roman and the Anglican churches had maintained the sensory symbols of the Christian faith, not its essence of Scripture searching as the basis of faith and conduct.

³ Milton is upbraiding those of the Episcopal party, on the basis of their liturgical convictions, for imitating the highly articulated code of the ancient Hebrew priesthood, the beginnings of the spiritual law abolished, in Milton's view, by the coming of Christ, who fulfilled them. Cf. Galatians 3:10-14. For Prynne's use of the word "rudiments," see *A Looking-Glasse* (1636), p. 47.

⁴ Milton's rather unsavory figure refers to that stage of the English Reformation at which the English Church, the doctrine standing for the mystical body of those who hold it, having but recently vomited certain bitter tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, is now returning to them like the curious dog of Proverbs 26:11 and II Peter 2:22. For a parallel but substantially different appearance of this allegorical dyspepsia, see Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, i, 20-21. For the Puritan concept of images as idols, see above, p. 69. For a temperate view, see Parker, *The Altar Dispute* (1641); an extreme position against images is found in Charles Chauncy, *The Retraction of Mr. Charles Chancy* (1641). Chauncy (1592-1671) migrated to New England in May, 1641, and later became second president of Harvard College (1654-1671).

⁵ Another reference to the use of images. Cf. John Vicars, *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of Having or Making the Picture of Christs Humanity* (1641).

obligement of joyning the body in a formall reverence,⁶ and *Worship* circumscrib'd, they hallow'd it, they fum'd it, they sprincl'd it,⁷ they be deck't it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure Linnen, with other deformed, and fantastick dresses in Palls, and Miters,⁸ gold, and giegaw's fetcht from *Arons* old wardrope,⁹ or the *Flamins vestry*:¹⁰ then was the *Priest* set to *con his motions*,¹¹ and his *Pos-*

Vicars condemned any attempt to picture Jesus as (p. 50) "a lying vanity, or a vaine impiety."

⁶ All formality in worship, especially kneeling at communion, was hateful to the Puritans. For an extreme point of view, see H. Jacob, *Kneeling in the Act of Eating and Drinking at the Lords Table Is a Sinne* (1641), Thomason, I, 55. Sir Edward Peyton, in *A Discourse Concerning the Finesse of the Posture . . . in Taking the Bread and Wine* (March, 1642), E 136(10), maintained that sitting at communion was (p. 4) "necessary from the example of Christ." Milton afterward declared that for prayer scripture required (*Christian Doctrine*, I, iv) "no particular posture." Adam and Eve prayed each morning (*Paradise Lost*, V, 146) "in various style."

⁷ A reference to the Roman Catholic use of incense and holy water.

⁸ Milton is here making reference to various ecclesiastical vestments. His "robes . . . of pure linen" is a reference to the alb, a long robe of white linen, which is the second vestment the priest puts on in order to say mass. The pall is a narrow band of white wool about two inches wide, ornamented with six black crosses, and with two lead-weighted pendants of silk before and behind. The pall symbolizes pontifical power, it is worn by the Pope and given by him to archbishops and metropolitans as the sign of their office. It is also sometimes given to priests of the Episcopal rank as a sign of special favor. A miter is, of course, primarily an ecclesiastical headdress belonging to the rank of bishop or abbot. For Puritan satire of these symbols, see above, p. 133. Cf. also George Salteren's attack on images, *A Treatise against Images and Pictures in Churches* (1641), Thomason, I, 57.

⁹ See Exodus 28:2-43. Cf. George Herbert's "Aaron," in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 174. The Puritans objected to the Anglican justification of elaborate priestly dress and hierarchy of rank by the example of Aaron. See Andrewes' analysis of Old Testament hierarchy in *Certain Briefe Treatises* (1641), pp. 7 ff., and Milton's comment on it in *Church-Government*, below, pp. 761 ff., 768 ff.

¹⁰ See Harry T. Peck, *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (New York, 1923). There were fifteen "flamines" ("flamen," a sacrificial priest) in ancient Rome: three, of the patrician class, serving the greater deities, Jove, Mars, and Romulus; and twelve, of the plebeian class, serving such minor deities as Vulcan and Flora. Milton is referring to the elaborate vestments worn by these in the performance of their duties. The "flamen Dialis," or priest of Jove, for instance, might never appear, in his waking moments, without his trappings of office: a conical hat, a heavy wool toga with a purple border, a sacrificial knife, and a rod. Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, IV, 19, in Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum* (Heidelberg, 1587), pp. 30-31.

¹¹ See the ordinary of the mass in any daily missal. The word "lurries" means "lessons by rote."

tures his *Liturgies*, and his *Lurries*, till the Soule by this meanes of over-bodding her selfe, given up justly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward: and finding the ease she had from her visible, and sensuous colleague the body¹² in performance of *Religious* duties, her pineons now broken, and flagging, shifted off from her selfe, the labour of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull, and droyling carcas to plod on in the old rode, and drudging Trade of outward conformity. And here out of question from her pervers conceiting of *God*, and holy things, she had faln to beleieve no *God* at all, had not custome and the worme of conscience nipt her incredulity hence to all the duty's of evangelicall grace instead of the adop[3]tive and cheerefull boldnesse which our new alliance with *God* requires, came Servile, and thral-like feare: for in very deed, the superstitious man by his good will is an Atheist; but being scarr'd from thence by the pangs, and gripes of a boyling conscience, all in a pudder shuffles up to himselfe such a *God*, and such a *worship* as is most agreeable to remedy his feare, which feare of his, as also is his hope, fixt onely upon the *Flesh*, renders likewise the whole faculty of his apprehension, carnall, and all the inward acts of *worship* issuing from the native strength of the SOULE, run out lavishly to the upper skin, and there harden into a crust of Formallitie. Hence men came to scan the *Scriptures*, by the Letter,¹³ and in the Covenant of our Redemption, magnifi'd the external signs more then the quickning power of the *Spirit*, and yet looking on them through their own guiltinesse with a Servile feare, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them againe, they knew not how to hide their Slavish approach to *Gods* behests by them not understood, nor worthily receav'd, but by cloaking their Servile crouching to all *Religious* Presentments, somtimes lawfull, sometimes Idolatrous, under the name of *humility*, and terming the Py-bald frippery, and ostentation of Ceremony's, decency.¹⁴

¹² Though as a poet Milton practiced the magic of sensory appeal, he rejected, like most of his fellow Puritans, the office of the senses as an aid to faith and worship.

¹³ Thus disobeying the precept of St. Paul. Romans 7:6.

¹⁴ The term "decency" was used by the Anglicans to describe their ideal of restraint and uniformity in the church service. Cf. William Laud, *A Relation of the Conference . . . Lawd . . . and Mr. Fisher* (1639), p. 3: "*No One Thing hath made Conscientious men more wavering in their own mindes . . . then the Want of uniform and decent order in too many Churches. . . . These thoughts*

Then was Baptisme chang'd into a kind of exorcism,¹⁵ and water Sanctifi'd by *Christs* institute, thought little enough to wash off the originall [4] Spot without the Scratch, or crosse impression of a Priests fore-finger: and that feast of free grace, and adoption to which *Christ* invited his Disciples to sit as Brethren, and coheires of the happy Covenant,¹⁶ which at that Table was to be Seal'd to them, even that Feast of love¹⁷ and heavenly-admitted fellowship, the Seale of filiall grace became the Subject of horror, and glouting adoration, pageanted about,¹⁸ like a dreadfull Idol: which sometimes deceve's wel-meaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility, which indeed, is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish Sacrifice,¹⁹ and the rudiments of the world,²⁰ as Saint *Paul* to the *Colossians* explaineth, before a savory obedience to *Christs* example. Such was *Peters* unseasonable Humilitie,²¹ as then his Knowledge was

. . . have made me labour . . . for Decency and an Orderly settlement of the Externall Worship of God" This sentiment was echoed in Laud, *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1640), below, p. 992. The Anglican concept of decency was attacked by Prynne in *Lord Bishops* (1640), pp. 49–50. The term "piebalde colours" appears in Prynne, *A Looking-Glasse* (1636), p. 69.

¹⁵ A reference to the Roman Catholic ceremony of baptism in which the person being baptized is exorcized before the actual pouring on of water and consummation of the sacrament. See *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Parish Priests*, tr. by John A. McHugh and Charles J. Callan (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1934), pp. 192–97.

¹⁶ See Matthew 26.26–29; John 6:51–58.

¹⁷ Milton here translates the Greek word "agapai" and puts it in the singular. The agapai, or feasts of brotherly love (Jude 12), were banquets held before the commemoration of the Last Supper, for which members of the congregations of the very early Christian Church pooled their usually meager resources. It is against abuses which began to arise in these love feasts that St. Paul directed I Corinthians 11:20–34. Notice how Milton, in this passage, takes the sacrament of the Lord's supper from its origin ("that feast of true grace . . . to which Christ invited his disciples to sit"), refers to it by its name in apostolic times ("that feast of love"), and then by way of shattering contrast conjures up a nameless image of what he felt it had become in his day. Milton's "subject of horror" is the Roman Catholic mass. For Milton's distinction between the mass and the Lord's supper, see *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxviii.

¹⁸ It is likely that Milton refers here to the procession held on the feast of Corpus Christi (instituted 1264), in which the priest carried the eucharist in state through the streets. See Will T. Hale's note on this passage in *Of Reformation* (New Haven and London, 1916), p. 80 (hereafter cited as Hale).

¹⁹ For Milton's later and substantially unchanged judgment of the mass, see *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxviii. *Glouting*: scowling, sullen (archaic).

²⁰ See Colossians 2.8.

²¹ See John 13.5–11.

small, when *Christ* came to wash his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs straine courtesy with his Master, and falling troublesomly upon the lowly, alwise, and unexaminable intention of *Christ* in what he went with resolution to doe, so provok't by his interruption the meeke *Lord*, that he threat'nd to exclude him from his heavenly Portion, unlesse he could be content to be lesse arrogant, and stiff neckt in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the *Depravities* of the *Church*, and how they sprung, and how they tooke increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many darke Ages, wherein the huge overshadowing traine of *Error*²² had al[5]most swept all the Starres²³ out of the Firmament of the *Church*; how the bright and blissfull *Reformation* (by Divine Power) strook through the black and settled Night of *Ignorance* and *Antichristian Tyranny*, me thinks a soveraigne and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosome of him that reads or heares; and the sweet Odour of the returning *Gospell* imbath his Soule with the fragraney of Heaven. Then was the Sacred BIBLE sought out²⁴ of the dusty corners where prophane Falshood and Neglect had throwne it, the *Schooles* opened, *Divine*

²² In *Acts and Monuments* (3 vols., 1631–32; NYPL), I, 555, John Foxe wrote that in the time of Wycliffe “the only name of Christ remained amongst Christians. But his true and lively doctrine was as farre unknowne unto the most part, as his name was common unto all men.” Cf. Alexander Leighton’s passage on custom aggravating sin, *An Appeal* (1628), p. 133. In *The Original of the Popish Liturgie* (1641), the author (Henry Walker?) attempted to prove that the Roman Catholic service book was grounded in superstition, hence the evil origin of the Episcopal service book as well.

²³ See Revelation 12.4.

²⁴ See John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. George Townsend (8 vols., London, 1843–49), I, 410–14 (1631–32, II, 389, 516). Foxe traces with care the early attempts to provide an English translation of the Bible, with the curious omission of Wycliffe’s translation of the New Testament in 1380 (*Acts*, 1843, III, 64, n. 2). In writing *Of Reformation*, Milton may have used the seventh English edition of *Acts and Monuments* (1631–32); his references to Foxe in *The Judgement of Martin Bucer* fit this edition. Though Milton does not mention Foxe by name, he is indebted to him (as Hale points out) on many pages of *Of Reformation*. The invention of printing and especially the printing of the Bible were to Foxe the miracles that would banish ignorance and superstition. Through printing, he wrote (*Acts*, 1843, III, 719; 1631–32, I, 927) God “began to work for his church; not with fire and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading: to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning.” To Foxe printing was an irresistible weapon against Rome (1631–32, I, 927): “God hath opened the Presse to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crowne.”

and *Humane Learning* rak't out of the *embers* of *forgotten Tongues*, the *Princes* and *Cities* trooping apace to the new erected Banner of *Salvation*; the *Martyrs*, with the unresistable *might* of *Weaknesse*,²⁵ shaking the *Powers* of *Darknesse*,²⁶ and scorning the *fiery rage* of the old *red Dragon*.²⁷

The pleasing pursuit of these thoughts hath oft-times led mee into a serious question and debatement with my selfe, how it should come to passe that *England* (having had this *grace* and *honour* from God to bee the first that should set up a Standard for the recovery of *lost Truth*, and blow the first *Evangelick Trumpet* ²⁸ to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill,²⁹ the new Lampe of *saving light* to all Christendome) should now be last, and most unsettl'd in the enjoyment of that *Peace*, whereof she taught the way to others; although indeed our *Wicklefs* ³⁰ preaching, at which all the succeeding *Reformers* more

²⁵ Cf. II Corinthians 12:7-10.

²⁶ See Colossians 1 13.

²⁷ See Revelation 12:3, 6.

²⁸ The metaphor is apocalyptic. Cf. Isaiah 24:13; Revelation 8:7-13.

²⁹ See Matthew 5:14.

³⁰ In *Acts and Monuments* (1843, II, 790-91) (1631-32, I, 554-55), Foxe dated the beginning of the Reformation in England from the time of John Wycliffe. As reader of divinity at Oxford, Wycliffe declared against transubstantiation, the Pope's infallibility, and the necessity of public confession. His beliefs gained ground rapidly, and Wycliffe was not without powerful adherents such as the Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III; many members of the House of Commons supported his beliefs, and Foxe cites Spelman's assertion that after Wycliffe's death "two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard, or Wickliffite." On two occasions attempts by the clergy (three bulls were issued against him) to proceed against Wycliffe resulted in popular outbreaks. After the Great Schism in 1378, Wycliffe denominated the papacy as antichrist. About 1380 he published a translation of the New Testament into English, having meanwhile asserted the right of each person to interpret it for himself. Though he was allowed to hold his living in Lutterworth until his death on December 31, 1385, church officials resisted his teachings strenuously and declared against his followers. When his doctrines were declared heretical by the Council of Constance (1414-1418) together with those of his follower Huss, Wycliffe's body was disinterred and his bones flung into the River Swift. Meanwhile, however, from the English Bible and Wycliffe's teaching had sprung the movement of Lollardy. See James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (4 vols., London, 1908-13), I, 328. For the Lollard conclusions presented to Parliament about 1395, see *Fasciculi Zizanorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif*, ed. Walter W. Shirley (London, 1858), pp. 360-69. A useful volume of Wycliffe's writings is *Tracts and Treatises*, ed. Robert Vaughan (London, 1845). In addition to Foxe, Milton's sources on Wycliffe were Speed, *Historie* (1627, p. 600), and Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587, III, 411 ff.). (Milton's references in *CPB* fit the 1627 edition of Speed, *Historie*

effectually ligh-[6]ted their *Tapers*,³¹ was to his Countrey men but a short blaze soone damp't and stiff'd by the *Pope*, and *Prelates* for sixe or seven Kings Reignes; yet me thinkes the *Precedencie* which God gave this *Iland*, to be the first *Restorer* of *buried Truth*, should have beene followed with more happy successe, and sooner attain'd Perfection; in which, as yet we are amongst the last: for, albeit in *purity* of *Doctrine* we agree with our Brethren; yet in Discipline,³² which is the *execution* and *applying* of *Doctrine* home, and laying the *salve* to the very *Orifice* of the *wound*; yea tenting and searching to the *Core*, without which *Pulpit Preaching* is but shooting at Rovers; in this we are no better then a *Schisme*, from all the *Reformation*, and a sore scandall to them; for while wee hold *Ordination* to belong onely to *Bishops*, as our *Prelates*³³ doe, wee must of necessity hold also their *Ministers* to be no *Ministers*,³⁴ and shortly after their *Church* to be no *Church*. Not to speake of those sencelesse *Ceremonies*³⁵

[HEHL]). The third volume of the *Chronicles* (1587; UTSL) begins with the reign of William the Conqueror (divided into two books continuously paged, 1,592 pp.) and extends to the time of Queen Elizabeth.

³¹ See Huss's defense of Wycliffe's ideas in Foxe, *Acts* (1843), III, 57-60, 64-97 (1631-32, I, 585 ff.). The story of Huss's first acquaintance with Wycliffe's doctrines is told in *Acts* (1843), III, 97-98 ([1563; UTSL], pp. 106-07).

³² Cf. *Vox Populi, Expressed in XXXV. Motions* (1641), p. 1: "The first Reformation in King Edwards dayes, was rather of the Doctrine, then of the Discipline."

³³ A prelate is "an ecclesiastical dignitary of exalted rank and authority, as a bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch." When Milton uses the word "prelate" he refers to one of the twenty-four bishops of England or to one of the two archbishops (York or Canterbury). There were twenty-six Episcopal sees in England, each presided over by a bishop or archbishop, assisted by a dean (head of all the secular cathedral churches), a precentor, a chancellor (who supervised the cathedral schools), and a treasurer. For notes on the prelates of England in Milton's time, see Appendix G, below, pp. 1009-33.

³⁴ Milton and the Smectymnuans held that any minister had the same right as a bishop to ordain another minister. See Smectymnuus, *An Answer* (1641), pp. 36-42; *A Vindication* (1641), pp. 93-94. For Episcopal analysis of bishops' superiority in ordination, see Peter Heylyn, *The History of Episcopacie* I, v, 2 (1642, pp. 152-54); II, i, 10 (1642, p. 25).

³⁵ Representative Puritan objections to ceremonies may be found in the London Petition, December 11, 1640, in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, pp. 537 ff.; Anonymous, *Englands Complaint to Jesus Christ against the Bishops Canons* (1640), no pagination; Prynne, *Lame Gules* (1630) (on bowing at the name of Jesus), and *A Quench-Coale* (1637); William Wickins, *Arguments against Bowing at the Name of Jesus* (1641), pp. 2-5; Henry Burton, *Jesu-Worship Confuted* (1640), pp. 3-7; Smectymnuus, *An Answer* (1641), p. 12, *A Vindication* (1641), pp. 12, 17, 163; Nathaniel Fiennes, speech of February 9, 1641, in Rushworth, IV, 177-78;

which wee onely retaine, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to *Rome*, and serving meereley, either as a mist to cover nakednesse where true *grace* is extinguisht; or as an Enterlude to set out the *pompe* of *Prelatisme*. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore and the paines, to enquire more particularly, what, and how many the cheife causes have been, that have still hindred our *Uniforme Consent* to the rest of the *Churches* abroad,³⁶ (at this time³⁷ especially) when the *Kingdome* is in a good *propensity* thereto; and all Men in Pray-[7]ers, in Hopes, or in Disputes, either for or against it.

Yet will I not insist on that which may seeme to be the cause on Gods part; as his judgement on our sinnes, the tryall of his owne, the unmasking of Hypocrites; nor shall I stay to speake of the continuall eagernes and extreame diligence of the *Pope* and *Papists*³⁸ to stop the furtherance of *Reformation*, which know they have no hold or hope of *England* their lost Darling, longer then the *government* of *Bishops* bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may bee seene by the Booke of *Santa Clara*³⁹ the

John Bernard, *The Anatomie of the Service Book* (November, 1641), E 178(13), pp. 66-68; Anonymous, *The Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer* (November, 1641), E 178(2), p. 3.

³⁶ A suggestive account of disciplinary reforms on the continent is found in Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament* (1628), pp. 221 ff. For the many ways in which the Scotch reform of discipline foreshadowed the struggles of 1641 in England, John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in the Church of Scotland* (1644), is invaluable.

³⁷ That is, when the kingdom is demanding reforms and Parliament is responsive to petitions.

³⁸ The Catholics had established schools in Belgium for training missionaries to England. About these schools Camden had written the following in his *Annales* under the year 1580 (1625, Book II, p. 410): "The English seminaries, who were fled to *Flanders* . . . assembled themselves together at Douay, where they began to set up a Schoole, and the Pope appoynted them an annual pension . . . as fast as time deprived England of Priests and Seminaries . . . furnished the land with new supplies of their loved ones, who sowed the seedes of the Roman Religion all over *England*." The Latin may be found in one of Milton's sources, *Annales* (1615-27), I, 297.

Despite the universal Puritan clamor against the Catholics, their influence was very slight. Gardiner, *History of England*, VIII, 132, estimated that in 1634 the Catholics numbered 150,000 in a population of three million. The leading Catholic in England was Queen Henrietta Maria, who was only partially successful in preventing persecution of Catholics. In 1639 Count Rossetti, an Italian prelate, became unofficial papal delegate to the queen. Gardiner, IX, 87.

³⁹ Probably a reference to Franciscus Sancta Clara, *Apologia Episcoporum seu Sacri Magistratus* (1640). Sancta Clara was born Christopher Davenport (known also as Francis Hunt and Francis Coventry) in 1598 in Coventry. Converted to

Popish *Preist* in defence of *Bishops*, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own *Prelats* ⁴⁰ out of an ominous feare had writ on the same *Argument*; as if they had joyn'd their forces like good Confederates to support one falling *Babel*.

But I shall chiefly indeavour to declare those Causes that hinder the forwarding of *true Discipline*, which are among our selves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquirie into our *Fore-Fathers dayes*, and into our *Times*. HENRY the 8. was the first that rent this *Kingdome* from the *Popes* Subjection totally; but his Quarrell being more about *Supremacie*,⁴¹ then other faultinesse in *Religion* that he regarded, it is no marvell if hee stuck where he did. The next default was in the *Bishops*, who though they had renounc't the *Pope*, they still hugg'd the *Popedome*, and shar'd the Autho-[8]rity among themselves, by their sixe bloody Articles ⁴² persecuting the *Protestants* no slacker

Catholicism at Oxford he went to Belgium in 1617 and joined the Franciscan order. Afterward he was sent to the court of Charles I as chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria, in whose service he met Archbishop Laud and other English divines. In *Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanae* (1634), a treatise reinterpreting the Thirty-nine Articles, he showed how the Anglican communion might be reunited with the Roman. On March 16, 1641, Francis Rous accused Sancta Clara and the "Army of Priests" of trying to gain a foothold by treaty in the English church (Rushworth, IV, 210): "This hath been acted both by writings and conference . . . Sancta Clara, on his part, labours to bring the Articles of our Church to Popery; and some of our Side try to meet him in that Way." Sancta Clara was quoted by Rudyard in the Commons as saying that "if a Synod were held . . . setting Puritans aside, our Articles and their [the Roman Catholic] Religion would soon be agreed." *The Speeches of Sir Benjamin Rudyer* (1641), p. 3. The *Paraphrastica* was put upon the Spanish index of prohibited books and narrowly missed inclusion in the Roman one. From 1637 to 1665 Sancta Clara was Father Provincial of his order in Flanders. After the Restoration he returned to England as chaplain to Queen Catharine of Braganza. He died in 1680. His brother John was the Puritan divine who founded New Haven, Connecticut. See *DNB*, *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

⁴⁰ Bishop Hall (identified by Hale, p. 85), who opened *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640) with the words: "Good God! What is this I have lived to heare?" See above, p. 53.

⁴¹ Milton means Henry's determination to make himself the head of the church in England, disregarding reform of discipline or doctrine. Cf. Speed, *Hystorie* (1627), pp. 753 ff.; Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 923; Camden, *Annales* (1615-27), I, 6. See also Fuller, *Church History*, V, ii, 22-51 (1837, II, 34 ff.)

⁴² Fearing sectarianism, Henry VIII attempted to enforce uniformity of belief in 1539 by forcing through Parliament "The Six Articles Act." In brief, the law required (1) acceptance of transubstantiation as an article of faith; (2) rejection of communion in both kinds (bread and wine) as necessary to salvation, (3) priests to remain unmarried; (4) adherence to vows of chastity by both men and

then the *Pope* would have done. And doubtles, when ever the *Pope* shall fall, if his ruine bee not like the sudden down-come of a Towre, the *Bishops*, when they see him tottering, will leave him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, hee a Patriarch-dome,⁴³ and another what comes next hand; as the French Cardinall of late,⁴⁴ and the *See of Canterbury*⁴⁵ hath plainly affected.

In *Edward* the 6. Dayes, why a compleate *Reform* was not effected, to any considerate man may appeare. First, he no sooner entred into his Kingdome, but into a Warre with *Scotland*; ⁴⁶ from whence the Protector ⁴⁷ returning with Victory had but newly put his hand to

women; (5) no prohibition of private masses; (6) the continuance of the confessional. The act may be most readily studied in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, pp 303 ff. It was repealed in 1547. For Fuller's illuminating account, see *Church History*, V, v, 14-18 (1837, II, 97-98). Milton's sources were Foxe, *Acts* (1631-32), II, 441-42; Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 792, Holinshed (1587), III, 946; Camden, *Annales* (1615-27), I, 6.

⁴³ Note the close similarity between this passage and the one from *A Postscript*, in *An Answer*, p 100 (Hale, p liii). See the text of *A Postscript*, below, p 966

⁴⁴ It was Richelieu whom popular opinion held to be behind the publication of Pierre Dupuy's *Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane* (1639), a treatise in defense of the nationalistic anti-Roman tendency the Catholic Church had been showing in France for some time. Milton refers to the widespread rumor that Richelieu had intentions of separating the French branch of the Catholic Church from Rome and of establishing himself as its patriarch. A discussion of the matter may be found in Gabriel Hanotaux and the Duc de la Force, "Histoire de Richelieu, Richelieu et la Religion—II," *Revue de Deux Mondes*, (February 15, 1938), pp 793-94

⁴⁵ This is an unfair reference to Laud, who had refused a cardinal's hat when offered one by the Pope. See Gardner, *History of England*, VII, 301. According to Laud, he consulted the king on two occasions about this offer. Laud's conclusion was (*Works*, 1847-60, III, 219): "Somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is."

⁴⁶ Waged by the protector Edward Seymour because of Scotland's reluctance to sanction the marriage of Mary Stuart and Edward VI. The English armies defeated the Scotch at Pinke Clough in 1547. After the intervention of the French armies in 1548, the English withdrew from Scotland and accepted a humiliating peace. Milton is here following in part Hayward, *Edward the Sixth* (1630). Since he had used the first edition (1630, 179 pp) in his page references in the *Commonplace Book*, Milton undoubtedly had the same book at hand in writing *Of Reformation*. On the war with Scotland, see Hayward (1630), pp 15-40. Cf. Holinshed (1587) III, 980 ff.

⁴⁷ The Duke of Somerset, Edward Seymour (ca. 1500-1552) Uncle of Edward VI, Somerset had himself named protector on the basis of England's need of a vicar of the royal authority in dealings with foreign powers. Somerset was forced out of power in 1549 when a coalition under the Earl of Warwick (see note on Northumberland) threatened to try him for usurpation of royal authority. In 1551 he was accused of high treason and of plotting to murder the Duke of

repeale the 6. *Articles*, and throw the Images out of *Churches*, but Rebellions on all sides⁴⁸ stir'd up by obdurate Papists, and other Tumults with a plaine Warre in *Norfolke*,⁴⁹ holding tack against two of the Kings *Generals*,⁵⁰ made them of force content themselves with what they had already done. Hereupon follow'd ambitious Contentions among the *Peeres*, which ceas'd not but with the Protectors death, who was the most zealous in this point: and then *Northumberland*⁵¹ was hee that could doe most in *England*, who little minding *Religion*, (as his Apostacie well shew'd at his death, bent all his wit how to bring the Right of the *Crowne* into his owne Line. And for the

Northumberland and the earls of Pembroke and Southampton. Though acquitted of treason, he was found guilty (by a jury among whose members were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Southampton) of the felony of plotting to murder and was beheaded January 22, 1552. See David Hume, *History of England* (6 vols., New York, 1879), II, pp. 391-503 *passim*. Among Milton's sources were Foxe, *Acts*, VI, 290-95 (1631-32, II, 748-53); Speed, *Historie* (1627), pp. 833-38; Hayward (1630), pp. 15-16; Holinshed (1587), III, 979-80, 983, 988, 998, 1003-05, etc.

⁴⁸ In 1549 in the counties of Wiltshire, Oxford, Gloucester, Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Devonshire, and Norfolk, the common people rose in protest against enclosures. Besides redress of temporal grievances, the majority of the rebels demanded re-establishment of the old religion as it had existed either under Henry VIII or even before him. Cf. Speed, *Historie* (1627), pp. 833-37; Hayward (1630), pp. 53 ff.; Holinshed (1587) III, 1002 ff., 1028 ff.

⁴⁹ Those who rebelled in Norfolk, according to Hayward, were sixteen thousand strong. Under the leadership of Robert Ket, a tanner, they broke down enclosures, set up courts of their own, demanded the Catholic sacraments and other religious reforms (Hayward (1630), pp. 56-57; Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 833) and the curbing of the landlords. Cf. Hayward (1630), p. 66. "Ket told them that whilst rivers of riches ran into their landlords coffers, they were pared to the quicke, and fed upon pease and oats like beasts." The second attempt to quell the rebellion proved successful, two thousand to 3,500 were killed in battle, and ten ringleaders were hanged.

⁵⁰ The marquis of Northampton failed to suppress the insurrection; the Earl of Warwick, after some exertion, succeeded. Among Milton's sources were Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 834; Hayward (1630), pp. 71, 76; Holinshed (1587), III, 1035, 1039.

⁵¹ The Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, John Dudley (1502-1553). As Earl of Warwick he had stamped out the Norfolk Rebellion. In 1549 he ousted the protector Somerset and took his place as first power of the kingdom. Under his protectorship the library at Oxford was pillaged and ruined for the sake of its valuably bound books. When Edward VI died in July, 1553, he had Lady Jane proclaimed queen, Mary and Elizabeth having been set aside as illegitimate. Defeated by Mary's forces, he was condemned and executed in August, 1553. For Milton's sources, see Hayward (1630), pp. 129 ff.; Holinshed (1587), III, 1085, 1087-90. In an endeavor to save his life, Northumberland recanted his Protestant faith. See Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 843.

Bishops, they were so far from any such worthy Attempts, as that they [9] suffer'd themselvs to be the common stales to countenance with their prostituted Gravities every Politick Fetch ⁵² that was then on foot, as oft as the Potent *Statists* pleas'd to employ them. Never do we read that they made use of their Authority and high Place of accesse, to bring the jarring Nobility to *Christian peace*, or to withstand their disloyall Projects; but if a Toleration for *Masse* ⁵³ were to be beg'd of the King for his Sister MARY, lest CHARLES the Fifth ⁵⁴ should be angry; who but the grave Prelates *Cranmer* ⁵⁵ and *Ridley* ⁵⁶

⁵² Milton may refer to Ridley's support of Northumberland in declaring Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate and hence ineligible to succeed Edward VI. If this is the "fetch" Milton meant, one of his sources, as Hale shows (p. 90), was Holinshed (1587), III, 1087, 1089. Another undoubtedly was Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 843. Speed simply reports that Ridley in a sermon supported Lady Jane upon orders of the council. Foxe attributes Ridley's support of Jane to his fear of Mary's opposition to Protestantism (*Acts*, VI, 389; 1631-32, III, 16). *Stales*: prostitutes.

⁵³ Mary Tudor refused to accept the new liturgy. In 1549 Charles V, through Sir Philip Hoby, secured a clearance for Mary to hear mass. In 1550, greater pressure having been brought upon Mary to give up the old rites, Charles threatened military action unless she were allowed to follow the dictates of her conscience. Young Edward VI, as unbendingly Protestant as Mary was Catholic, wavered on the verge of disregarding Charles's ultimatum, but was dissuaded by Cranmer and Ridley. See Hume, *History of England*, III, 289-308. Cf. Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 839; Hayward (1630), pp. 120-21. See Milton's comment in *A Postscript*, below, pp. 973-74.

⁵⁴ King of Spain as Charles I, 1500-1558; Holy Roman emperor, 1519-1556. Milton's main source here was probably Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 839.

⁵⁵ Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Cranmer favored divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon and was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, later upholding Henry's claim to the headship of the Church of England. Cranmer supervised the writing of the first prayer book of Edward VI (1549) and prepared the revised prayer book of 1552. Condemned for heresy in Queen Mary's reign, he signed and then recanted six documents admitting the supremacy of the Pope; he was burned at the stake March 21, 1556. Milton did not share Foxe's admiration for Cranmer, though Foxe's vivid account (*Acts*, 1843, VIII, 2-90; 1631-32, III, 46 ff., 633 ff., 663 ff.) was one of his sources. Cf. Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 850, and Holinshed (1587), III, 1131.

⁵⁶ Nicholas Ridley (1500-1555), Bishop of London, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Ridley subscribed to the Six Articles of 1539 and remained unmarried by conviction of his duty. As associate with Cranmer, Ridley helped to write the first English prayer book of 1549. He was disturbed by the raids of the nobles on church property and dissipation of relief funds for the poor. Gradually he rejected the dogma of the Six Articles. As a partisan of Protestant succession, Ridley lent his support to Lady Jane Grey: On July 16, 1553, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, he declared Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. Denied pardon by Mary on her accession, Ridley was remanded to the Tower and burned at the

must be sent to extort it from the young King? But out of the mouth of that godly and Royall *Childe*,⁵⁷ Christ himselfe return'd such an awfull repulse to those halting and time-serving *Prelates*, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without shame and teares.

Nor was this the first time that they discover'd to bee followers of this World; for when the Protectors Brother, Lord *Sudley*,⁵⁸ the Admirall through private malice and mal-engine was to lose his life, no man could bee found fitter then Bishop *Latimer* ⁵⁹ (like another Doctor *Shaw*) ⁶⁰ to divulge in his Sermon the forged Accusations ⁶¹

stake with Latimer October 16, 1555. Cf. Foxe, *Acts* (1843), VII, 406-37 (1631-32, III, 431-50); Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 850.

In his life of Ridley in *The Holy State* (1642; UTSL), Thomas Fuller deplored Milton's condemnation of Cranmer and Ridley, particularly the passage, "*A man may give his Body to be burnt . . . and yet not have Charity.*" Fuller concludes (p. 292): "Thus the prices of Martyrs ashes rise and fall in Smithfield market." This passage in Fuller (first noted by Masson) is one of two contemporary references to *Of Reformation* yet discovered. It is reprinted entire in William R. Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* (Columbus. Ohio State University Press, 1940), p. 72. *The Holy State* (1642) is fortunately available in facsimile in Maximilian G. Walten, ed., *The Holy State and the Profane State* (2 vols., New York Columbia University Press, 1938)

⁵⁷ Edward VI

⁵⁸ Created peer and Lord Admiral by his brother, the protector, Thomas Lord Sudley formed a plot to carry off Edward VI and oust his brother from the protectorship. Considered a menace to the kingdom, he was sent to the Tower, accused of high treason, and executed March 20, 1549. See John MacLean, *The Life of Sir Thomas Seymour, Knight* (London, 1869). One of Milton's sources was Hayward (1630), pp. 81-83.

⁵⁹ Hugh Latimer (1485-1555), Bishop of Worcester, Cambridge B.A. 1510, M.A. 1514. As a young itinerant clergyman he visited prisoners and sick people. In favor with Henry VIII, Latimer was appointed to the bishopric of Worcester in 1535, but resigned in 1539 rather than support the Act of Six Articles. See above, p. 528, n. 42. Committed to the Tower in 1553 "for his seditious demeanour," Latimer was burned at the stake with Ridley October 16, 1555. Among Milton's sources were Foxe, *Acts* (1843), VII, 437-518 (1631-32, III, 502), Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 850.

⁶⁰ On June 22, 1483, Dr. Ralph Shaw, in the employ of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, with Wisdom 4 as his text, supporting Richard's claim to the throne by impugning the legitimacy of Edward IV (Sidney J. Low and Frederick S. Pulling, *Dictionary of English History*, London: Cassell, 1928). Cf. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 725: "Penker in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was faine to leave off, and come downe in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honestie, and soone after his life, for verie shame of the world, into which he durst never after come abroad." See also William Prynne, *Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie* (1641), Part I, p. 91 (misplaced as 83). "He [Richard] having both Brothers now in his power, pre-

laid to his charge thereby to defame him with the People, who else was thought would take ill the innocent mans death, unlesse the Reverend *Bishop* could warrant them there was no foule play. What could be more impious then to debarre the Children of the King from their right to the Crowne? To comply with the ambitious [10] Usurpation of a Traytor; and to make void the last Will of HENRY 8.⁶² to which the Breakers had sworne observance? Yet Bishop *Cranmer*, one of the Executors, and the other *Bishops* none refusing, (lest they should resist the Duke of *Northumberland*) could find in their Consciences to set their hands to the disinabling and defeating not onely of Princesse MARY the *Papist*, but of ELIZABETH the *Protestant*, and (by the *Bishops* judgement) the Lawfull Issue of King HENRY.

Who then can thinke, (though these *Prelates* had sought a further *Reformation*) that the least wry face of a *Politician* would not have hush't them. But it will be said, These men were *Martyrs*: What then? Though every true Christian will be a *Martyr* when he is called to it; not presently does it follow that every one suffering for Religion, is without exception. Saint *Paul* writes,⁶³ that *A man may give his Body to be burnt*, (meaning for Religion) *and yet not have Charitie*: He is not therfore above all possibility of erring, because hee burnes for some Points of Truth.

Witness the *Arians* ⁶⁴ and *Pelagians* ⁶⁵ which were slaine by the tends them to bee illegitimate . . . procures first *Pinker* and then *Dr. Shaw* . . . to publish to the people, *That Edward the Fifth and his Brother were unlawfully begotten in Adultery*" Milton knew Stow's account of this incident in *Stow, Annales* (1615), p. 454

⁶¹ Another example to Milton of a bishop countenancing a "Politick Fetch," which idea Hayward expresses as "content to be serviceable to great mens ends" Latimer asserted that Lord Sudley had urged Mary and Elizabeth to avenge his death. See Hayward (1630), pp. 83-84, and Hale's note, *Of Reformation*, p. 92.

⁶² See Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Great Britain*, V, v, 51 ([3 vols., London, 1842], III, 117-28), for what is purported to be the text of the will. The passage on the succession may be found on pp. 121-22 of the same volume. Among Milton's sources were Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 976, and Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 796.

⁶³ See Corinthians 13.3.

⁶⁴ Followers of Arius, a church leader of the time of Constantine. Arius rejected the theory of the Trinity, which was formally established at the Council of Nicaea, 325 A.D. The council decided against Arius, asserting that the Son was "of the same substance as the Father." In the words of Arius, "We are persecuted, because we say that the Son had a beginning, but that God was without beginning." Theodoret, *Church History*, I, v. See *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 305. Though Arius was excommunicated and banished to Illyria, his heresy persisted. Though Milton

Heathen for *Christs* sake; yet we take both these for no true friends of *Christ*. If the *Martyrs* (saith *Cyprian* in his 30. Epistle) ⁶⁶ decree

suggests here that he is in disagreement with Arius' heresy, he later accepted it in substance, as is shown in "Of the Son of God," *Christian Doctrine*, I, v.

⁶⁵ Followers of Pelagius (ca. 360-420), a monastic layman from Ireland or Scotland who traveled through Rome about 400 A.D. and later to Palestine Pelagius rejected Augustine's doctrine of total depravity, insisted upon freedom of the will, asserted further that God gives man the ability to live without sin. Pelagius emphasized man's capacity, in a sense, to redeem himself; Augustine stressed redemption through God's grace. Primarily ethical in his religious interests, Pelagius won many converts, among them Coelestius, a greater heretic, according to Augustine, but less subtle, than his master. The heresies of Pelagius, for which Coelestius was excommunicated, may best be studied in St. Augustine, "On the Proceedings of Pelagius" and "A Treatise on the Grace of Christ, and on Original Sin." In "Proceedings" (Chapter 64) Augustine lists the main heresies as follows: (*Fathers, N. and P. N. 1, V, 211*):

That Adam was made mortal, and would have died whether he had sinned or not; that Adam's sin injured only himself, and not the human race; that the law no less than the gospel leads to the kingdom; that new-born infants are in the same condition that Adam was before the transgression, that the whole human race does not, on the one hand, die in consequence of Adam's death and transgression, nor on the other hand, does the whole human race rise again through the resurrection of Christ, that infants, even if they die unbaptized, have eternal life; that rich men, even if baptized, unless they renounce and surrender everything, have, whatever good they may seem to have done, nothing of it reckoned to them, neither can they possess the kingdom of God; that God's grace and assistance are not given for single actions, but reside in free will, and in the law and teaching; that the grace of God is bestowed according to our merits, so that grace really lies in the will of man . . . that forgetfulness and ignorance do not come under sin, as they do not happen through the will, but of necessity.

As the last-named heresy suggests, Pelagius and Coelestius believed that "ability limits obligation," agreeing in part with the Socratic concept of evil as ignorance. In effect Pelagius held that "we are born characterless, and with no bias towards good or evil." On April 30, 418 A.D., Honorius issued a dictum against the doctrines of Pelagius and Coelestius, ordering their followers to be banished and their goods confiscated. Many of the doctrines of Pelagius were reargued in the Reformation in hundreds of pamphlets and sermons; they appeared again in Arminius, from whom Milton in part derived his doctrine of free will.

⁶⁶ The four main numberings of Cyprian's *Epistles* are found in the Manutius, the Pamelius, the Benedictine, and the Oxford editions. These are compared in the preface to the Oxford edition, *The Epistles of S. Cyprian*, tr. Henry Carey (Oxford, 1844), pp. xxix-xxx. Though he probably consulted also other editions of Cyprian, Milton used the Pamelius edition with the commentary by Golartius (Paris, 1593), as we know (see below, p. 840) from his mention of Golartius in *Church-Government*. In this edition the epistle numbered 36 in the Oxford is No. 30. The passage in the Carey translation reads as follows (p. 80): "For if they say that the Gospel gives one sentence, and the Martyrs another, by bringing the Martyrs in collision with the Gospel, they will be endangered on both sides. For both will the majesty of the Gospel appear broken and prostrate, if it can be set aside by the novelty of another decree, and the glorious crown of confession be taken from the head of the Martyrs." Milton's paraphrase of the passage is very faithful to the Latin, which may be found in the *Opera* (Paris, 1593), pp. 66-67 (see above, p. 392), or in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series I, ed. J. P. Migne (217 vols.

one thing, and the *Gospel* another, either the *Martyrs* must lose their Crowne by not observing the *Gospel* for which they are *Martyrs*; or the [11] Majestie of the *Gospel* must be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopt by the *novelty* of any other *Decree*.

And heerewithall I invoke the *Immortall* DEITIE *Reveler* and *Judge* of Secrets, That wherever I have in this BOOKE plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Christian *Emperors*; or have otherwise inveighed against Error and Superstition with vehement Expressions: I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evill, nor any vaine-glory; but of meere necessity, to vindicate the spotlesse *Truth* from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteeme, that shee is like to finde small credit with us for what she can say, unlesse shee can bring a Ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove her selfe a retainer to *Constantine*,⁶⁷ and weare his *badge*. More tolerable it were for the *Church* of God that all these Names were utterly abolisht, like the *Brazen Serpent*; ⁶⁸ then that mens fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the Heavenly *Truth* be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatsoever the *Bishops* were, it seemes they themselves were unsatisfi'd in matters of *Religion*, as they then stood, by that Commission granted to 8. *Bishops*, 8. other *Divines*, 8. *Civilians*, 8. *common Lawyers*, to frame *Ecclesiasticall Constitutions*; ⁶⁹ which no wonder if it came to nothing; for (as *Hayward* relates) ⁷⁰ both and 4 vols. of indices, Paris, 1844-65), IV, 304 (hereafter cited as Migne, *Latina*). This epistle is not by Cyprian but to him from the deacons in consistory at Rome.

⁶⁷ A Roman Catholic.

⁶⁸ Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent which Moses had raised in the desert, because the Jews had made an idol of it. See Numbers 21:9; II Kings 18:4.

⁶⁹ The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (see John Foxe's edition, 1571; UTSL) was drafted in 1544 by Thomas Cranmer assisted by a commission of thirty-two. It was introduced into Parliament, but did not pass. From the commission of thirty-two, a committee of eight was selected "to rough-hew the canon law."

⁷⁰ Sir John Hayward (1564?-1627), Elizabethan historian. See above, p. 504. Born in Suffolk, Hayward received the B.A. degree from Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1581, and the M.A. in 1584. When he was imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth for a laudatory dedication to Essex of his *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of Henry III* (1599), Bacon contended that the history was not treasonous. After the execution of Essex Hayward was released from prison. He was knighted in 1619, wrote a treatise favoring the divine right of kings, and died June 27, 1627. Milton here refers to *The Life and Raigne of Edward the Sixth* (1630), in which Hayward wrote (pp. 144-45): "A commission was granted to

[12] their Professions and their Ends were different. Lastly, we all know by Examples, that exact *Reformation* is not perfited at the first push, and those unweildy Times of *Edward 6.* may hold some Plea by this excuse: Now let any reasonable man judge whether that *Kings Reigne* be a fit time from whence to patterne out the Constitution of a *Church Discipline*, much lesse that it should yeeld occasion from whence to foster and establish the continuance of Imperfection with the commendatory subscriptions of *Confessors* and *Martyrs*, to intitle and ingage a glorious *Name* to a grosse *corruption*. It was not *Episcopacie*⁷¹ that wrought in them the Heavenly Fortitude⁷² of *Martyrdome*; as little is it that *Martyrdome* can make good *Episcopacie*: But it was *Episcopacie* that led the good and holy Men through the temptation of the *Enemie*, and the snare of this present world to many blame-worthy and opprobrious *Actions*. And it is still *Episcopacie* that before all our eyes worsens and slugs the most learned, and seeming religious of our *Ministers*, who no sooner advanc't to it, but like a seething pot set to coole, sensibly exhale and reake out the greatest part of that zeale, and those Gifts which were formerly in them, settling in a skinny congealment of ease and sloth at the top: and if they keep their Learning by some potent sway of Nature, 'tis

viii *Bishops*, viii other *Divines*, viii *Civilians*, and viii common *Lawyers*, in all xxxii to set forth ecclesiastical lawes, agreeable to the nature both of the people and the religion then established in the Church of *England*, but it tooke no effect" As Hale points out (introduction, p. lv), Milton often follows very closely the phraseology of his sources Compare Hayward, for example, speaking of the thirty-two men on the commission (p. 145): "The difference both of porfessions [*sic*] &c of ends, did of necessity raise much difference in judgment."

⁷¹ For contemporary analysis of Episcopacy from the Anglican point of view, see Hall, *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (spring, 1640); George Morley, *A Modest Advertisement* (May, 1641), E156(7) (an impressive reply to Baillie on Presbyterian discipline); Gerard Langbaine, *Episcopal Inheritance* (1641), E132(29); Anonymous, *Mr. Lewis Hewes His Dialogue Answered* (November, 1641), *Episcopal Government Instituted by Christ* (December, 1641), E238(6) (claiming that Christ imitated the Jews in instituting apostolic succession) Jeremy Taylor's classic apology, *Of the Sacred Order, and Offices of Episcopacy*, E111(1), did not appear until August 12, 1642. Heylyn, *The Historie of Episcopacy*, E125(2), Thomason, I, 215, written partly in answer to the Smectymnuans (like Taylor's, a reasoned, detailed study) appeared also in 1642.

⁷² Milton's argument here that Episcopacy did not make men martyrs was hard to refute. On the other hand, Milton had a tendency to bury all bishops under masses of infamy, without discrimination. Hall had frequently pointed out that bishops were martyrs to the faith, as in *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640, Part III, p. 53): "What constant and undaunted Martyrs, and Confessours; men that gave their blood for the Gospel, and imbraced their fagots, flaming."

a rare chance; but their *devotion* most commonly comes to that queazy temper of luke-warmnesse,⁷³ that gives a Vomit to God himselfe. [13]

But what doe wee suffer mis-shapen and enormous *Prelatisme*,⁷⁴ as we do, thus to blanch and varnish her deformities with the faire colours, as before of *Martyrdome*, so now of *Episcopacie*? They are not *Bishops*, God and all good Men know they are not, that have fill'd this Land with late confusion and violence; but a Tyrannicall crew and Corporation of Impostors, that have blinded and abus'd the World so long under that Name. He that inabl'd with *gifts* from God, and the lawfull and Primitive choyce of the *Church* assembl'd in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his Parochiall *Flock*, ha's his coequall and compresbyteriall Power to ordaine *Ministers* and *Deacons* by publique *Prayer*, and *Vote* of *Christs* Congregation in like sort as he himselfe was ordain'd, and is a true *Apostolick Bishop*. But when hee steps up into the Chayre of

⁷³ See Revelation 3 16. This image of God vomiting over the bishops' deficiencies is a figure no one of Milton's Anglican opponents would have dared to use, even against the Puritans. For such a harsh metaphor Milton has tried to prepare his readers in the apologetic passage on "vehement Expressions."

⁷⁴ Milton could not have written this paragraph without having in mind the chief target of Punitan agitation, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been impeached for treason in February before Milton sent forth *Of Reformation*. Laud (1573-1645), while at St. John's College, Oxford, had declared that "there could be no true church without diocesan bishops." He advocated compulsory bowing at the name of Jesus, wearing of the surplice, removal of the communion table to the east end of the choir. In 1626 in a sermon to Parliament "Laud magnified the King's authority in the Church as well as in the State." The speeches of March 29 and May 11, 1626, by Charles I on behalf of Buckingham were prepared by Laud, who was created archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Impeached of treason by the Commons February 24, 1641, Laud was imprisoned in the Tower. His trial began March 12, 1644, but was dropped October 31, 1644, when it became apparent that the charge of treason could not be pressed successfully. An ordinance of attainder was substituted and sent to the Lords January 4, 1645. When the Lords yielded to the insistence of the Commons, Laud was beheaded January 10, 1645.

The writings of Laud, especially his *History of the Troubles and Tryal of . . . Laud* (1695, NYPL), his *Diary*, his *Answer . . . to the Speech of Lord Say and Seal*, his defense of the conviction of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, and his *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of 1640 (see below, p. 985), are indispensable to an understanding of the Anglican resistance to Puritan reformation. In the study of Laud, Samuel Rawson Gardiner's article in *DNB* is valuable, also his collection, *Documents Relating to the Proceedings against William Prynne*, CS (1877). See introduction, above, pp 34-36. An arresting modern treatment may be found in H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud* (London, Macmillan, 1940).

Pontificall Pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary House, for a mis-govern'd and haughty *Palace*, *spirituall Dignity* for carnall *Precedence*, and *secular high Office* and *employment* for the *high Negotiations* of his Heavenly *Embassage*, Then he *degrades*, then hee *un-Bishops* himselfe; hee that makes him *Bishop* makes him no *Bishop*. No marvell therefore if S. *Martin*⁷⁵ complain'd to *Sulpitius Severus*⁷⁶ that since hee was *Bishop* he felt inwardly a sensible decay of those *vertues* and *graces* that *God* had given him in great measure before; Although the same *Sulpitius* write that he was nothing tainted,⁷⁷ or alter'd in his *habit*, *dyet*, or per-[14]sonall *demeanour* from that simple plainnesse to which he first betook himselfe. It was not therefore that thing alone which *God* tooke displeasure at in the *Bishops* of those times, but rather an universall rottenness,⁷⁸ and gangrene in the whole *Function*.

From hence then I passe to Qu. ELIZABETH, the next *Protestant* Prince, in whose Dayes why *Religion* attain'd not a perfect reduction in the beginning of her Reigne, I suppose the hindring Causes

⁷⁵ St. Martin of Tours (316–400), a native of Sabaria, entered the army at fifteen, became a convert to Christianity, lived on a desert island near Genoa to escape persecution, founded a monastery in 360–370, became bishop of Tours in 371–372. At Treves in 385 Martin pled for mercy toward Priscillianist heretics, refused fellowship thereafter with bishops who sanctioned their execution. A man of little education but deep spiritual earnestness, St. Martin became the hero of the distinguished Severus and won the deep reverence of his people. He was the patron saint of France and the cities of Mainz and Warzburg. The only biographical source is Severus' *Life*, which is eulogistic.

⁷⁶ Sulpicius Severus (363–410), native of Aquitania, distinguished lawyer and rhetorician. Coming under the influence of St. Martin about 392, Severus relinquished his wealth to the poor and gave his energies to the advancement of religion, becoming presbyter in the Tours church. In the *Sacred History* (Leyden, 1635) Severus retold the Biblical story in lucid, picturesque style. His *Life of St. Martin* (in *History*, Leyden, 1635), if heavy with piety, is filled with compelling images of St. Martin's daily life. Chapters 10 and 25 contain references to St. Martin's humility. The passage Milton refers to here, however, is not from the *Life* but from *Dialogues II, IV* (Migne, *Latina*, XX, 204): "Now I have often observed, Sulpicius, that Martin used to tell you that that spiritual strength and grace which he remembered he had had before, was not available to him at all in the office of Bishop." Milton's source was the Elzevir Severus (*Opera*, Leyden, 1635; HCL), in which this quotation appears on p. 290.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Life of St. Martin*, IX (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XX 166, *History*, Leyden, 1635, p. 192): "For he continued with complete constancy to be the same as he had previously been. In his heart was the same humility; in his dress, the same frugality."

⁷⁸ St. Martin's life as a bishop (according to Severus' account) is a striking contradiction of this statement.

will be found to be common with some formerly alledg'd for King EDWARD 6. the greennesse of the Times, the weake Estate which QU. MARY left the Realme in, the great Places and Offices executed by *Papists*, the *Judges*, the *Lawyers*, the *Justices* of Peace for the most part *Popish*, the *Bishops* firme to *Rome*, from whence was to be expected the furious flashing of Excommunications, and absolving the *People* from their Obedience. Next, her private *Councillours*, whoever they were, perswaded her (as *Camden* writes)⁷⁹ that the altering of *Ecclesiasticall Policie* would move sedition.⁸⁰ Then was the *Liturgie* given to a number of moderate *Divines*, and Sir *Tho. Smith*⁸¹ a Statesman to be purg'd, and Physick't: And surely they were moderate *Divines* indeed, neither hot nor cold; and *Grindall*⁸² the best of them,

⁷⁹ William Camden was born in London in 1551. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's School, London. He attended Oxford but probably did not take his baccalaureate degree. While he was at Christ Church, Oxford, Camden began to gather material concerning antiquities and was much encouraged in this pursuit by his fellow student there, Sir Philip Sidney. For ten years he worked on his vast topographical, genealogical, and historical work, *Britannia*, which came out in 1586 and went through six editions by 1607. In 1615 appeared his *Annales* (PML; see above, p. 365), which covered the history of Elizabeth's reign to 1589. The second volume of *Annales* appeared in 1627. Milton had read Camden's *Annales*, which he cited repeatedly in the *Commonplace Book*, and used both *Annales* and *Britannia* in writing *Of Reformation*.

⁸⁰ Camden, *Annales* (1615-27), I, 23. The quotation is accurate. See also Queen Elizabeth, "Proclamation to Forbid Preaching" (1558) and "Injunctions of Elizabeth" (1559), in Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, pp. 416 ff.

⁸¹ Cf. Camden, *Annales* (1625), Book I, p. 10: "Therefore speciall charge and care was given to Sir *Thomas Smith*, a noble knight truly judicious and wise, also to the noble Gentlemen M *Parker*, Master *Bill*, Master *Coxe*, Master *Whitehead*, and Master *Pilkinton* . . . for the correcting of the *Liturgie*" Milton's source here was probably, as in *CPB*, Camden's Latin (*Annales*, 1615-27, I, 23). On Sir Thomas Smith, see above, p. 420. In 1562, after various services for the state, Smith became ambassador to France, where he composed his great book, *De Republica Anglorum*, written in English and first published in London in 1583. Known as *The Commonwealth of England* after 1589, Smith's masterpiece passed through nine editions in English before 1641. Milton used the 1621 edition (NYPL) in his notations in *CPB*. See above, p. 440.

⁸² Edmund Grindal (1519-1583) attended Pembroke and Magdalene College, Cambridge. In 1558 he became master of Pembroke Hall, and in 1560 bishop of London. In 1570 Grindal was made archbishop of York, in 1575 archbishop of Canterbury. Sympathetic in part with the Puritan Reformation, Grindal did not enforce the wearing of the surplice and "boldly refused to put down prophesying," bringing upon himself the wrath of Elizabeth, who suspended him for six months from his office of archbishop, an almost unheard-of interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Upon apology to Elizabeth, Grindal was restored to his office in 1582. Weakened in health and partially blind, Grindal died July 6, 1583, without fur-

afterwards *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* lost favour in the Court, and I think was discharg'd the government of his *See* for favouring the *Ministers*, though *Camden* seeme willing to finde another [15] Cause: ⁸³ therefore about her second Yeare in a *Parliament* of Men and Minds some scarce well grounded, others belching the soure Crudities of yesterdayes *Poperie*, those Constitutions of *Edw. 6.* which as you heard before, no way satisfi'd the men that made them, are now establish't for best, and not to be mended. From that time follow'd nothing but Imprisonments, troubles, disgraces on all those that found fault with the *Decrees* of the Convocation, and strait were they branded with the Name of *Puritans*.⁸⁴ As for the Queene her selfe, shee was made beleieve that by putting downe *Bishops* her *Prerogative* would be infrin'g'd, of which shall be spoken anon, as the course of Method brings it in. And why the *Prelats* labour'd it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their Bellies. They had found a good Tabernacle, they sate under a spreading Vine, their Lot was fallen in a faire Inheritance. And these perhaps were the cheife

ther clashes with Elizabeth Grindal was moderate, conciliatory, learned, but made little mark on the intellectual life of his day *DNB*.

⁸³ Milton refers to the following account of Grindal given in the *Annales* (1625, Book III, p. 45). "By the foule decete and treacheries of his enemies hee was suspected to be a favourer of the Conventicles of those turbulent Ministers, and such as were called Prophets. But the reason was indeed, because hee condemned as unlawfull the marriage of *Julius* an *Italian* Physician, with another man's wife, which much distasted the Earl of Leicester" Latin: *Annales* (1615-27), I, 345-46

⁸⁴ According to Fuller, *Church History*, IX, 1, 66-67 (1837, II, 474), the word "Puritan" first came into use in 1564 as a nickname of those who refused to "subscribe to the Liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the church." In his instructive note Fuller says that the word "Puritan" was applied so variously that he wished it "were banished common discourse"

According to *NED* the first printed mention of the word is in John Stow, *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*: "About that time (1567) there were many congregations of the Anabaptists in London, who cawlyd themselves Puritans or Unspottyd Lambs of the Lord." See *CS*, New Series, XXVIII, 143.

Milton's source was probably Camden, who had the following entry in *Annales* under the year 1568 (1625, Book I, p. 172). "Some others . . . with ardent zeale professed the more pure Religion, reprehended whatsoever was performed without authority out of holy Scriptures . . . questioned the Discipline of the *English Church* . . . And although the Queene commanded them to be clapt up in prisons, yet had an incredible number of Followers, who were presently branded with the odious style of Puritans." Latin: *Annales* (1615-27), I, 233.

On the origin of the word "Puritan" the important research of Donald J. McGinn should be consulted: *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949), pp. 26-27, 370, 372.

impeachments of a more sound rectifying the *Church* in the Queens Time.

From this Period I count to begin our Times, which, because they concerne us more neerely, and our owne eyes and eares can give us the ampler scope to judge, will require a more exact search; and to effect this the speedier, I shall distinguish such as I esteeme to be the hinderers of *Reformation* into 3. sorts, *Antiquitarians* (for so I had rather call them then *Antiquaries*, whose labours are usefull and laudable) 2. *Libertines*, 3. *Polititians*. [16]

To the votarists of Antiquity I shall think to have fully answer'd, if I shall be able to prove out of Antiquity, First, that if they will conform our Bishops to the purer times, they must mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curttail'd Bishops of them; and we know they hate to be dockt and clipt, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those purer times were corrupt, and their Books corrupted soon after. Thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote, disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the Scriptures.

First therefore, if those that over-affect Antiquity, will follow the square therof, their Bishops must be elected by the hands of the whole *Church*. The ancientest of the extant Fathers *Ignatius*, writing to the Philadelphians ⁸⁵ saith, *that it belongs to them as to the Church*

⁸⁵ St. Ignatius, *Epistle to the Philadelphians*, X. For Ignatius, Milton used the edition of Nicholas Vedel of the University of Geneva (Vedelus), the first attempt at a critical edition of Ignatian texts in Greek. In that edition the passage reads (*Epistles*, ed. Vedelus, Geneva, 1623, p. 103 [our translation]). "Since it has been made known to me that in accordance with the prayers of you all, and with the fruits which you possess in Christ Jesus, the Church in Antioch, Syria is at peace, it is fitting for you as a Church of God to elect a bishop." The Greek infinitive here translated "to elect" may also be defined "to ordain" or "to appoint." See note *Patrologae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne (161 vols., Paris, 1857-66), V, 836 (hereafter cited as Migne, *Graeca*). Migne prints this text of the *Epistle to the Philadelphians* among the interpolated ones and prints, as the genuine, one in which the last clause of our passage reads (Migne, *Graeca*, V, 705). "It is fitting for you as a Church of God to elect a deacon." Bishop Hall makes a cutting reference to Vedelius' tendency to carp at certain words in his text as interpolated (*Episcopacie*, 1640, p. 77). Joseph B. Lightfoot, however, in *The Apostolic Fathers* (3 vols., London, 1885), I, Part II, p. 228, commends the Vedelus edition as the "one serious and sober attempt which was made during the pre-Usanian epoch, to separate the spurious from the genuine Ignatian literature," and goes on to say, "though an ardent controversialist against Bellarmine and other Romanists, he [Vedelus] betrays no excessive eagerness to get rid of passages which seem to make against him." Vedelus divided the epistles into two

of God to choose a Bishop. Let no man cavill, but take the Church of God as meaning the whole consistence of Orders and Members, as S. Pauls Epistles expresse, and this likewise being read over: Besides this, it is there to be mark'd, that those Philadelphians are exhorted to choose a Bishop of *Antioch*. Whence it seems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of Dioces in those times, which is confirm'd even by a fast friend of Episcopacie, *Camden*, who cannot but love Bishops, as well as old coins,⁸⁶ and his much lamented Monasteries for antiquities sake. He writes in his description of *Scotland*, *that over all the world Bishops had no* [17] *certaine Dioces, till Pope Dionysius about the yeare 268. did cut them out, and that the Bishops of Scotland executed their function in what place soever they came indifferently, and without distinction till King Malcolm the third, about the yeare 1070.*⁸⁷ whence may be guest what their function was:

categories, printing as genuine the seven mentioned by Eusebius (*Church History*, III, xxxvi), and as spurious the other five. He marked and annotated such passages in the seven genuine epistles as he believed interpolated. Vedelius used the edition of Martialis Mastraeus (1608) in making up his own, being careful to correct those things which to him seemed falsely held. For discussions of the various editions see Denis-Nicolas Le Nourry, "Dissertatio de Epistolis Sancti Ignatii," III, 1, ii (Migne, *Graeca*, V, 555); Adolph Harnach, *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (3 vols, Leipzig, 1885), I, 1, 41, p. 78; James Hastings, ed *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* (2 vols., New York, 1915-18), I, pp. 597-98. The pervading emphasis of Ignatius, however, is decidedly against equality of presbyters and bishops, and for hierarchy in church organization. In the opening sentence of his *Epistle to the Philadelphians* Ignatius writes (*Primitive Christianity Revived*, ed. William Whiston [3 vols, London, 1711], I, 263; Geneva, 1623, p. 90): "Having seen your bishop I know he was not appointed by himself, neither by Men, nor out of Vain-Glory . . . but by the Love of Jesus Christ." For other interpretations of Ignatius see below, pp. 635-36.

⁸⁶ Milton's two-edged remark may be construed as a reference to Camden's interest in antiquities, or possibly an implication of venality on Camden's part. Camden was befriended by bishops during his lifetime: he entered Oxford under the patronage of Dr. Thomas Cooper, who later became bishop of Winchester; he was assigned the prebendary of Ilfracombe by the bishop of Salisbury and enjoyed the friendship and respect of Archbishop Ussher. If an oblique aspersion of venality is implied, it would seem rather unfair, considering that Camden was refused a fellowship at All Souls for "defending the religion established" against the "popish party." *DNB*. For Camden's love of monasteries see *Annales* (1615-27), I, 6.

⁸⁷ Milton's language here follows closely the Philemon Holland translation of Camden's *Britannia* (1610), which was the first to appear after its publication in 1586 ("Scotland," p. 6 in *Britannia*): "As the rest of the Bishops of the world had no certain *Dioceses*, till Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, about the year 268, set out distinct *Dioceses* for them; so the Bishops of Scotland exercised their Episcopal Functions indifferently wherever they were, till the Reign of Malcolm the third,

was it to goe about circl'd with a band of rooking Officials, with cloke bagges full of Citations, and Processes to be serv'd by a corporality of griffonlike Promooters, and Apparitors? ⁸⁸ Did he goe about to pitch down his Court, as an Empirick does his banck, to inveigle in all the mony of the Country? no certainly it would not have bin permitted him to exercise any such function indifferently wherever he came. And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat Dioces that kept our Britain Bishops so poore in the Primitive times, that being call'd to the Councell of *Ariminum* ⁸⁹ in the yeare 359. they had not wherewithall to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed, and lodg'd upon the Emperors cost, which must needs be no accidentall, but usuall poverty in them, for the author *Sulp. Severus* in his 2 Booke ⁹⁰ of Church History praises them, and avouches it praiseworthy in a Bishop, to be so poore as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of Bishops that it could not lawfully be without the consent of the people is so expresse in *Cyprian*, and so often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to translate that is, about the year of our Lord 1070. At which time, the dioceses were confined within their respective bounds and limits."

⁸⁸ Promotor. prosecutor in an ecclesiastical court. Apparitor: summoner for an ecclesiastical court.

⁸⁹ Ariminum is modern Rimini in the province of Forli on the Adriatic coast, about seventy miles from Bologna. Milton is here evidently following Severus (*History*, II, xlii, Leyden, 1635, p. 156), who says that the emperor compelled the bishops to assemble at Ariminum and provided "provisions and lodgings." According to Severus, the emperor acted as judge in the discussions between the Arians and their opponents, casting his decision for the Arians. Theodoret says (*Church History*, II, xviii [Greek: *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 305]) the council was called to force the eastern and western bishops "to expunge the two terms *substance* and *consubstantial*" from the Creed formulated at Nicaea, and that Constantius would not allow the bishops to return to their dioceses until they had revised the formulary (II, xxi [Greek: *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 306]). The word "similar" was substituted for "consubstantial" after the bishops had moved to Nicaea in Thrace; and the bishops were either tricked or intimidated into signing the revised formulary. Several who did not sign were exiled. A little while after, Pope Damasus wrote (II, xxii [Greek: *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 307]): "Those who thus acted at the Council of Rimini have since retracted and confessed they are deceived." The victory, through Constantius of the Arian faction, was this time a brief one.

⁹⁰ The passage to which Milton refers is as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XX, 152; *History*, 1635, p. 157): "And I account it a matter for praise in the bishops that they were so poor that they had nothing of their own and yet did not provide for themselves at the expense of others but rather at that of the state treasury. Thus, on both counts, an outstanding example." An English translation may be found in *Fathers, N. and P. N. 2*.

a good part of the volume, therefore touching the [18] chief passages, I referre the rest to whom so list peruse the Author himselfe: in the 24. *Epist.*⁹¹ *If a Bishop saith he, be once made and allow'd by the testimony and judgement of his colleagues, and the people, no other can be made.* In the 55.⁹² *When a Bishop is made by the suffrage of all the people in peace.* In the 68.⁹³ marke but what he saies, *The people chiefly hath power, either of choosing worthy ones, or refusing unworthy:* this he there proves by authorities out of the old and new Testament, and with solid reasons, these were his antiquities.

This voyce of the people to be had ever in Episcopall elections was so well known, before *Cyprians* time, even to those that were without the Church, that the Emperor *Alexander Severus*⁹⁴ desir'd to have his governours of Provinces chosen in the same manner, as *Lampridius*⁹⁵ can tell: So little thought it he offensive to Monarchy; and

⁹¹ The passage reads as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, III, 702; Cyprian, *Opera*, Paris, 1593, p. 97). "And let them acknowledge and understand that once a bishop has been made and approved by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and of the people, another can by no means be appointed." The passage may also be found in Epistle 44 in the Carey translation (*Epistles of S. Cyprian*, Oxford, 1844). In *Church-Government* (below, p. 840), Milton refers to the Golartius edition of Cyprian's works (Paris, 1593; HLH), which Milton may have used here also. There are one or two deviations in Milton's citations from the Pamelus numbering of the Golartius edition, in which the sentence quoted above appears in Epistle 41. A second deviation is noted on p. 534, n. 66.

⁹² Tr. from Migne, *Latina*, III, 804, Cyprian, *Opera* (1593), p. 139. "When he is chosen in peace by a vote of all the people." The passage is also found in Epistle 59 of the Oxford edition.

⁹³ The passage reads (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, III, 1025, Cyprian, *Opera*, 1593, p. 201). "A people . . . which obeys the commandments of the Lord and fears God ought to separate itself from a superior [who is] a sinner, and not have anything to do with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest, especially since [a people] itself has the power of choosing worthy priests or of refusing unworthy ones." The passage may also be found in Epistle 67 of the Oxford edition. Note that Milton uses the word "ones" instead of "priests"; the word "sacerdos," used in the plural by Cyprian, is generally used in the primitive writings to designate a simple priest "Presbyter" and "episcopus" are the words usually used for a priest with the full faculties, that is, a bishop.

⁹⁴ Severus (ca. 208–235 A.D.) was emperor of Rome at thirteen and reigned for thirteen years.

⁹⁵ Aelius Lampridius is a fourth-century writer, one of the six authors of *Historiae Augustae Scriptores Sex*. Several later scholars, among them Salmasius, have held him and Aelius Spartianus to be the same person (*Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon* [Halle and Leipzig: Zedler, 1737]). Milton refers to the following passage from his life of Alexander Severus (tr. from *Historiae Augustae Scriptores Sex*, ed Isaac Casaubon, Paris, 1603, p. 195, B ff.): "Whenever he [Alexander Severus] wanted to give the provinces some governors, say, or make prefects or

if single authorities perswade not, hearken what the whole generall Councel of *Nicaea* ⁹⁶ the first and famousest of all the rest determines, writing a Synodal *Epist.* to the African Churches, to warn them of Arrianisme, it exhorts them to choose orthodox Bishops ⁹⁷ in the place of the dead so they be worthy, and the people choose them, whereby they seem to make the peoples assent so necessary; that merit without their free choyce were not sufficient to make a Bishop. What would ye say now grave Fathers if you should wake and see unworthy Bishops, or rather no Bishops, but Egyptian task-masters ⁹⁸ of Ceremonies thrust pur-[19]posely upon the groaning Church to the affliction, and vexation of *Gods* people? It was not of old that a Conspiracie of Bishops could frustrate and fob off the right of the people, for we may read how S. *Martin* soon after *Constantine* was made Bishop of *Turon* in *France* by the peoples consent ⁹⁹ from all places thereabout maugre all the opposition that the Bishops could make. Thus went matters of the Church almost 400. yeare after *Christ*, and very probably farre lower, for *Nicephorus Phocas* ¹⁰⁰ the

procurators, that is appoint accountants, he used to put out their names, urging the people to try whether [any of them] might prove by palpable evidence any accusation [he] might have [against any of the candidates] . . . and he used to say that, since the Christians and Jews did this in making known the priests who were to be ordained, it was a serious thing to omit doing in the case of governors of provinces, to whom both the fortunes and lives of men were entrusted ”

⁹⁶ The Council of Nicaea, convened by Constantine in 325 A.D. and attended by 318 bishops and other representatives of the church, rejected the Arian tenets and asserted the “identity in essence” of Christ and God, though many of the delegates apparently wished to postpone the decision. Opinion remained divided; Arianism continued to flourish. See Eusebius’ illuminating epistle about Nicaea and Arianism in Theodoret, *Church History*, I, xii.

⁹⁷ A copy of the synodical epistle appears in Theodoret, *Church History*, I, viii. The passage Milton has reference to reads as follows (tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, LXXXII, 929; *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 285v): “If it should chance at any time that any of those in the Church at this time die, those who have just now been accepted by us are to mount to the honourable office of the man who has accomplished his task only if they seem worthy and are sanctioned by the bishop of the catholic (city of) Alexandria.”

⁹⁸ See Exodus 1:8–14, 5:5–18.

⁹⁹ The account of Severus in his *Life of St. Martin*, IX, runs as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XX, 165; Severus, *Opera*, Leyden, 1635, pp. 190–91): “An unbelievable number of people came together in a wonderful manner to cast [their] votes . . . A few, however, and some of these bishops, . . . were irreverently making opposition, saying, to be sure, that [Martin’s] person was contemptible, that he was unworthy of the office of bishop . . . that his clothing [was] filthy, his hair loathsome.”

¹⁰⁰ Nicephorus II, Emperor of Constantinople from 963 to 969, was very un-

Greek Emperour, whose reign fell neare the 1000. year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by *Cedrenus*¹⁰¹ to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, then to have inacted that no Bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions: Now for Episcopall dignity, what it was, see out of *Ignatius*,¹⁰² who in his Epistle to those of *Trallis* confesseth that the *Presbyters*, are his fellow Counsellors, and fellow benchers. And *Cyprian* in many places,¹⁰³ as in the 6. 41. 52. Epist. speaking of *Presbyters*, calls them his *Compresbyters*, as if he deem'd himselfe no other, whenas by the same place it appeares he was a Bishop, he calls them Brethren; but that will be thought his meeknesse: yea, but the *Presbyters* and Deacons writing to him think they doe him honour enough when they phrase him no higher then Brother *Cyprian*,¹⁰⁴ and deare *Cyprian* in the 26. Epist. For their Authority 'tis [20] evident not to have bin single, but depending on the counsel of the *Presbyters*, as from *Ignatius* was erewhile alledg'd; and the same

popular because of his arbitrary rule. He was, however, a soldier of no mean ability. Under him and Joannes Zimisce, the man who was to be his successor, the forces of the Byzantine Empire conquered Syria to the banks of the Euphrates and seriously threatened Mohammedan supremacy in the Levant. For an account of his reign, see Cedrenus, *Compendium* (Basle, 1566), pp. 534–46.

¹⁰¹ Georgias ("Gregoras"?) Cedrenus was a Greek monk who lived around the year 1057 and wrote a compendium of history from the beginning of the world until the reign of the Byzantine emperor Isaac Comenius. *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon* (Halle and Leipzig, 1737). The passage from *Compendium Historiarum* Milton refers to reads as follows (tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, CXXII, 101; Basle, 1566, p. 541): "Indeed this was the hardest of all to bear: he published a law, on which certain bishops, both of the easily managed and of the opportunist sort set down their names, which ordained that a bishop should neither be voted for nor elected without his advice and instigation." Milton used the Basle, 1566, edition of the *Compendium* (HCL). See above, p. 394.

¹⁰² Milton's source is the Vedelius text of the *Epistle to the Trallians* in the Geneva, 1623, edition of Ignatius (see above, p. 541). The passage to which he refers, and which he translates with strict accuracy, is on p. 9 of that edition. The passage is no longer considered to be by Ignatius. For an account of the Ignatian question and the edition of Vedelius, see above, pp. 119–20; 635–36, n. 38.

¹⁰³ Milton is correct in this. Cyprian in general supports Milton's thesis of a democratic emphasis in the primitive church. In the Oxford edition the word "fellow-presbyter" or "brother-presbyter" occurs in Epistles 1, 7, 41, 44, 55; in the 1593 edition of the *Opera*, pp. 195, 87, 90, 96–97, 113. Cyprian also uses the term "fellow-Bishop" (Oxford ed., Epistle 44; *Opera*, Paris, 1593, p. 96).

¹⁰⁴ In the Oxford edition this phrase appears in Epistle 31 (*Opera*, Paris, 1593, p. 59), as well as the phrase "dearest Cyprian" (p. 60). The phrase "brother Cyprian" also appears in Epistle 30 of the Oxford edition (p. 69).

Cyprian acknowledges as much in the 6 Epist.¹⁰⁵ and addes therto that he had determin'd from his entrance into the Office of Bishop to doe nothing without the consent of his people, and so in the 31.¹⁰⁶ Epist, for it were tedious to course through all his writings which are so full of the like assertions, insomuch that ev'n in the womb and center of Apostacy *Rome* it selfe, there yet remains a glimps of this truth, for the Pope himselfe, as a learned English writer notes¹⁰⁷ well, performeth all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction as in Consistory amongst his Cardinals, which were originally but the Parish Priests of *Rome*. Thus then did the Spirit of unity and meeknesse inspire, and animate every joynt, and sinew of the mysticall body,¹⁰⁸ but now the gravest, and worthiest Minister, a true Bishop of his fold shall be revil'd, and ruff'd by an insulting, and only-Canon-wise Prelate, as if he were some slight paltry companion: and the people of *God* redeem'd, and wash'd with *Christs* blood, and dignify'd with so many glorious titles of Saints, and sons in the Gospel, are now no better reputed then impure ethnicks, and lay dogs; stones & Pillars, and Crucifixes have now the honour, and the almes due to *Christs* living members; the Table of Communion¹⁰⁹ now become a Table of sepa-

¹⁰⁵ In the Oxford edition this is Epistle 14. The passage to which Milton refers is as follows: "From the beginning of my episcopacy I resolved to do nothing of my own private judgment without your advice and the concurrence of the people." The Latin may be found in Migne, *Latina*, IV, 234, and in Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ In the Oxford edition, Epistle 30; in Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 69. The epistle, addressed to Cyprian by the presbyters and deacons at Rome, contains the following passage: "They are worthy of double honour, who, knowing that their conscience is subject to God only as Judge, yet desire that their proceedings may be approved also by their very brethren. That you, brother Cyprian, should do this, is no wonder, who, according to your innate modesty and diligence, have wished us to be found, not so much judges, as partners, in your counsels." The Latin may be found in Migne, *Latina*, IV, and Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 69. An example of this modesty of Cyprian's can be found in Epistle 26 of the Oxford edition.

¹⁰⁷ Milton probably refers to Foxe, who traces the changes in election of popes over the centuries. Foxe quotes a letter from Richard II on the election of Pope Gregory "by the clergy and the people of Rome." (*Acts*, III, 210; 1641, I, 666).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. I Corinthians 12:27.

¹⁰⁹ Milton objected to placing the communion table again in the position of the old altar, at the rear of the chancel against the wall. By Milton's day most low churches had removed the old altars, but in the Puritan view Laud was attempting to make the table of communion again into an altar. In her "Injunctions" of 1559 (Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, pp. 417 ff.) Elizabeth permitted the further removal of altars when supervised by the curate, but ordered "that the holy table

ration stands like an exalted platforme upon the brow of the quire, fortifi'd with bulwark, and [21] barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the Laicks, whilst the obscene, and surfeted Priest scruples not to paw, and mammock the sacramentall bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Bisket. And thus the people vilifi'd and rejected ¹¹⁰ by them, give over the earnest study of vertue, and godlinesse as a thing of greater purity then they need, and the search of divine knowledge as a mystery too high for their capacity's, and only for Churchmen to meddle with, which is that the Prelates desire, that when they have brought us back to Popish blindness we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of our salvation, for they think it was never faire world with them since that time: But he that will mould a mod-

[of communion] be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood . . . and so to stand" except at communion time, when it was brought down toward the nave where the people could gather near it. Despite this injunction, the communion table was often not returned to the place where the altar had stood. In 1633, when the table at St Gregory's was placed in the east end of the chancel and rails set before it, five parishioners appealed to the court of Arches, contending that by law the communion table could be placed wherever convenient for the people to communicate. The Privy Council ruled against them. In 1635 Laud ordered all communion tables to be removed to the east end of the chancel and railed in. Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, pp. 533-35. When Milton says "upon the brow of the quire," he means against the far wall of the chancel from the congregation, he uses "barricado" as a contemptuous epithet for the altar rails ordered by Laud.

Of the many pamphlets on this topic, Peter Heylyn, *A Coale from the Altar* (1636), is the most revealing and useful. "The difference," wrote Heylyn (p. 32), "was not about the having of a Table . . . but in the placing of the same. some men desiring, that it should be placed after the fashion of an *Altar*, others more willing that it should be used like a *Common Table*; in which both parties followed their own affections, as in a thing which had not beene determined of, but left at large." If the church, said Heylyn (p. 21), should "oppoynt the Loards Board to bee placed like a common Table, the Papists they will call it an *Oyster-table*. If like an *Altar*, the *Puritane*, and Master Prynne will call it a *Dresser-board*." See Prynne's reply to Heylyn, *A Quench-Coale* (1637); Heylyn, *A Brieve and Moderate Answer* (to Burton) (1637), p. 136; John Ley, *A Letter (against the Erection of an Altar)* (1641) (written June 29, 1635), pp. 18-19, 28-29; Edward Peyton, *A Discourse Concerning the Finesse of the Posture* (1642), pp. 4-50; *Articles of Impeachment . . . against Matthew Wren* (July 5, 1641), E165(3), pp. 4-6. In his *Retraction* (1641), Charles Chauncy wrote (p. 6): "They will have Priests, not Ministers, Altars not Communion Tables, Sacrifices not Sacraments . . . yea, they will have Tapers, and Books never used, empty Basons and Challices there, what is this but the Masse it selfe, for here is all the furniture of it."

¹¹⁰ Note Milton's insistence on the capacities of the common parishioner, later to be extended to faith in their secular powers in *Areopagitica*.

ern Bishop into a primitive, must yeeld him to be elected by the popular voyce, undiocest, unrevenu'd, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchles temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer, and preaching, continual watchings, and labours in his Ministry, which what a rich bootie it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping mouth of a Prelate, what a relish it would give to his canary-sucking, and swan-eating palat, let old Bishop *Mountain*¹¹¹ judge for me.

How little therfore those ancient times make for moderne Bishops hath bin plainly discours'd, but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not stand to their arbitrement shall now appeare by a threefold corruption [22] which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times fouly tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These Positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, *Ignatius* in his early dayes testifies to the Churches of *Asia*, that even then Heresies were sprung up,¹¹² and rife every where, as *Eusebius* relates in his 3. Book, 35. chap. after the Greek number. And *Hegesippus* a grave Church writer of prime Antiquity affirms in the same Book of *Euseb.* c. 32.¹¹³ *that while the Apostles were on earth the depravers of doctrine did but*

¹¹¹ George Montaigne (1569–1628), born of humble Yorkshire parents, educated at Cambridge, advanced through royal favor to the see of London in June, 1621. In 1627 he became bishop of Durham, in 1628 archbishop of York. When Richard Montague was accused of Arminianism in 1625, Montaigne declared with Neile, Andrewes, Buckeridge, and Laud that there was nothing in Montague's book, *A Gagg for the New Gospell?* (1624) contrary to the doctrine of the church of England. (Laud, *Works* [1847–60], VI, 249). Milton, as this passage shows, objected to Montaigne's worldliness, not to his Arminianism

¹¹² The passage to which Milton refers may be found in Eusebius, III, 36, in *Fathers, N. and P. N.* 2, I, 167: "[Ignatius] warned them above all to be especially on their guard against the heresies that were then beginning to prevail." The Greek may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, XX, 288, and Eusebius, in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 31.

¹¹³ In the McGiffert translation, in *Fathers, N. and P. N.* 2, I, 164, the passage reads: "The league of godless error took its rise as a result of the folly of heretical teachers, who, because none of the apostles were still living, attempted henceforth, with a bold face, to proclaim in opposition to the preaching of the truth, the 'knowledge which is falsely so called.'" The Greek may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, XX, 284–85, and in Eusebius, in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 30v. Hegesippus was a historian of the church, none of whose works are extant; he lived probably in the late second century.

lurk, but they once gon, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities: yea those that are reckon'd for orthodox began to make sad, and shamefull rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of Feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter day, which controversie grew so hot, that *Victor*¹¹⁴ the Bishop of *Rome* Excommunicated all the Churches of *Asia*¹¹⁵ for no other cause, and was worthily therof reprov'd by *Irenæus*.¹¹⁶ For can any sound Theologer¹¹⁷ think that these great Fathers understood what was Gospel, or what was Excommunication? doubtlesse that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the neer tradition of what they heard the Apostles somtimes did, then to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did, were by the Apostles themselves profest to be done [23] only for the present, and of meer indulgence to some scrupulous converts of the Circumcision, but what they writ was of firm decree to all

¹¹⁴ Bishop of Rome from about 190 to 202 A D, succeeding Eleutherius to whom Milton makes reference in a later section. He is mainly known for his excommunication of the eastern churches. One of Milton's sources was probably Foxe, *Acts* (1631-32), I, 72. Another was Eusebius, V, xxiv.

¹¹⁵ The passage Milton refers to reads as follows (Eusebius, V, xxiv, in *Fathers, N. and P. N. 2*, I, 242-43): "Thereupon Victor, who presided over the Church at Rome, immediately attempted to cut off from the common unity the parishes of all Asia, with the churches that agreed with them, as heterodox; and he wrote letters and declared all the brethren there wholly excommunicate." The Greek may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, XX, 497, and Eusebius, in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 55v.

¹¹⁶ Eusebius, V, xxiv, in *Fathers, N. and P. N. 2*, I, 243: "But this [the excommunication of the Churches of Asia] did not please all the bishops. And they besought him to consider the things of peace, and of neighborly unity and love. . . . Among them was Irenaeus, who, sending letters in the name of the brethren of Gaul over whom he presided, maintained that the resurrection of the Lord should be observed only on the Lord's day. He fittingly admonishes Victor that he should not cut off whole churches of God which observed the tradition of an ancient custom . . ." St. Irenaeus (130?-203?) was a very important apologist of the primitive church. All that is left us of his work is the treatise *Against Heresies* and a volume or so of fragments of his writings, quoted, for the most part, by other writers. Irenaeus was a bishop and a martyr. The Greek may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, XX, 497-500 *passim*; Eusebius, in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 55v. *passim*.

¹¹⁷ A contemporary reference to this passage appeared in Peloni Almoni, *A Compendious Discourse* (1641), p. [3] (see above, p. 104): "The late unworthy Authour of a book intituled, *Of Reformation*, & hath found some quarrell against him [Irenaeus]." This reference was first noted by George W. Whiting in "A Pseudonymous Reply to Milton's *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*," *PMLA*, LI (June, 1936), 430, later incorporated in Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), pp. 293-301.

future ages. Look but a century lower ¹¹⁸ in the 1. *cap.* of *Eusebius* 8. Book. What a universal tetter of impurity had invenom'd every part, order, and degree of the Church, to omit the lay herd which will be little regarded, *those that seem'd to be our Pastors*, saith he, *overturning the Law of Gods worship, burnt in contentions one towards another, and incresing in hatred and bitternes, outrageously sought to uphold Lordship, and command as it were a tyranny.* Stay but a little, magnanimous Bishops, suppress your aspiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but *Constantine* to reigne, and then Tyranny her selfe shall give up all her cittadels into your hands, and count ye thence forward her trustiest agents. Such were these that must be call'd the ancientest, and most virgin times between *Christ* and *Constantine*. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wresting of Scripture, the Heresies, the vanities thick sown through the volums of *Justin Martyr*, ¹¹⁹ *Clemens*, ¹²⁰ *Origen*, ¹²¹ *Tertullian* ¹²²

¹¹⁸ In the McGiffert translation of Eusebius, VIII, i, in *Fathers, N. and P. N. 2*, I, 324, the passage runs as follows: "All those esteemed our shepherds, casting aside the bond of piety, were excited to conflicts with one another, and did nothing else than heap up strifes and threats and jealousy and enmity and hatred toward each other, like tyrants eagerly endeavoring to assert their power." The Greek may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, XX, 741, and Eusebius, in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 84.

¹¹⁹ Next to Ignatius the earliest of church fathers, Justin Martyr, was born around 100 A.D. in Samaria, of pagan parents. As the *First Apology* shows, Justin was a thorough student of the Greek and Roman classics. Dissatisfied with Greek philosophy, he became a convert to Christianity. Wearing his philosopher's cloak, Justin traveled from place to place, hoping to convert educated pagans to his new faith. In Rome he lectured in a classroom of his own and wrote the *First Apology* about 150. In this remarkable document Justin appeals to the high traditions of pagan idealism for a mind open to new truths, especially Christianity, the alleged absurdities of which he compares effectively to parallels in Greek and Roman myths. According to tradition, Justin suffered martyrdom between 163 and 167 under the prefect Rusticus. Milton's source was probably Justin, *Opera* (Paris, 1615; HCL, or Cologne, 1636). See above, p. 397.

¹²⁰ Though it is not evident from Milton's reference whether he means Clement of Rome (fl. end of first century A.D.) or Clement of Alexandria (fl. 193-217), it is almost certain that he means the latter, the former being one of the chief sources upon which arguments for the election of bishops in the primitive church are based. Clement of Alexandria brought to the study of Christian theology a highly imaginative mind trained in the school of intricate rhetoric dominant in Alexandria at the time. His tendency to treat of Christianity in an intellectual rather than religious fashion has often earned for him such opprobrium as this passage of Milton's implies. See *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. William Smith (3 vols., Boston and London, 1859), I, 786-88.

and others of eldest time? Who would think him fit to write an Apology for Christian Faith to the Roman Senat, that would tell them how of the Angels,¹²³ which he must needs mean those in *Gen.*¹²⁴ call'd the *Sons of God*, mixing with Women were begotten the Devills, as good *Justin Mar*-[24]tyr in his Apology told them. But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read *Tertullian* terming *S. Paul* a novice and raw in grace,¹²⁵ for reproving *S. Peter* at *Antioch*,

¹²¹ Origen was born in Alexandria in 185 or 186 A.D., of Christian parents. He grew up sympathetic to Greek and Roman learning and every aspect of science. As a teacher in Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Alexandria, he attracted the most distinguished students, pagan as well as Christian. Origen's literary efforts were prodigious. "Which among us," asked Jerome, "can read all that he has written?" Origen's main efforts were directed toward the establishment of a text of the Bible that would remain unchallenged. In this effort Origen's vast learning was often no more than the vehicle of his impressions. Origen extended his devotion to the ascetic life by self-castration, an action which, savoring of fanaticism, hindered his advancement in the church. He died at Tyre in 254.

¹²² Born around 150 A.D. of a military family, Tertullian received a superior education in both Latin and Greek, became a master of Plato and the Greek historians, later quoted from the classics with consistent accuracy. Tertullian studied in Carthage and Rome, traveled widely. After becoming an eminent Roman jurist, Tertullian was converted to Christianity ca. 190-195. Not original as a thinker except in his *De Anima*, Tertullian possessed a remarkable power of pithy argument. "Truth has always been on the suffering side" (*Apologetic for the Christians*, III). "Ways of inquiry are quite neglected, and our enemies storm and fire at a word only" (*ibid.*, XIV). "Among us, all things are in common except wives, in this alone we reject communion, and this is the only thing you enjoy in common" (*ibid.*, XXXIX). Returning to Carthage in 197, Tertullian wrote voluminously, laying in succeeding years the foundation of Latin Christian literature. He married and became a presbyter in the church at Carthage, but later broke away from the organization, deploring the widening secularization of church practices. Like some other church fathers, Tertullian deserted paganism for the great heresy of his day (Christianity), then exerted his authority against the heresies that sprang up within the fold. Tertullian's death occurred in 222. Milton probably used here, as in *CPB*, Tertullian, *Opera* (Paris, 1634; SOR). See above, p. 362.

¹²³ The passage to which Milton refers is in Justin Martyr, *Second Apology*, V, in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (24 vols., Edinburgh, 1867-72), II, 75 (hereafter referred to as *Christian Library*, A.N.): "The angels transgressed this appointment [of the divine law] and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons." The Greek may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, VI, 452; Justin Martyr, *Opera* (Paris, 1615), p. 44. This ridicule of an ideological pinpoint in Justin shows the depths of polemic poverty to which Milton sometimes descends.

¹²⁴ See Genesis 6:1-4.

¹²⁵ Milton has reference to a passage in Tertullian, *Ad Marcionem*, I, xx, which reads as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, II, 268; Tertullian, *Opera*, 1634, p. 443): "For they even oppose Peter himself and other pillars of the Apostolic group censured by Paul because they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the

worthy to be blam'd if we beleave the Epistle to the *Galatians*: perhaps from this hint the blasphemous Jesuits presum'd in *Italy* to give their judgement of S. *Paul*, as of a hot headed person, as *Sandys* in his *Relations* ¹²⁶ tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many surreptitious works are ingraff'd into the legitimate writings of the Fathers, and of those Books that passe for authentick who knows what hath bin tamper'd withall, what hath bin raz'd out, what hath bin inserted, besides the late legerdmain of the Papists, that which *Sulpitius* writes concerning *Origens* Books ¹²⁷ gives us cause vehemently to suspect, there hath bin packing of old. In the third chap. of his 1. Dialogue, we may read what wrangling the Bishops and Monks had about the reading, or not reading of *Origen*, some objecting that he was corrupted by Hereticks, others answering that all such Books had bin so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that testife so ill of leading themselvs, certainly of their defects their own witnesse may be best receiv'd, but of the rectitude, and sincerity of their life and doctrine to judge rightly, wee must judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it wil be objected that this was an unsetl'd state of the Church wanting the temporall Ma-[25]gistrate to suppress the licence of false Brethren, and the extravagancy of still-new opinions, a time not imitable for Church government, where the temporall and spirituall

Gospel, [censured] without a doubt by that Paul who, to that point uncultivated in grace, trembling besides lest he had run or should run in vain was then conferring for the first time with his predecessors, the Apostles. So hotly, as I was saying, did he, till then a novice, hold reprehensible anything intimately connected with the Jewish religion."

¹²⁶ See Sir Edwin Sandys, *Europae Speculum, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World* (1638; NYPL), pp. 165-66 "Yea some parts of Scripture, as Saint Pauls Epistles, they [Roman Catholics] are so jealous of, and thinke so dangerous, that by report of divers . . . some of their Jesuits of late in Italy in a solemne Sermon . . . have censured St. Paul for a hot-headed person."

¹²⁷ See *Origen, Dialogue I*, vi The passage runs as follows (tr from Migne, *Latina*, XX, 187-88; *Opera*, Leyden, 1635, pp. 247-48): "On the seventh day we arrived at Alexandria, where horrible disputes were under way among bishops and monks, with this as the excuse, or, if you will, reason, that priests assembled together quite often in well-attended synods seemed to have decreed that no one should read or own the books of Origen, who used to be held a most accomplished commentator on the sacred writings. But the bishops were now calling quite outrageous certain writings of the same man, which his adherents dared not defend, asserting rather that they had been inserted by heretics."

power did not close in one beleife, as under *Constantine*. I am not of opinion to thinke the Church a *Vine* in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the Elme of worldly strength, and felicity, as if the heavenly City could not support it selfe without the props and buttresses of secular Authoritie. They extoll *Constantine* because he extol'd them; as our homebred Monks in their Histories blanch the Kings ¹²⁸ their Benefactors, and brand those that went about to be their Correctors. If he had curb'd the growing Pride, Avarice, and Luxury of the *Clergie*, then every Page of his Story should have swel'd with his Faults, and that which *Zozimus* ¹²⁹ the Heathen writes of him should have come in to boot: wee should have heard then in every Declamation how hee slew his Nephew *Commodus* ¹³⁰ a worthy man, his noble and eldest Son

¹²⁸ In his *Historie* (1627), p. 361 (cited in Hale, p. 119), Speed tells of a monk who "doth blanch out," that is, whiten, the reputation of a king regardless of his merit. Milton has much support for this statement in contemporary sources. See, for example, Jeremy Taylor's statement that it is "natural and consonant that kings should defend the rights of the church, and the church advance the honour of kings." Taylor, *Works*, (7 vols., London, 1859), V, 11. In Constantine's time, as Edward Gibbon points out (*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, XX; ed. J. B. Bury [7 vols., London and New York, 1896], II, 288-327), the bishops supported the monarch as he extended to the church the prestige of his office. As church and state interlocked, primitive pacifism practiced for three centuries melted away. Deserters faced the threat of excommunication; the cross of Christ on Roman helmets emblazoned the triumphant march of the legions. Milton's portrait of Constantine may be profitably compared with that of Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, XIV, XIX, XX) and that of Eusebius in the *Life of Constantine*. Milton distorts the character of Constantine much more violently than the eulogies of Eusebius or the strictures of Zosimus. Milton does not discriminate between the earlier Constantine, who merited the high praise of later historians, and the late Constantine, cruel and savage, the murderer of Crispus and the suspected murderer of Empress Fausta. On Constantine's significance in church government, however, Milton is on firm ground.

¹²⁹ Zosimus writes that Constantine murdered his son Crispus on suspicion of adultery with Empress Fausta, and later Fausta herself (Herodianus and Zosimus, *Historiae*, Lyons, 1624 [HLH], p. 434); that Constantine was a habitual oath-breaker (p. 433), a voluptuary (p. 438), an extravagant man (p. 446), and an oppressor of the people (pp. 446-47). In Zosimus' view Constantine's conversion to Christianity was the result of his desire to be absolved from his crimes (pp. 434-35). Zosimus' account of Constantine may be found in English in *The History of Count Zosimus* (London, 1814), Book II. All the passages cited here appear in Book II.

¹³⁰ As Hale's valuable note shows, Milton is following a passage in Eutropius (tr. from "De Gestis Romanorum," X, 6, in *Rerum Romanorum Scriptores*, Venice, 1521, f. 271): "Hunting down his close connections, he [Constantine] killed a youth, an outstanding man with a charming disposition and his sister's

Crispus,¹³¹ his Wife *Fausta*,¹³² besides numbers of his Friends; then his cruell exactions, his unsoundnesse in Religion, favoring the *Arrians* that had been condemn'd in a Counsell, of which himselfe sate as it were President, his hard measure and banishment of the faithfull and invincible *Athanasius*,¹³³ his living unbaptiz'd almost to his dying day; these blurs are too apparent in his Life. But since hee must needs bee the Load-starre of *Reformation* as some men clat-[26] ter, it will be good to see further his knowledge of *Religion* what it was, and by that we may likewise guesse at the sincerity of his Times in those that were not Hereticall, it being likely that hee would converse with the famousest *Prelates* (for so he had made them) that were to be found for learning.

Of his *Arianisme* we heard, and for the rest, a pretty scantling of his Knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptiz'd so many

son; later, his wife; afterwards, numerous friends." The word here translated "charming" is the Latin word "commodae," which Hale (p 119) feels Milton took for the name of the nephew, rendering it Commodus. It seems unlikely, however, that Milton, an accomplished Latinist, would consciously have rendered a feminine genitive adjective as a masculine accusative noun, except through miscopying the quotation or using a faulty text. The name of Constantine's nephew, the son of Licinius and Constantine's sister, was Licinian (or Licinius).

¹³¹ Crispus was the son of Emperor Constantine by the concubine Minervina Herodianus and Zosimus, *Historiae*, Lyons, 1624, p. 422.

¹³² Fausta was the empress of Constantine who was suffocated and scalded to death in her bath. For a bibliography of the various opinions concerning Constantine's implication in the murders of Crispus and Fausta, see the note on Crispus in Migne, *Graeca*, LXV, 468. Of these accusations, Sozomen writes, I, v (Migne, *Graeca*, LXVII, 869, and Sozomen, in *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 11v.): "It seems to me that these things have been fabricated by those eager to slander the religion of the Christians."

¹³³ Athanasius (298-372) was taken as a boy into the household of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, was instructed in Greek literature, science, logic, and the Scriptures. Athanasius' first literary works, *Against the Gentiles* and *The Incarnation of the Word*, were remarkable for a youth of twenty. After Alexander's death, Athanasius was made bishop in spite of opposition of the Meletians and the Arians. People cried, "Give us Athanasius the good, one of the ascetics!" Athanasius occupied the see of Alexandria seven years, visiting monks in the desert and continuing his writings against the Arians. Deposed in 340, when the Arians regained power, Athanasius was condemned by the synods of Arles (353) and Milan (355). In 356 he fled when attacked by imperial troops. In his five exiles, the third of which was spent almost wholly in the deserts and caves of Egypt, Athanasius produced a stream of anti-Arian works. For accounts of Athanasius, see Sozomen, *Church History*, II, xxii ff., Theodoret, *Church History*, I, xxix; II, i, ix, x, xviii; III, v; IV, ii, etc. A useful modern biography is R. Wheeler Bush, *Saint Athanasius, His Life and Times* (London, 1888).

yeares, a thing not usuall, and repugnant to the Tenor of *Scripture*, *Philip* knowing nothing¹³⁴ that should hinder the *Eunuch* to be baptiz'd after profession of his beleife. Next, by the excessive devotion, that I may not say Superstition both of him and his Mother *Helena*, to find out the Crosse on which *Christ* suffer'd, that had long lien under the rubbish of old ruines, (a thing which the Disciples and Kindred of our Saviour might with more ease have done, if they had thought it a pious duty:) some of the nailes whereof hee put into his Helmet,¹³⁵ to beare off blowes in battell, others he fasten'd among the studds of his bridle, to fulfill (as he thought, or his Court *Bishops* perswaded him) the Prophetie of *Zachariah*; *And it shall be that that which is in the bridle shall be holy to the Lord*. Part of the Crosse,¹³⁶ in which he thought such Vertue to reside, as would prove a kind of *Palladium* to save the *Citie* where ever it remain'd, he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of *Porphyrie* by his Statue. How hee or his Teachers could trifle thus with halfe an eye¹³⁷ open [27] upon Saint *Pauls* Principles, I know not how to imagine.

How should then the dim Taper of this Emperours age that had such need of snuffing, extend any beame to our Times wherewith wee might hope to be better lighted, then by those Luminaries that God hath set up to shine to us far neerer hand. And what *Reformation* he wrought for his owne time it will not be amisse to consider, hee appointed certaine times for Fasts, and Feasts, built stately Churches, gave large Immunities to the Clergie, great Riches and Promotions to *Bishops*, gave and minister'd occasion to bring in a Deluge of Ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the Heathen by a resemblance of their rites, or to set a glosse upon the simplicity, and plainnesse of Christianity which to the gorgeous solemnities of *Paganisme*, and the sense of the Worlds Children seem'd but a homely and Yeomanly *Religion*, for the beauty of inward Sanctity was not within their prospect.

So that in this manner the *Prelates* both then and ever since com-

¹³⁴ See Acts 8.26-38.

¹³⁵ One of Milton's sources here is evidently Theodoret, I, xvii (Migne, *Graeca*, LXXXII, 960). Cf. Sozomen, II, 1. In *EHA* (Paris, 1544) the account of Theodoret may be found on f 289v, the Sozomen on f 21.

¹³⁶ See Socrates, *Church History*, I, xvii (Migne, *Graeca*, LXVII, 120; *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 182v.).

¹³⁷ See, for instance, I Corinthians 6 9; 10·14, 32.

ming from a meane, and Plebeyan *Life* on a sudden to be Lords of stately Palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and *Princely* attendance, thought the plaine and homespun verity of *Christs* Gospell unfit any longer to hold their Lordships acquaintance, unlesse the poore thred-bare Matron were put into better clothes; her chaste and modest vaile surrounded with celestially beames they overlaid with wanton tresses, [28] and in a flaring tire bespеккl'd her with all the gaudy allurements of a Whore.

Thus flourish't the Church with *Constantines* wealth,¹³⁸ and thereafter were the effects that follow'd; his Son *Constantius* prov'd a flat *Arian*,¹³⁹ and his Nephew *Julian* an Apostate,¹⁴⁰ and there his Race ended; ¹⁴¹ the Church that before by insensible degrees welk't and impair'd, now with large steps went downe hill decaying; at this time *Antichrist* began first to put forth his horne, and that saying was common that former times had wooden Chalices and golden *Preists*; but they golden Chalices and wooden *Preists*. Formerly (saith *Sulpitius*) *Martyrdome* by glorious death ¹⁴² was sought more greedily, then now Bishopricks by vile Ambition are hunted after (speaking of these Times) and in another place; they gape after possessions,¹⁴³

¹³⁸ The influence of state support of churches here finds its first extended opposition in Milton, an analysis which he expands to incorporate hatred of tithes, antagonism to a professional ministry, and separation of church and state. In his attitude Milton anticipated more fully than any other seventeenth-century reformer the separation of church and state on the American scene. For a later statement, see *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxxi, xxxii.

¹³⁹ Cf. Theodoret, II, iii, xvi, xxxi, etc.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Theodoret, III, iii. As on other issues Milton here condemns an intellectual position (the heresy of Arius), he was later to adopt as his own. For the pagan view see Herodianus and Zosimus, *Historiae* (Lyons, 1624), III, *passim*; Eutropius, "De Gestis Romanorum," X, xvi, in *Rerum Romanorum Scriptores* (Venice, 1521), f. 273 and f. 273v.

¹⁴¹ Julian was succeeded by one of his officers, Jovinian. Cf. Eutropius, "De Gestis Romanorum," X, xvi, in *Rerum Romanorum Scriptores* (Venice, 1521), f. 273v.-f. 274.

¹⁴² Gibbon points to the same phenomenon, citing but not quoting the same passage from Severus (*History*, II, xxxii) in *Decline and Fall*, XVI, ed. Bury (1896), II, 104. The Latin of Milton's close translation may be found in Migne, *Latina*, XX, 147; *History*, Leyden, 1635, pp. 143-44. The book of Severus popularly called *Sacred History* is called *Chronicles* by patristic scholars.

¹⁴³ The passage to which Milton refers is in Severus, *History*, I, xxiii, and runs as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XX, 109; Severus, *History*, Leyden, 1635, pp. 41-42): "They are struck with wonder by possessions, they worship their estates, they watch over their gold jealousy, they buy and they sell, and if any

they tend Lands and Livings, they coure over their gold, they buy and sell: and if there be any that neither possesse nor traffique, that which is worse, they sit still, and expect guifts, and prostitute every induement of grace, every holy thing to sale. And in the end ¹⁴⁴ of his History thus he concludes, all things went to wrack by the *faction*, *wilfulness*, and *avarice* of the *Bishops*, and by this means *Gods people*, & every good man was had in scorn and derision; which S. *Martin* found truly to be said by his friend *Sulpitius*; for being held in admiration of all men, he had onely the *Bishops* his enemies, found God lesse favorable to him after he was *Bishop* then before, & [29] for his last 16. yeares ¹⁴⁵ would come at no *Bishops* meeting. Thus you see Sir what *Constantines* doings in the Church brought forth, either in his own or in his Sons Reigne.

Now lest it should bee thought that somthing else might ayle this Author thus to hamper the Bishops of those dayes; I will bring you the opinion of three the famousest men for wit and learning, that *Italy* at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd opinion even among men professing the Romish Faith, that *Constantine* marr'd all in the Church. *Dante* in his 19. *Canto* of *Inferno* hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank Verse.

*Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause
Not thy Conversion, but those rich demaines
That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee.*

seem better disposed, neither possessing nor doing business, (what is much worse) they sit waiting for presents. And they think that all the honor of life may be seduced at a price, since they [themselves] parade [every] holy thing as if it were for sale." Severus is drawing a parallel between the priesthood of his day and the Levitical priesthood after the death of Moses.

¹⁴⁴ Milton refers to Severus, *History*, II, li, which reads as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XX, 159-60; Severus, *History*, Leyden, 1635, p. 174). "All things were seen to be especially disorganized or thrown into confusion by the dissensions of the bishops and everything at once . . . was perverted by their fearful suspicion, their inconsistency, their partisanship, their wilfulness, their presumption, their spiritual unawareness, their sloth. Finally a good many struggled against a few men who were careful thinkers with unsound plans and obstinate endeavors: among these God's people and every good man was considered a disgrace and a laughing-stock."

¹⁴⁵ See Severus, *Dialogue III*, xiii (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XX, 219; Severus, *Opera*, Leyden, 1635, p. 333 [misprinted 233]): "He lived sixteen years after that: he went to no synod; he absented himself from all meetings of bishops."

So in his 20. Canto of *Paradise* ¹⁴⁶ hee makes the like complaint, and *Petrarch* seconds him in the same mind in his 108. Sonnet which is wip't out by the Inquisitor in some Editions; speaking of the Roman *Antichrist* as meere bred up by *Constantine*.

*Founded in chaste and humble Povertie,
'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy horn,
Impudent whoore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope?
In thy Adulterers, or thy ill got wealth?
Another Constantine comes not in hast.* [30]

Ariosto of Ferrara ¹⁴⁷ after both these in time, but equall in fame, following the scope of his Poem in a difficult knot how to restore

¹⁴⁶ Milton refers to the following passage *Paradise*, XX, 55-60 (Cary translation):

The other . . . with the laws and me,
To yield the shepherd room, pass'd o'er to Greece,
From good intent, producing evil fruit
Now knoweth he, how all the ill, derived
From his well doing doth not harm him aught;
Though it have brought destruction on the world

In this passage the Eagle, made up of those who were just rulers in the world, is explaining to Dante in the sixth heaven (Jupiter) the significance of the various parts in its composition. The "other" is Constantine; the "shepherd" is the Pope at Rome. Constantine's "well doing" is his bounty to the church; he knows that the "ill, derived/ From his well doing doth not harm him aught" because he is part of the Eagle of the Just in the sixth heaven. See *Dante con l'espositone di Bernardino Daniello* (Venice, 1568), p. 627. Milton cites the Daniello edition of Dante in *CPB* (above, p. 371).

¹⁴⁷ Milton here seems to be translating *Orlando Furioso* from an Italian edition, with Harington's translation somewhere in the back of his mind. Harington renders "Canto 34" as "The XXXIIII Booke". The Italian of the first passage may be found in Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIV, 73 (Venice, 1584, p. 389); that of the second passage, XXXIV, 80, on p. 390 of the same edition. The first passage is thus translated in Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIV, 72 (1591, p. 286):

But to be short, at last his guide him brings
Unto a goodlie vallie, where he sees,
A mightie masse of things strangely confused,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abused.

And the second passage (XXXIV, 79) is translated thus by Harington on p. 287 of the same edition:

Then by a fayre green mountain he did passe,
That once smelt sweet, but now it stinks perdye,
This was the gift (be't said without offence)
That *Constantin* gave *Silvester* long since.

Harington's translation of the parenthetical clause in the second passage "(be't said without offence)" is more faithful to the original Italian "(se però dir lece)"

Orlando his chiefe Hero to his lost senses, brings *Astolfo* the English Knight up into the moone, where *S. John*, as he feignes, met him. *Cant.* 34.

*And to be short, at last his guid him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he sees
A mighty masse of things strangely confus'd,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd.*

And amongst these so abused things listen what hee met withall, under the Conduct of the *Evangelist*.

*Then past hee to a flowry Mountaine greene,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.*

And this was a truth well knowne in *England* before this *Poet* was borne, as our *Chaucers* *Plowman* ¹⁴⁸ shall tell you by and by upon another occasion. By all these circumstances laid together, I do not see how it can be disputed what good this Emperour *Constantine* wrought to the Church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, set open a dore to more mischief in Christendome. There is just cause therefore that when the *Prelates* cry out Let the Church be re-[31]form'd according to *Constantine*, it should sound to a judicious eare no otherwise, then if they should say Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawlesse, for if any under him were not so, thanks to those ancient remains of integrity, which were not yet quite worne out, and not to his Government.

Thus finally it appears that those purer Times were no such as they are cry'd up, and not to be follow'd without suspicion, doubt and danger. The last point wherein the *Antiquary* is to bee dealt with at his owne weapon, is to make it manifest, that the ancientest, and best of the Fathers have disclaim'd all sufficiency in themselves that men should rely on, and sent all commers to the Scriptures, as all sufficient; that this is true, will not be unduly gather'd by shewing what esteeme they had of Antiquity themselves, and what validity they thought in it to prove Doctrine, or Discipline. I must of necessitie begin from the second ranke of Fathers, because till then Antiquitie

than is Milton's. We know Milton to have used the 1591 Harington translation, in which he made marginal notes. *Columbia*, XVIII, 330-36.

¹⁴⁸ See below, pp. 579-80, and p. 579 n.

could have no Plea. *Cyprian* in his 63.¹⁴⁹ *Epistle*. If any, saith he, of our Auncestors either ignorantly or out of simplicity hath not observ'd that which the Lord taught us by his example (speaking of the Lords Supper) his simplicity *God* may pardon of his mercy, but wee cannot be excus'd for following him, being instructed by the Lord. And have not we the same instructions, and will not this holy man with all the whole Consistorie of Saints and Martyrs that liv'd of old [32] rise up and stop our mouthes in judgement, when wee shall goe about to Father our Errors, and opinions upon their Authority? in the 73.¹⁵⁰ *Epist.* hee adds, in vaine doe they oppose custome to us if they be overcome by reason; as if custome were greater then Truth, or that in spirituall things that were not to be follow'd, which is revel'd for the better by the holy Ghost. In the 74.¹⁵¹ neither ought Custome to hinder that Truth should not prevaile, for Custome without Truth is but agednesse of Error.

Next *Lactantius*,¹⁵² he that was prefer'd to have the bringing up of *Constantines* children in his second Booke of *Institutions*. Chap. 7. & 8. disputes against the vaine trust in Antiquity, as being the cheifest Argument of the Heathen against the Christians, they doe not consider, saith he, what Religion is, but they are confident it is true, because the Ancients deliver'd it, they count it a trespasse to examine it. And in the eighth,¹⁵³ not because they went before us in

¹⁴⁹ This quotation is accurate. It appears in Epistle 63 of the Oxford edition (1844), p. 193. The Latin may be found in Migne, *Latina*, IV, 387, and in Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 177.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the passage in the Oxford edition, Epistle 73, p. 250. For Latin see Migne, *Latina*, III, 1117, and Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 221.

¹⁵¹ In the Oxford edition (p. 266) this passage in Epistle 74 reads as follows: "Nor should the custom, which amongst some had crept in, be an obstacle, that the truth prevail not and overcome. For custom without truth is error inveterate." For Latin see Migne, *Latina*, III, 1134; Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 231.

¹⁵² Milton's rendering of Lactantius' meaning is accurate. See the Latin in Migne, *Latina*, VI, 285, and in the *Divine Institutes* (*Opera*, Lyons, 1548, p. 125); the English in *Divine Institutes*, II, vii, viii (ed. Roberts and Donaldson in *Christian Library*, A. N., XXI, 96-97).

¹⁵³ The Fletcher translation of this second quotation runs as follows (Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, II, viii, in *Christian Library*, A. N., ed. Roberts and Donaldson, XXI, 96-97): "Nor, because they preceded us in time, did they also outstrip us in wisdom; for if this is given equally to all, we cannot be anticipated in it by those who precede us. It is incapable of diminution, as the light and brilliancy of the sun; because as the sun is the light of the eyes, so is wisdom the light of man's heart. Wherefore, since wisdom—that is, the inquiry after truth—is natural to all,

time, therefore in wisdom, which being given alike to all Ages, cannot be prepossession by the Ancients; wherefore seeing that to seek the Truth is inbred to all, they bereave themselves of wisdom the gift of God who without judgement follow the Ancients, and are led by others like brut beasts. St. *Austin* writes to *Fortunatian* ¹⁵⁴ that he counts it lawfull in the bookes of whomsoever to reject that which hee finds otherwise then true, and so hee would have others deale by him. He neither ac-[33]counted, as it seems, those Fathers that went before, nor himselfe, nor others of his rank, for men of more then ordinary spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceiv'd. And oftentimes, setting our servile humors aside, yea *God* so ordering, we may find Truth with one man, as soon as in a Counsell, as *Cyprian* agrees 71.¹⁵⁵ Epist. *Many things*, saith he, *are better reveal'd to single persons*. At *Nicæa* in the first, and best reputed Counsell of all the world, there had gon out a Canon to divorce married Priests, had not one old man *Paphnutius* ¹⁵⁶ stood up, and reason'd against it.

they deprive themselves of wisdom, who without any judgement approve of the discoveries of their ancestors, and like sheep are led by others." The Latin may be found in Migne, *Latina*, VI, 287-88, and the *Opera* (Lyons, 1548), p. 127. In his use of the passage Milton eliminated the sentence beginning "It is incapable of diminution . . ." As the above passage shows, Milton found a great many justifications of individualistic interpretation of the Scriptures in his studies of the church fathers

¹⁵⁴ St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) The passage Milton refers to runs as follows (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XXXIII, 628-29): "Now we must not hold the arguments of any men, no matter who, however orthodox and praiseworthy [they may have been] as [we hold] the writings of the Canon, [that is] in such a way that we are not at liberty, without violation to the honor which is due those men, to disapprove of and reject anything in their writings, if we should by chance discover that they judged otherwise than the truth holds, as it is known through divine help by others or by ourselves. Such am I with regard to the writings of others; such do I want those who know mine to be." An edition which Milton might possibly have used is the *Opera*, ed. Erasmus (10 vols, Basle, 1556, HCL). The passage above appears in II, 523, of that edition.

¹⁵⁵ In the Oxford translation the passage reads as follows (p. 239): "Many things are revealed to individuals for the better." Latin: Migne, *Latina*, IV, 411, Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 214.

¹⁵⁶ Milton is here evidently following Sozomen, *Church History*, I, xxiii (*Fathers*, N. and P. N. 2, II, 256; Sozomen, in *EHA*, Paris, 1544, f. 19v., f. 20). By custom bishops, presbyters, and deacons who were married when they took orders were not required to "put away their wives." Those unmarried when they took orders, however, were "required to remain so." The Council agreed with Paphnutius not to change the status of married priests. Socrates (*Church History*, I, viii) calls Paphnutius a bishop "of extraordinary celebrity." Sozomen (*Church History*, I, xi) says he was maimed in one of the persecutions.

Now remains it to shew clearly that the Fathers referre all decision of controversie to the Scriptures, as all-sufficient to direct, to resolve, and to determine. *Ignatius* taking his last leave of the Asian Churches, as he went to martyrdom exhorted them to adhere close to the written doctrine of the Apostles, necessarily written for posterity: so farre was he from unwritten traditions,¹⁵⁷ as may be read in the 36. c. of *Eusebius* 3. b. In the 74. Epist. Of *Cyprian* against *Stefan* ¹⁵⁸ Bish. of *Rome* imposing upon him a tradition, *whence*, quoth he, *is this tradition? is it fetcht from the authority of Christ in the Gospel, or of the Apostles in their Epistles: for God testifies that those things are to be done which are written:* and then thus; *what obstinacie, what presumption* ¹⁵⁹ *is this to preferre humane Tradition before divine ordinance?* And in the same ¹⁶⁰ Epist. *If we shall return to the head, and beginning of divine tradition* (which we all know he means the [34] Bible) *humane error ceases, and the reason of heavenly misteries unfolded, whatsoever was obscure, becomes cleare.* And in the 14. Distinct. of the same Epist. directly against our modern fantasies of a still visible Church, he teaches, *that succession of truth may fail, to renew which we must have recourse to the fountaines, using this excellent similitude, if a Channel,* ¹⁶¹ *or Conduit pipe which brought in water plentifully before, suddenly fail, doe we not goe to the fountaine to know the cause, whether the Spring affords no more, or whether the vein be stopt, or turn'd aside in the midcourse: thus ought we to doe, keeping Gods precepts, that if in ought the truth*

¹⁵⁷ Milton does not exactly adhere to the meaning of Ignatius. According to Eusebius (*Church History*, III, xxxvi, tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, XX, 288), Ignatius "exhorted them to hold fast that which the Apostles had handed down, which he, bearing witness to its truth, held must immediately be cast into written form for the sake of keeping it always certain." The Greek may also be found in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 31.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. the Oxford edition, p. 261. For Latin see Migne, *Latina*, III, 1129; Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 229.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. this passage in Epistle 74, Oxford edition, p. 262 Latin· Migne, *Latina*, III, 1130; Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 229.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. this passage in Epistle 74, Oxford edition, p. 267. Latin· Migne, *Latina*, III, 1135–36; Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 231.

¹⁶¹ The simile of Cyprian appears in Epistle 74, Oxford edition, p. 267. Latin: Migne, *Latina*, III, 1135; *Opera* (Paris, 1593), pp. 231–32. Notice Milton's emphasis on the Bible as the antidote to custom and tradition in religious matters. Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 26). "Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition."

shall be chang'd, we may repaire to the Gospel, and to the Apostles, that thence may arise the reason of our doings, from whence our order, and beginning arose. In the 75. he inveighs bitterly against Pope *Stefanus*,¹⁶² for that he could boast his Succession from *Peter*, and yet foist in Traditions that were not Apostolicall. And in his Book of the unity of the Church he compares those that neglecting Gods Word, follow the doctrines of men, to *Coreh*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*.¹⁶³ The very first page of Athanasius against the Gentiles,¹⁶⁴ averres the Scriptures to be sufficient of themselves for the declaration of Truth; and that if his friend *Macarius* read other Religious writers, it was but φιλοκάλως *come un virtuoso*, (as the Italians say,) as a lover of elegance: and in his 2d Tome the 39. page, after he hath reckon'd up the Canonick Books,¹⁶⁵ *In these only*, saith he, *is the doctrine of godlinesse taught, let no man adde to these*, [35] *or take from these*; and in his *Synopsis*,¹⁶⁶ having again set down all the

¹⁶² This epistle is not by Cyprian, though he might have translated it from the Greek (see note, Oxford edition, p. 268). It was written to him by St. Firmilian. The passage in the Oxford translation runs as follows (Epistle 75, Oxford edition, p. 280): "He who so boasts of the seat of his episcopate, and contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, introduces many other rocks . . ." Notice how Milton has paraphrased the word "petros," a polemic pun on Matthew 16.18, here translated "rocks," into "traditions that were not apostolical." The Latin may be found in Migne, *Latina*, III, 1169; Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 240.

¹⁶³ See Numbers 16:1-34. The passage may be found in Cyprian, *The Unity of the Church*, XVIII, in *Christian Library*, A. N, VIII, 392. Latin. Migne, *Latina*, IV, 530, Cyprian, *Opera*, (Paris, 1593), p. 301. Cf. Epistle 75, St. Firmilian to St. Cyprian (Oxford edition, p. 280) in Migne, *Latina*, III, 1168-69; Cyprian, *Opera* (Paris, 1593), p. 240.

¹⁶⁴ *Against the Gentiles*, I, i (tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, XXV, 4): "For the holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are sufficient in themselves for the exposition of the truth." Evidence that Milton used an edition of Athanasius containing the Latin interpretation of Petrus Nannius is his rendering the Greek ὦ Μακάριε as "o Macarius" (a presbyter of Athanasius in Alexandria), as Nannius does, rather than "O vir beate," "o blessedly happy man," as later editions do. A possible source edition for Athanasius is the *Opera*, ed. Nannius, (2 vols, Heidelberg, 1601; HCL), in which this passage appears in I, 1.

¹⁶⁵ See St. Athanasius, *Epistles*, in Migne, *Graeca*, XXVI, 1437. Milton's translation is as close as one as can be made. The passage may also be found in the Heidelberg edition (1601), II, 45. It is from Festal Epistle XXXIX.

¹⁶⁶ Milton refers to the following passage from *Synopsis*, IV (tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, XXVIII, 293): "The books of the New Testament and those received into the Canon of Scripture are as the first-fruits or anchors and props of our faith." The passage may also be found in Athanasius, *Opera* (Heidelberg, 1601), II, 65.

Writers of the old & new Testament, *these*, saith he, *be the anchors, and props of our Faith*: besides these, millions of other Books have bin written by great and wise men according to rule, and agreement with these, of which I will not now speak, as being of infinite number, and meer dependance on the canonical Books. Basil in his 2d Tome ¹⁶⁷ writing of true Faith, tells his auditors he is bound to teach them that which he hath learn't out of the Bible: and in the same Treatise, ¹⁶⁸ he saith, *That seeing the Commandments of the Lord, are faithfull and sure for ever; it is a plain falling from the Faith, and a high pride either to make void any thing therin, or to introduce any thing not there to be found*: and he gives the reason for Christ saith, *My Sheep heare my voyce, they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his voyce*. But not to be endlesse in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the Fathers which have no ground in Scripture; so much the lesse, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us, that lean not on them; otherwise these

¹⁶⁷ St. Basil, *De Fide*, I (tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, XXXI, 677). "Those very things which I have learned from the divinely inspired Scripture, those I too am bound, with a regard for the advantage of us all, to explain to you in a manner pleasing to God." Milton's source edition of Basil was probably the source used in CPB (above, p. 381), the *Opera* (2 vols., Paris, 1618) In this edition Milton's reference is to II, 249 St. Basil the Great (329?–379) was one of the ten children of St. Basil the Elder, the brother of St. Gregory of Nyssa and of St. Macrina. St. Basil became a priest at the insistence of Eusebius; but, taking up his residence in Eusebius' episcopal city Caesarea, he outshone Eusebius as an administrator and thinker and was for a time alienated from him. Basil contended against Emperor Valens who, like Constantius before him, was attempting to force the Arian belief on the church. He became bishop in 370 A brilliant and compassionate man, he led a life of struggle, poor health, and sadness. His conscience lost him friends and drove him to undertake tasks too large for his frail constitution to accomplish. When his funeral took place, the streets were filled with mourners of many faiths.

¹⁶⁸ The passage to which Milton refers is in *De Fide*, I, and reads as follows (tr. from Migne, *Graeca*, XXXI, 680; St. Basil, *Opera* [Paris, 1618], II, 251.): "Since the Lord is worthy of faith in all his words, and all his commandments are to be believed, having been instituted world without end, having been brought into being in truth and honesty, it is a manifest deviation from faith and an act worthy of being charged as contempt towards it either to reject as spurious any of those things which have been written down before this, or to bring in, in addition to them, anything which has not previously been written down, for our Lord Jesus Christ says: 'My sheep hear my voice.' And just before this he said: '. . . a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of strangers.'"

their words shall acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be reply'd, the Scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the explanation of the Fathers, 'tis true there be some Books, and especially some places in those Books that remain clouded; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known is most [36] easie; and that which is most difficult, so farre expounds it selfe ever, as to tell us how little it imports our *saving knowledge*. Hence to inferre a generall obscurity over all the text, is a meer suggestion of the Devil to dissuade men from reading it, and casts an aspersion of dishonour both upon the *mercy, truth, and wisdom* of *God*: We count it no gentlenesse, or fair dealing in a man of Power amongst us, to require strict, and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obscure, we should think he had a plot upon us, certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of Truth is plainnesse, and brightnes; the darknes and crookednesse is our own. The *Wisdom* of *God* created *understanding*, fit and proportionable to Truth the object, and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our *understanding* have a film of *ignorance* over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisterings, what is that to Truth? If we will but purge with sovraign eyesalve that intellectual ray which *God* hath planted in us, then we would beleieve the Scriptures protesting their own plainnes, and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the *wise, and learned*, but the *simple, the poor, the babes*, foretelling an extraordinary effusion of *Gods Spirit* upon every age, and sexe, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things,¹⁶⁹ and by the Spirit discerning that which is good; and as the Scriptures [37] themselves pronounce their own plainnes, so doe the Fathers testifie of them.

I will not run into a paroxysm of citations again in this point, only instance *Athanasius* in his fore-mention'd first page; *the knowledge of Truth*, saith he, *wants no humane lore, as being evident in it selfe, and by the preaching of Christ now opens brighter then the Sun*. If these Doctors who had scarce half the light that we enjoy, who all except 2 or 3 were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous, and suspectfull translations of the

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 31: the people "musing, searching, revolving new notions . . . reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction."

Apostat *Aquila*,¹⁷⁰ the Heretical Theodotion; ¹⁷¹ the Judaiz'd *Symmachus*; ¹⁷² the erroneous *Origen*; ¹⁷³ if these could yet find the Bible

¹⁷⁰ A second-century translator of the Old Testament, probably a disciple of Rabbi Akiba (born about 50 A.D. and martyred by the Romans about 132). Irenaeus called him a native of Pontus. *Against Heresies*, III, xxi, in Migne, *Graeca*, VII, 916. Milton refers to him as "apostate" because he was a proselyte from Christianity. Little else is known of him. A strict literalist, he produced a version of his text which must have been studied with no little perplexity by its simple Greek readers. Genesis 1:1 is an example of his relentless fidelity. Hebrew has besides the article a particle placed before that part of speech when it governs a noun that is the object of a verb. This particle (*aleph tau*) is also, with very slight phonetic change, a Hebrew preposition meaning "with." With this fact and a demanding sense of Hebrew etymology firmly in his mind, Aquila rendered the first verse of Genesis approximately thus (tr. from Origen's *Hexapla* in Migne, *Graeca*, XV, 143 ff.): "In the head point God brought into being with the heaven and with the earth." This and other shattering loyalties to the Hebrew tongue, "which the Greek and Latin language do not at all admit," drove the literary critic in St. Jerome to brand Aquila "that affected man." *Epistle to Pammachius*, LVII, in Migne, *Latina*, XXII, 577-78. Portions of Aquila's translation appear in the fragmentary early variorum edition, the *Hexapla*, which Origen attempted in order to arrive at a reliable text of the Old Testament. His version was in use as late as the sixth century when Justinian sanctioned its use in the synagogues. On the whole, Christians viewed it with suspicion, not to say alarm, and it fell into disuse and finally disappeared. Cf. Henry Wace and William C. Piercy, *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature* (London, 1911); *Catholic Encyclopedia*; *Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., New York, 1901-06); Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, XV, in Migne, *Graeca*, XLIII, 261.

¹⁷¹ Of Theodotion little is known. St. Irenaeus calls him "the man from Ephesus" (*Against Heresies*, III, xxi) and adds that following his translation, and Aquila's, of Isaiah 7.14 (he translated it "Behold a *young woman* shall conceive and bear a son.") the Ebionites said that Christ was conceived by Joseph. The Ebionites (Eusebius, *Church History*, III, xxviii) were a sect which believed that Christ did not exist with the Father before his conception, which laid great emphasis on Hebraistic fulfillment of law, rejecting the Epistles of St. Paul and making use only of the Gospel of St. Matthew. St. Jerome in his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, LIV, asserts that Theodotion was an Ebionite. Milton calls him "heretical" on the basis of the tradition that arose, probably from this passage, that Theodotion belonged to that sect. Like Aquila, Theodotion was a careful translator, though he often transliterates words without translating. His version of scripture appears in fragments in the *Hexapla* of Origen. His translation of Daniel, used at first to fill lacunae in the Septuagint text of that book, has now replaced the Septuagint text in the Canon of Scripture. See "Theodotion," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*; *Jewish Encyclopedia*; Wace and Piercy, *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*.

¹⁷² Symmachus is called judaized because he was an Ebionite, a semi-Jew in religion. Eusebius, *Church History*, IV, xvii. His translation of scripture, more graceful in diction than Aquila's, giving the sense of the Hebrew rather than the letter, was sometimes censured as being too broad a paraphrase of the original.

so easie, why should we doubt, that have all the helps of Learning, and faithfull industry that man in this life can look for, and the assistance of *God* as neer now to us as ever. But let the Scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse then the Fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected stile of the Scriptures, will be ten times more puzzl'd with the knotty Africanisms, the pampers'd metaphors; the intricat, and involv'd sentences of the Fathers; besides the fantastick, and declamatory flashes; the crosse-jingling periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a setl'd devotion worse then the din of bells, and rattles.

Now Sir, for the love of holy *Reformation*, what can be said more against these importunat clients of Antiquity, then she her selfe their pa-[38]tronesse hath said. Whether think ye would she approve still to dote upon immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary, and unmercifull volumes, choosing rather to erre with the specious name of the Fathers, or to take a sound Truth at the hand of a plain upright man that all his dayes hath bin diligently reading the holy Scriptures, and therto imploring *Gods* grace, while the admirers of Antiquity have bin beating their brains about their *Ambones*,¹⁷⁴ their *Diptychs*,¹⁷⁵ and *Meniaia's*?¹⁷⁶ Now, he that cannot tell of Sta-

Little is definitely known of Symmachus; he is said to have lived in the late second and early third centuries. Fragments of his translation may be found in the *Hexapla* of Origen (Migne, *Graeca*, XV). See Wace and Piercy, *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*.

¹⁷³ Among the errors ascribed to Origen was a belief that the Father has the first place in the Trinity and a belief that none would be damned on the last day. See Severus, *Dialogue I* (*Opera Omnia*, Leyden, 1635, pp. 247-50, or Migne, *Latina*, XX, 187-89). Foxe calls attention to the fallibility of Origen and other church fathers, concluding (*Acts*, I, 204; 1631-32, I, 91). "Preheminence of authoritie onely belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man."

¹⁷⁴ An ambo is a pulpit with a flight of steps on either side, from which the Epistles and Gospel were read and the sermons preached in the early church. A man who concerned himself with ambones would have an architectural interest in the Christian religion.

¹⁷⁵ A diptych is a wax writing tablet of two leaves backed by ivory or wood. On the diptych the names of the members of the early church, living and dead, were written; and from it they were read on the ambo during the course of the service. Gradually the diptych came to include only the names of the more important members of the body of the church. It was a grave ecclesiastical penalty to be excluded from the diptych. A man inordinately concerned with diptyches would have a historical or sociological interest in Christianity.

¹⁷⁶ The menaia are twelve books, one for each month, containing offices for the immovable feasts of the Byzantine rite. Offices are groups of prayers and readings arranged according to the canonical hours of the day (Matins, Prime, Tierce, Sext,

tions,¹⁷⁷ and Indictions; ¹⁷⁸ nor has wasted his pretious howrs in the endles conferring of Councils and Conclaves that demolish one another, although I know many of those that pretend to be great Rabbies in these studies have scarce saluted them from the strings, and the titlepage, or to give 'em more, have bin but the Ferrets and Moushunts of an Index: yet what Pastor, or Minister how learned, religious, or discreet soever does not now bring both his cheeks full blown with Oecumenical, and Synodical, shall be counted a lank, shallow, unsufficient man, yea a dunce, and not worthy to speak about *Reformation of Church Discipline*. But I trust they for whom *God* hath reserv'd the honour of Reforming this Church will easily perceive their adversaries drift in thus calling for Antiquity, they feare the plain field of the Scriptures,¹⁷⁹ the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushie, the tangled Forrest, they would imbosk: they feel themselvs strook in the [39] transparent streams of divine Truth, they would plunge, and tumble, and thinke to ly hid in the foul weeds, and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottome. But let them beat themselvs like Whales, and spend their oyl till they be dradg'd ashoar: though wherfore should the Ministers give them so much line for shifts, and delays? Wherfore should they not urge only the Gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of Diamond, till it dazle,

None, Compline) for the use of priests or other religious Immovable feasts are feasts which always fall on a certain day of the month, as, for example, Christmas. Note Milton's contemptuous use of the double plural, Greek and English.

¹⁷⁷ Stations were stated churches to which, on certain days, the early Christians would go after fasting till some time in the afternoon. Some people assert that they are called stations from the fact that the Christians of that time performed all their devotions on foot at these appointed times. Since people fasted on station-days, the word "station" came to mean a "fast."

¹⁷⁸ Milton is probably referring to the periods of time used in papal and other church documents. An indiction is a period of time comprising fifteen years. Indictions are reckoned in the Eastern church from September 1, 312 A.D.; in the Western from September 24 of the same year Pontifical indictions, introduced in the ninth century, start from the beginning of the civil year. Formerly indictions were periods of fifteen years at the end of which the books of the Roman Empire were balanced. Indictions are unnumbered. *Mense Septembri, Indict, IX, quae fuit ordinationis ejus prima*, for example, would be translated "In the month of September, in the ninth year of the indiction, which was the first of his consecration." The word "indiction" also means a "fast." *NED*. See *Cath. Encycl.*

¹⁷⁹ The emphasis of Puritanism on the reading of the Scriptures was encouraging in thousands of English minds a rebellion against ancient custom whether religious or secular. In a speech to the Commons May 1, 1641, William Thomas said (E198, [8], p. 5): "Antiquity without truth (as saith Cyprian) is but ancient error."

and pierce their misty ey balls? maintaining it the honour of its absolute sufficiency, and supremacy inviolable: For if the Scripture be for *Reformation*, and Antiquity to boot, 'tis but an advantage to the dozen, 'tis no winning cast: and though Antiquity be against it, while the Scriptures be for it, the Cause is as good as ought to be wisht, Antiquity it selfe sitting Judge.

But to draw to an end; the second sort of those that may be justly number'd among the hinderers of *Reformation*, are Libertines, these suggest that the Discipline sought would be intolerable: for one Bishop now in a Dioces we should then have a Pope in every Parish.¹⁸⁰ It will not be requisit to Answer these men, but only to discover them, for reason they have none, but lust, and licentiousnes, and therefore answer can have none. It is not any Discipline that they could live under, it is the corruption, and remisnes of Discipline that they seek.¹⁸¹ Episcopacy duly executed, yea the Turkish, and Jewish rigor against whor-[40]ing, and drinking; the dear, and tender Discipline of a Father; the sociable, and loving reproof of a Brother; the bosome admonition of a Friend is a *Presbytery*, and a Consistory to them. 'Tis only the merry Frier in *Chaucer* can disple them.

*Full sweetly heard he confession
And pleasant was his absolution,
He was an easie man to give pennance.*

And so I leave them: and referre the political discourse of Episcopacy to a Second Book. [41]

¹⁸⁰ That the Presbyterians wanted a pope in every parish was an old accusation against them. It had appeared as early as 1611 in George Downname, *Defence of the Sermon*, I, 39: "An absolute Popeling in everie Parish."

¹⁸¹ Notice Milton's attempt here to stamp enemies of Presbyterianism as slaves of their passions Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I, 501-02:

. . . then wander forth the Sons
Of *Behai*, flown with insolence and wine.

Of Reformation, &c.

THE SECOND BOOK

Sir,

It is a work good, and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended vertue to order wel one house; but to govern a Nation piously, and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle. And certainly of no lesse a mind, nor of lesse excellence in another way, were they who by writing layd the solid, and true foundations of this Science, which being of greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath bin more canker'd in her principles, more soyl'd, and slubber'd with aphorisming pedantry then the art of policie; and that most, where a man would thinke should least be, in Christian Common-wealths. They teach not that to govern well ¹ is to train up a Nation in true wisdom and vertue, and that [42] which springs from thence magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likenes to *God*, which in one word we call *godlines*, & that this is the true flourishing of a Land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance: to teach thus were meer pulpitry to them. This is the masterpiece of a modern politician,² how to qualifie, and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks, how rapine may serve it selfe with the fair, and honourable pretences of publick good, how the puny Law may be brought under the wardship, and controul of lust, and will; in which

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, I, xiii (tr. H. Rackham, London and New York. Loeb Classical Library, 1926, p. 61): "But inasmuch as happiness is a certain activity of soul in conformity with perfect virtue, it is necessary to examine the nature of virtue. For this will probably assist us in our investigation of the nature of happiness. Also, the true statesman seems to be one who has made a special study of virtue, since his aim is to make the citizens good and law-abiding men." The Greek may also be found in Aristotle, *Opera* (2 vols., Geneva, 1597), II, 18.

² Milton seems to be writing with an eye on Machiavelli's *Prince*. See above, pp. 414-15.

attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of reputation by all means direct or indirect be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruse of honor. To make men governable in this manner their precepts mainly tend to break a nationall spirit, and courage by count'nancing upon riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigur'd and made men beneath men, as *Juno* in the Fable of *Iò*,³ they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the Commonwealth to be stung and vext with the breese, and goad of oppression under the custody of some *Argus* ⁴ with a hundred eyes of jealousie. To be plainer Sir, how to soder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floting carcas of a crazie, and diseased Monarchy,⁵ or State betwixt wind, and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees, that now is [43] the deepe designe of a politician. Alas Sir! a Commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth, and stature of an honest man, as big, and compact in vertue as in body; for looke what the grounds, and causes are of single happines to one man, the same yee shall find them to a whole state, as *Aristotle* both in his ethicks,⁶ and politiks,⁷ from the principles of reason layes down; by consequence therfore, that which is good, and agreeable to monarchy, will appeare soonest to be so, by being good, and agreeable to the true wel-fare of every Christian, and that which can be justly prov'd hurtfull, and offensive to every true Christian, wilbe evinc't to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for *God* forbid, that we should separate and distinguish the end, and

³ Juno condemned Io, the woman whom Zeus transformed into a white cow, to be driven through the world by a gadfly. See Ovid, *Meta*, I, 568-750 (Leipzig, 1568, pp. 64-74).

⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Meta*, I, 625 (Leipzig, 1568, p. 67).

⁵ To Milton a healthy monarchy is one limited by law, that is, subject to the people's wishes as expressed through Parliament. Milton is not ready yet, however, for such a broadside against unlimited regal power as may be found in *Englands Complaint to Jesus Christ, against the Bishops Canons* (1640). This pamphlet anticipates some of the Leveller criticism of kingship to appear in 1646.

⁶ See Aristotle, *Ethics*, I, ix (tr. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 1926, p. 47): "This conclusion moreover agrees with what we laid down at the outset; for we stated that the Supreme Good was the end of the political science, but the principal care of this science is to produce a certain character in the citizens, namely to make them virtuous, and capable of performing noble actions." For a contemporary Greek source see the *Opera* (Geneva, 1597), II, 14.

⁷ See Aristotle, *Politics*, VII, ii (tr. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, 1926, p. 539): "On the other hand it remains to say whether the happiness of a state is to be pronounced the same as that of each individual man, or whether it is different. Here too the answer is clear: everybody would agree that it is the same." Cf. Aristotle, *Opera* (Geneva, 1597), II, 535.

good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Christianity. How then this third, and last sort that hinder reformation, will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse? For certain I am, the *Bible* is shut against them, as certaine that neither *Plato*, nor *Aristotle* is for their turnes.⁸ What they can bring us now from the Schools of *Loyola*⁹ with his Jesuites, or their *Malvezzi*¹⁰ that can cut *Tacitus* into slivers and steaks, we shall presently hear. They alledge 1. That the Church government must be conformable to the civill politie, next, that no forme of Church government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of Bishops.¹¹ Must Church government that is [44] appointed in the Gospel, and has chief respect to the soul, be conformable, and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly conversant about the visible and external part of man? this is the very maxim that moulded the Calvs of *Bethel* and

⁸ Milton means that there is nothing in Plato or Aristotle to justify mere obedience as opposed to the welfare of the citizens. In analyzing the causes of the Civil War in *Behemoth* (1679), Hobbes asserted that the Puritans imbibed "the democratically principles of Aristotle and Cicero . . . till it grew into the rebellion we now talk of" *English Works*, ed. Molesworth (1839-45), VI, 218.

⁹ St. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Society of Jesus. This reference to Loyola is one of two in all Milton's prose and poetry. For the other see below, p. 896.

¹⁰ Virgilio Marquese Malvezzi was a learned Bolognese, who earned the degree of doctor of law at seventeen. He understood theology, law, medicine, and was skilled in the fine arts of painting and music. King Philip IV of Spain made use of him in war as well as in state affairs. He went constantly back and forth from Spain to Bologna, where he died in August, 1654. (Abstracted from *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon* [Leipzig and Halle, 1737].) Milton is referring to Malvezzi's book, *Discourses upon Cornelius Tacitus*, which may be consulted in the English translation of Sir Richard Baker (1642). A copy of this translation with annotations alleged to be by Milton or his secretary is in the New York Public Library.

¹¹ Cf. *The Petition for the Prelates Briefly Examined* (June, 1641), E160(2), p. 4: "The Government of the Church by Episcopacy, is most suitable to the frame and form of the Civill government here in this Kingdome." Cf. Sir Thomas Aston in a preface, "To the Honourable the Lord Bishops," in *A Remonstrance against Presbitery* (May 28, 1641), E163(1) and E163(2): "I consider your Predecessours as the Ballast which have poyzd the Barks of Monarchy, to sayle safely in the Sea of Vulgar." In *A Modest Advertisement* (May, 1641), E156(7), George Morley asserted government by bishops to be warranted by scripture and (p. 12) "most usefull for Kings, and Kingdomes." Still more plainly the author of *A Discourse of Sacriledge* (February, 1642), E135(38), asserted that "the more ordinate Church Government, and the more concentrate to unite it is, it agreeth better with Monarchy, and holds better harmony with its head, which is Christ."

of *Dan*, this was the quintessence of *Jeroboams* policy,¹² he made Religion conform to his politick interests, & this was the sin that watcht over the Israelites till their final captivity. If this State principle come from the Prelates, as they affect to be counted statists, let them look back to *Elutherius*¹³ Bishop of *Rome*, and see what he thought of the policy of *England*; being requir'd by *Lucius* the first Christian King of this Iland to give his counsel for the founding of Religious Laws, little thought he of this sage caution, but bids him betake himselfe to the old, and new Testament, and receive direction from them how to administer both Church, and Common-wealth; that he was *Gods* Vicar, and therefore to rule by *Gods* Laws, that the Edicts of *Cæsar* we may at all times disallow, but the Statutes of *God* for no reason we may reject. Now certaine if Church-government be taught in the Gospel, as the Bishops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late standing this Position is, newly calculated for the altitude of Bishop elevation, and lettice for their lips. But by what example can they shew that the form of Church Discipline must be minted, and modell'd out to secular pretences? The ancient Republick of the Jews¹⁴ is evident to [45] have run through all the changes of

¹² Kings 12 27–33. Cf. Severus, *History*, I, li (*Fathers*, N. and P. N. 2, XI, 91). “Since Roboam held Jerusalem, where the people had been accustomed to offer sacrifice to God in the temple built by Solomon, Jeroboam, fearing lest their religious feelings might alienate the people from him, resolved to fill their mind with superstition. Accordingly he set up one golden calf at Beth-el, and another at Dan, to which the people might offer sacrifice, and passing by the tribe of Levi, he appointed priests from among the people.” For the Latin see Migne, *Latina*, XX, 120, and Severus, *History* (Leyden, 1635), pp. 71–72.

¹³ According to a constant but dubious tradition, apparently based on a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, an old historical catalogue of the popes, Lucius, King of the Britons, sent to Rome, asking Eleutherius to make him a Christian. Cf. Bede, *Church History*, I, iv (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XCV, 30, Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum*, Heidelberg, 1587, p. 151): “In the one-hundred-fifty-sixth year from the Incarnation of the Lord, Marcus Antoninus Verus, the fourteenth [Caesar] after Augustus, accepted the imperial power together with his brother, Aurelius Commodus. When, in their times, the holy man Eleutherius was presiding over the pontifical see of the Roman Church, Lucius, King of the Britons, sent a letter to him, beseeching that through his command he [Lucius] be made a Christian. and the carrying out of the pious request followed soon after, and the faith was accepted by the Britons. They kept it pure and unspotted in unbroken peace until the times of Emperor Diocletian.” Cf. also Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, IV, xix, in Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum* (Heidelberg, 1587), p. 30. Eleutherius was bishop of Rome from 171(?) to 193. For a purported letter from Eleutherius to Lucius see Migne, *Graeca*, V, 1143.

¹⁴ When Milton writes of the republic of the Jews that it “is evident to have

civil estate, if we survey the Story from the giving of the Law to the *Herods*, yet did one manner of Priestly government serve without inconvenience to all these temporal mutations: it serv'd the mild Aristocracy¹⁵ of elective Dukes, and heads of Tribes joyn'd with them; the dictatorship of the Judges, the easie, or hard-handed Monarchy's, the domestick, or forrain tyrannies, Lastly the Roman Senat from without, the Jewish Senat at home with the Galilean Tetrarch, yet the Levites had some right to deal in civil affairs:¹⁶ but seeing the Evangelical precept¹⁷ forbids Churchmen to intermeddle with worldly imployments, what interweavings, or interworkings can knit the Minister, and the Magistrate in their several functions to the regard of any precise correspondency? Seeing that the Churchmans office is only to teach men the Christian Faith, to exhort all, to encourage the good, to admonish the bad, privately the lesse offender, publickly the scandalous and stubborn; to censure, and separate from the communion of *Christs* flock, the contagious, and incorrigible, to receive with joy, and fatherly compassion the penitent, all this must be don, and more then this is beyond any Church authority. What is all this either here, or there to the temporal regiment of Wealpublick, whether it be Popular, Princely, or Monarchical? Where doth it intrench upon the temporal governor, where does it

run through all the changes of civil estate," he is not necessarily contradicting the statement of Josephus (*Against Apion*, II, xvii) that Moses ordained it "to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy" (tr Whiston). Cf. Sigonius, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (Frankfurt, 1585; HCL) I, v. "It follows that I am speaking of forms of government which God either ordained by a higher law, or, afterwards when the law went unheeded, allowed to be established. Besides, when there is a question of forms of government, the question has to do with nothing else except in whose control the highest rank of command over affairs is to be constituted Among the Hebrews, indeed, this was first placed in the power of the noblest men, thereafter, in that of the Kings; of these two forms of rule, the Greeks have called the former an *aristocracy*, the latter, a *kingdom*. There was an aristocracy under Moses, the Elders and the Judges; a kingdom under the Kings."

¹⁵ Milton's phrase "elective Dukes" is not a mistaken reference to the dukes of Edom (Genesis 36 15 ff). It is a Latinism referring to those who immediately succeeded Moses and means "leaders subject to being chosen." (See "Duke," *NED*.) Joshua is termed "Dux" in Sigonius, *Commentary on the Sacred History of Blessed Sulpicius Severus* (Bologna, 1581; HLH), p. 104

¹⁶ See, for instance, II Chronicles 19:8-11.

¹⁷ The nearest approach to an outright precept against worldly employments is I John 2:15-17. Another passage which seems to forbid the apostles' taking part in secular government may be found in Matthew 20:25-26.

come in his walk? where does it [46] make inrode upon his jurisdiction? Indeed if the Ministers part be rightly discharg'd, it renders him the people more conscionable, quiet, and easie to be govern'd, if otherwise his life and doctrine will declare him. If therfore the Constitution of the Church be already set down by divine prescript, as all sides confesse, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities, and respects: and if the nature and limits of Church Discipline be such, as are either helpfull to all political estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no necessity, nor indeed possibility of linking the one with the other in a speciall conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, *That no form of Church government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Bishops*,¹⁸ although it fall to pieces of it selfe by that which hath bin said: yet to give them play front, and reare, it shall be my task to prove that Episcopacy with that Authority which it challenges in *England* is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of Monarchy. While the Primitive Pastors of the Church of *God* labour'd faithfully in their Ministry, tending only their Sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations, and debasements to their high calling, little needed the Princes, and potentates of the earth, which way soever the Gospel was spread, to study ways how to make a coherence between the Churches politie, and theirs: therfore when [47] *Pilate* heard once our Saviour *Christ* professing that *his Kingdome was not of this world*,¹⁹ he thought the man could not stand much in *Cæsars* light, nor much indammage the Roman Empire: for if the life of *Christ* be hid to this world, much more is his Scepter unoperative, but in spirituall things. And thus liv'd, for 2 or 3 ages, the Successors of the Apostles. But when through *Constantines* lavish Superstition they forsook their *first love*, and set themselvs up two

¹⁸ Cf. *Petition for the Prelates* (1641) p. 4: "No man can give us an assurance, how any Church government besides this . . . will suite and agree with the Civill policy of this State." In his speech of February 9, 1641, Lord Digby said (Rushworth, IV, 174): "I do not think a King can put down Bishops totally with Safety to Monarchy." On King James' conclusion, "No bishop, no king," see above, p. 16. For replies to this point similar to Milton's, see Prynne, *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 1; Peter Wentworth, *A Pack of Puritans* (June, 1641), pp. 43-48.

¹⁹ John 18:36. Milton's position on sharp separation of church and state has already crystallized from his broad reading of early church history and the alliance of church and state under Constantine. See *CPB*, above, p. 420.

Gods instead, *Mammon*²⁰ and their Belly, then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on mens consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things into their command, upon which their carnal desires, the Spirit dayly quenching and dying in them, they knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering, and supporting their inward rottenness by a carnal, and outward strength. For a while they rather privily sought opportunity, then hastily disclos'd their project, but when *Constantine* was dead, and 3 or 4 Emperors more, their drift became notorious, and offensive to the whole world: for while *Theodosius* the younger reign'd, thus writes *Socrates* the Historian in his 7th Book, 11. chap.²¹ now began an ill name to stick upon the Bishops of *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, who beyond their Priestly bounds now long agoe had stept into principality; and this was scarce 80. years since their raising from the meanest worldly condition. Of courtesie now let any man tell [48] me, if they draw to themselves a *temporall strength* and *power* out of *Cæsars* Dominion, is not *Cæsars* Empire thereby diminisht? but this was a stolne bit, hitherto hee was but a Caterpillar secretly gnawing at *Monarchy*, the next time you shall see him a *Woolfe*, a *Lyon*, lifting his paw against his raiser, as *Petrarch* exprest it, and finally an open enemy, and subverter of the Greeke Empire. *Philippicus* and *Leo*,²² with divers other Emperours after

²⁰ See Matthew 6:24.

²¹ See *Socrates*, *Church History*, VII, xi (London, 1874, p. 344): "But envy attacked them also, as soon as the Roman episcopate, like that of Alexandria, extended itself beyond the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and degenerated into its present state of secular domination" Milton's translation is closer to the Greek, which may be found in Migne, *Graeca*, LXVII, 757, and in *EHA* (Paris, 1544), f. 267v For Milton's statement, "I could not but love the historian, *Socrates*," see below, p. 944.

²² *Philippicus*, Emperor of Constantinople (711-713), was a Monothelite; that is, held the heretical belief that there is in Christ only one will, the divine. After he came into power, he abolished the canons of the Sixth Council of Constantinople (See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 310), which had condemned Monothelism. To stress the human will of Christ that Council had ordained "that in place of the Lamb [of God] earlier [used], a human likeness of Christ, who, as the Lamb [of God], bore the sins of the world, be depicted in the images." It is because *Philippicus* abolished the canons of the Council that had ordained this, that Milton conceived of him as a forerunner of *Leo* the Iconoclast. Milton's source here is certainly the *Compendium* of *Cedrenus* (Basle, 1566), in which an account of the Sixth Council of Constantinople is to be found on pp. 360-61, and from which the passage above is freely translated. *Cedrenus*' account of *Philippicus* appears in the same work (Basle, 1566) on pp. 368-69. For *Leo III*, sometimes called the

them, not without the advice of their *Patriarchs*, and at length of a whole Easterne Counsell of 3. hundred thirty eight *Bishops*,²³ threw the Images out of *Churches* as being decreed idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occasion the *Bishop* of *Rome* not only seizes the City,²⁴ and all the Territory about into his owne hands, and makes himselfe Lord thereof, which till then was govern'd by a Greeke Magistrate, but absolves all *Italy* of their Tribute, and obedience due to the Emperour, because hee obey'd Gods Commandement in abolishing Idolatry.

Mark Sir here how the Pope came by S. *Peters* Patrymony, as he feigns it, not the donation of *Constantine*, but idolatry²⁵ and rebellion got it him. Yee need but read *Sigonius*²⁶ one of his owne Sect to know the Story at large. And now to shroud himselfe against a storme from the Greek Continent, and provide a Champion to beare him out in these practises, hee takes upon him by Papall sentence to unthrone *Chilpericus*²⁷ the rightfull K. of *France*, and gives the Kingdome to *Pepin* for no [49] other cause but that hee seem'd to him the more active man. If he were a friend herein to *Monarchy* I know not, but to the *Monarch* I need not aske what he was.

Having thus made *Pepin* his fast freind, he cals him into *Italy* against *Aistulphus* the *Lombard*,²⁸ that warr'd upon him for his late

Iconoclast and the Isaurian, Emperor of Constantinople from 718 to 741, see *CPB*, above, p. 444, and Cedrenus, *Compendium* (Basle, 1566), pp 370–77.

²³ Under Constantine V, son of Leo III and Emperor of the East from 741 to 775, a council was held in Constantinople (754) which legislated the images out of the Eastern churches. For Milton's source see Cedrenus, *Compendium* (Basle, 1566), p. 381.

²⁴ See *CPB*, above, p. 444.

²⁵ See Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae* (Frankfurt, 1591), p. 76.

²⁶ Carlo Sigonius (1523–1584) was a Renaissance scholar and historian. See *CPB*, above, p. 444, n. 1.

²⁷ Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae*, III (Frankfurt, 1591), p. 74. See *CPB*, above, p. 444.

²⁸ See Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae*, III; (Frankfurt, 1591), p. 76 (freely tr): "It almost seemed that he [Zachary] was divinely advised that he should ask aid from France after the example of Gregory. And so he immediately had a trustworthy man brought to him and ordered him to hasten, as soon as he had put on the guise of a pilgrim, to King Pepin, secretly, lest he be intercepted by the Lombards . . . Pepin had been laid under obligation to the Papal See by that favor wherein Pope Zachary had just, . . . King Chilpericus having abdicated, awarded him the kingship of the Franks . . . and he [Pepin] wanted the same right carried over to his sons Charles and Carloman by the same authority."

Usurpation of *Rome* as belonging to *Ravenna* ²⁹ which he had newly won. *Pepin*, not unobedient to the Popes call, passing into *Italy*, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchat of *Ravenna*, which though it had beene almost immediately before, the hereditary possession of that *Monarchy* which was his cheife Patron, and Benefactor, yet he takes, and keepes it to himselfe as lawfull prize, and given to St. *Peter*. What a dangerous fallacie is this, when a spirituall man may snatch to himselfe any temporall Dignity, or Dominion under pretence of receiving it for the Churches use; thus he claimes *Naples, Sicily, England*, and what not? To bee short, under shew of his zeale against the errors of the Greeke Church, hee never ceast baiting, and goring the Successors of his best Lord *Constantine* what by his barking curses, and Excommunications, what by his hindering the Westernne Princes from ayding them against the Sarazens, and Turkes, unlesse when they humour'd him; so that it may be truly affirm'd, he was the subversion, and fall of that *Monarchy*, which was the hoisting of him; this, besides *Petrarch*, whom I have cited, our *Chaucer* also hath [50] observ'd,³⁰ and gives from hence a caution to *England* to beware of her *Bishops* in time, for that their ends, and aymes are no more freindly to *Monarchy* then the Popes.

Thus hee brings in the Plow-man speaking, 2. *Part. Stanz.* 28.

*The Emperour Yafe the Pope sometime
So high Lordship him about
That at last the silly Kime,
The proud Pope put him out,
So of this Realme is no doubt,
But Lords beware, and them defend,
For now these folks be wonders stout
The King and Lords now this amend.*

²⁹ Sigonius, *De Regno Italiae*, III; (Frankfurt, 1591), pp 63–8 *passim*. See CPB, above, p. 444

³⁰ *The Plowman's Tale* is not by Chaucer. Discussing the Chaucer tradition, Baugh writes of that work (Albert C. Baugh, Tucker Brooke, Samuel Chew, Kemp Malone, and George Sherburn, *A Literary History of England* [New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948], p. 292): "In the anonymous *Plowman's Tale* we have a very un-Chaucerian piece arbitrarily attached to the *Canterbury Tales*. . . . Almost every idea expressed can be paralleled in the writings of Wyclif and his followers." Baugh agrees (see n 27) with Skeat (William Langland, *The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman* [Oxford, 1869], p. xiii) that the author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Creed* was also the author of the *Plowman's Tale*.

And in the next *Stanza* which begins the third part of the tale he argues that they ought not to bee Lords.

*Moses Law forbode it tho
That Preists should no Lordships welde
Christs Gospell biddeth also,
That they should no Lordships held
Ne Christs Apostles were never so bold
No such Lordships to hem embrace
But smeren her Sheep, and keep her Fold.*

And so forward. Whether the Bishops of *England* have deserv'd thus to bee fear'd by men so wise as our *Chaucer* is esteem'd, and how agree-[51]able to our *Monarchy*, and *Monarchs* their demeanour ha's been, he that is but meanly read in our *Chronicles* needs not be instructed. Have they not been as the *Canaanites*, and *Philistims* to this Kingdom? what Treasons, what revolts to the Pope, what Rebellions, and those the basest, and most pretenselesse have they not been chiefe in? What could *Monarchy* think when *Becket* ³¹ durst challenge ³² the custody of *Rotchester-Castle*, and the Tower of *Lon-*

³¹ St. Thomas of Canterbury. Thomas a Becket (1118–1170), after studying at Merton Abbey and at Paris, entered the household of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, about 1141. The archbishop used Becket on delicate diplomatic missions, had him educated in civil and canon law at Auxerre and Bologna, and later made him archdeacon of Canterbury. When Becket was thirty-six, Henry II appointed him chancellor of England. Upon Theobald's death in 1161, Henry elevated Becket to the see of Canterbury. As archbishop Becket engaged in a series of disputes with the king, the chief of which involved the civil retrial of criminous clerks who had been acquitted by an ecclesiastical court. These disputes ended in the murder of Becket by four knights in 1170. See *S. Thomas of Canterbury, an Account of His Life and Fame from the Contemporary Biographers, etc.*, William Holden Hutton (London, 1899).

Milton's sources are Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 467, and Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 70, which he cites in *A Postscript*, p. 97, of *An Answer*. See below, p. 968. One of Holinshed's marginal comments reads (III, 70): "The king meaneth to bridle the spiritualitie from presumptuous dealing." Speed follows Foxe (*Acts*, II, 196 ff.; 1631–32, I, 266 ff.) in his interpretation of Becket's actions as a challenge to kingly authority, a point of view generally followed by Milton's Puritan contemporaries. When Puritan resistance to the kingship was at stake, however, as in the days of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, the Puritans emphasized the rights of conscience as opposed to royal interpretation of their threat to kingly power.

³² Cf. *A Postscript*, below, p. 968, where Milton's sources are cited in the margin. Speed asserts that Becket (*Historie*, 1627, p. 467) "challenged from the Crowne (to the Kings great offence) the custody of *Rocheſter Caſtle and other Ports*."

don, as appertaining to his Signory? To omit his other insolencies and affronts to Regall Majestie, till the Lashes inflicted on the anointed body of the King washt off the holy *Uction* with his *blood* drawn by the polluted hands of *Bishops, Abbots, and Monks*.

What good upholders of Royalty were the *Bishops*, when by their rebellious opposition against King *John*,³³ *Normandy* was lost, he himselfe depos'd, and this Kingdom made over to the *Pope*? When the *Bishop* of *Winchester* ³⁴ durst tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realme, that there were no Peeres in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might doe what hee pleas'd. What could Tyranny say more? it would bee petty now if I should insist upon the rendring up of *Tournay* ³⁵ by *Woolseyes* Treason, the Excommunications, Cursings, and Interdicts upon the whole Land. For haply I shall be cut off short by a reply, that these were the faults of the men, and their Popish errors, not of *Episcopacie*, that hath now renounc't the Pope, and is a Protestant. Yes sure; as wise [52] and famous men have suspected, and fear'd the Protestant *Episcopacie* in *England*, as those that have fear'd the Papall.

You know Sir what was the judgement of *Padre Paolo* ³⁶ the great Venetian Antagonist of the *Pope*, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his feare, that when the Hierarchy of *England* shall light into the hands of busie and audacious men, or shall meet with Princes tractable to the Prelacy, then much mischief

³³ Milton's source here is Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 503, which he cites in *A Postscript*, p. 98, of *An Answer*. See below, pp. 969-70.

³⁴ Notice the similar wording in *A Postscript*, below, p. 970. Milton's source is Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 530. According to Speed, Winchester asserted "*that there are not Peeres in England, as in the Realme of France.*"

³⁵ Milton is here following the *Chronicles* (1587), III, 848, in which Holinshed inveighs against Wolsey for using his influence with Henry VIII to give up Tournay to the French. See *A Postscript*, below, p. 973. A contemporary satirist compares Wolsey and Laud in *A True Description, or Rather a Parallel betweene . . . Wolsey and . . . Laud* (1641). The tract concludes: "The Cardinal dyed at Leicester some say of a Flux; Canterbury remains still in the Tower, onely sick of a fever."

³⁶ For Paolo Sarpi, see above, p. 396. The passage Milton refers to was written by Sarpi to Leschassier in a letter dated at Venice February 3, 1609: "I fear for the English . . . Whenever they meet with a weak king, or have an archbishop of great pride, the royal authority will be laid low, and the bishops will aspire to absolute domination." Milton's source was probably Louis du Moulin(?), *Irenaei Philadelphi Epistola* (1641), where this passage appears on p. 2. Cf. *Opere di F. Paolo Sarpi* (8 vols with supplements, Helmstat, 1761-68), VI, 48. Milton cites Sarpi's *Historie of the Council of Trent* extensively in *CPB*.

is like to ensue. And can it bee neerer hand, then when *Bishops* shall openly affirme that, No *Bishop*, no *King*?³⁷ a trimme Paradox, and that yee may know where they have beene a begging for it, I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Jesuites Cell; they feeling the Axe of Gods reformation hewing at the old and hollow trunk of Papacie, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to sooth him up in his dreame of a fift Monarchy, and withall to uphold the decrepit Papalty have invented this super-politick Aphorisme, as one termes it, One Pope, and one King.³⁸

Surely there is not any Prince in *Christendome*, who hearing this rare Sophistry can choose but smile, and if we be not blind at home we may as well perceive that this worthy Motto, No *Bishop*, no *King* is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same feares, a meere ague-cake coagulated of a certaine Fever they have, presaging their time to be but short: and now like those that are sink-[53]ing, they catch round at that which is likeliest to hold them up. And would perswade Regall Power, that if they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to Royall Dignity, whose towring, and stedfast heighth rests upon the unmovable foundations of Justice, and Heroick vertue, then to chaine it in a dependance of subsisting, or ruining to

³⁷ This phrase was used by King James at the Hampton Court Conference January 14, 1604. See the account in Fuller, *Church History*, X, xx; ed. J. S. Brewer (6 vols., London, 1845), VI, 280. James declared. "I approve the calling and use of bishops in the church, and it is my aphorism, 'No bishop, no king.'" In their *Answer* the Smectymnuans had asserted (1641, p. 85) that such an assumption was "very prejudicial to Kingly Authoritie." Cf. Lord Brooke in *A Discourse* (1641), p. 42: "These men [the bishops] buzze into Princes Eares, that They strike at *Monarchy*, that are displeased with such *Episcopacie*." Brooke contended by "No bishop, no king" the bishops meant that (p. 43) "the *Strength*, nay the *Being* of a *King*, depends wholly upon a Bishop." See introduction, above, p. 15.

³⁸ Cf. Tommaso Campanella, *The Spanish Monarchy* (1654, p. 22): "And therefore I conceive it very necessary, according to the *Fate of Christendom*, that if the King of Spain would arrive to an Universal Monarchy, He must declare himself publicly to have his dependance from the Pope." The Latin may be found in *De Monarchia Hispanica* (Amsterdam, 1640; HLH), pp. 47-48. Campanella was, of course, a Dominican; but the parallel is interesting. This book was popular enough to have been translated into German in 1620 (HCL) and to have been issued in a second edition by Elzevir (Amsterdam, 1641; HCL, NYPL). The picture that the English held of Spain as the leader of a universal monarchy united with the Roman Catholic Church had been set forth in a distinguished if biased preface to Paolo Sarpi, *A Discourse upon the Reasons of the Resolutions* (1628; McAlpin, I, 401). The author feared that (p. 21) "this double supremacie" of Rome and Spain might overwhelm both the English monarchy and European Protestantism.

the painted Battlements, and gaudy rottennesse of Prelatry, which want but one puffe of the Kings to blow them down like a past-bord House built of *Court-Cards*. Sir the little adoe, which me thinks I find in untacking these pleasant Sophismes, puts mee into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further; and *Menenius Agrippa* ³⁹ speed us.

Upon a time the Body summon'd all the Members to meet ⁴⁰ in the Guild for the common good (as *Æsops* Chronicles averre many stranger Accidents) the head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous Wen ⁴¹ little lesse then the Head it selfe, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members amaz'd began to aske one another what hee was that took place next their cheif; none could resolve. Whereat the Wen, though unweildy, with much adoe gets up and bespeaks the Assembly to this purpose. That as in place he was second to the head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of speciall neere relation, and that if the head should faile, none were fitter then himselfe to step into his place; therefore hee [54] thought it for the honour of the Body, that such dignities and rich indowments should be decreed him, as did adorne, and set out the noblest Members. To this was answer'd, that it should bee consulted. Then was a wise and learned Philosopher

³⁹ After the victory over the Sabines, Volsci, and Aequi in 494 B.C., Roman troops returned to Rome and found that the consuls had hindered the fulfillment of political promises made to the people. The troops were visibly dissatisfied, and the consuls, fearing a revolt, ordered them out of the city to guard a nonexistent front against the Aequi. The troops left the city but encamped without authorization three miles away on the Sacred Mount. Menenius Agrippa, a Roman patrician of popular leanings, was sent as an ambassador to the recalcitrant forces. Agrippa told the troops the fable of the revolt of man's members against the belly, the hands resolving to carry no food to the mouth, the mouth in turn agreeing not to receive food, and the teeth refusing to grind it. The result so weakened the various members that they agreed to share the riches received by the belly in the form of blood sent to all parts of the body. The troops were placated by the fable; and the consuls in turn compromised and granted the people tribunes. See Livy, *Historiarum . . . Libri*, III [A. U. C. 260] (Venice, 1592, p. 20). Cf. Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, I, i, and Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1868), pp. 41-42.

⁴⁰ (M) *A Tale*.

⁴¹ See Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament* (1628), p. 11, for metaphor of "knobs and wens and bunchie popish flesh." No treatment will avail; only (p. 186) "cutting off must make the cure." Cf. also Prynne, "Good Counsel," *Lord Bishops* (1640), p. [75]: "'Tis true indeed, that an old *inbred malignant tumour*, or *incorporated Wenne* (as *Junius* calls the *Popedome*, and *Hierarchy*) is not easily removed from the Body."

sent for, that knew all the Charters, Lawes, and Tenures of the Body. On him it is impos'd by all, as cheife Committee to examine, and discusse the claime and Petition of right put in by the Wen; who soone perceiving the matter, and wondring at the boldnesse of such a swolne Tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vitious and harden'd excrements, contend with the lawfull and free-borne members, whose certaine number is set by ancient, and unrepealable Statute? head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it, what office bearest thou? What good canst thou shew by thee done to the Common-weale? the Wen not easily dash't replies, that his Office was his glory, for so oft as the soule would retire out of the head from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to Divine Contemplation, with him shee found the purest, and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soile, and disturbance. Lourdane, quoth the Philosopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth; know that all the faculties of the Soule are confin'd of old to their severall vessels, and *ventricles*, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole Body; and that thou containst no good thing in thee, but a heape of [55] hard, and loathsome uncleannes, and art to the head a foul disfigurment and burden, when I have cut thee off, and open'd thee, as by the help of these implements I will doe, all men shall see.

But to return, whence was digress't, seeing that the throne of a King, as the wise K. *Salomon* ⁴² often remembers us, *is establisht in Justice*, which is the universall *Justice* ⁴³ that *Aristotle* so much praises, containing in it all other *vertues*, it may assure us that the fall of Prelacy, whose actions are so farre distant from *Justice*, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy: but that their standing doth continually oppose, and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary, and accessory causes that support Monarchy, these are not of least reckning, though common to all other States: the love of the Subjects,

⁴² See Proverbs 16.12.

⁴³ See Aristotle, *Ethics*, V, i (Loeb Classical Library, 1926, p. 259; *Opera*, Geneva, 1597, II, 74-75): "Justice . . . is perfect virtue, though with a qualification, namely that it is displayed towards others. This is why Justice is often thought to be the chief of virtues, and more sublime 'or than the evening or the morning star'; and we have the proverb—In Justice is all virtue found in sum. And Justice is perfect virtue because it is the practice of perfect virtue; and perfect in a special degree, because its possessor can practise his virtue towards others and not merely by himself; for there are many who can practise virtue in their own private affairs but cannot do so in their relations with another."

the multitude, and valor of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the Kingdome bin of late sore weak'nd, and chiefly by the Prelates. First let any man consider, that if any Prince shall suffer under him a commission of authority to be exerciz'd, till all the Land grone, and cry out, as against a whippe of Scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen, and keel the affections of the Subject. Next what numbers of faithfull, and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians have bin constrain'd to forsake their dearest home,⁴⁴ their friends, and kindred, whom nothing but the wide Ocean, and the savage deserts of *Ame-[56]rica* could hide and shelter from the fury of the Bishops. O Sir, if we could but see the shape of our deare Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appeare, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and teares abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children expos'd at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the Bishops thought *indifferent*.⁴⁵ What more binding then Conscience? what more free then *indifferency*? cruel then must that *indifferency* needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of Conscience, merciles, and inhumane that free choyse, and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of Religion. Let the Astrologer be dismay'd at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the aire as foretelling troubles and changes to states: I shall beleeeve there cannot be a more illboding signe to a Nation (*God* turne the Omen from us) then when the Inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are inforc'd by heaps to forsake their native Country. Now wheras the only remedy, and amends against the depopulation, and thinnesse of a Land within, is the borrow'd

⁴⁴ Baillie wrote that the persecuted were (*Lodensium*, 1640, p. 11) "cast out from their homes, as far as the worlds end, among the savage Americans." The number of subjects who had emigrated to New England from 1629 to November, 1640, was later reckoned at 21,200. George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (10 vols., New York, 1895), I, 280. After 1633, in which year seven hundred crossed to New England, the government attempted to restrict emigration. Gardiner, VII, 317. In *A Discourse* (1641), p. 94, Brooke estimated the number who had fled England to be ten thousand.

⁴⁵ See Canon VII of 1640, on the placing of the communion table as a thing indifferent (below, p. 991). To neither the Anglicans nor the Puritans, however, were such matters actually indifferent, that is, "neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God." Milton here represents the Puritan attitude toward ceremonies as a vindication of conscience as accurately as any man of his day. Cf. Lord Brooke on the concept of indifference in *A Discourse* (1641) pp. 19 ff.

strength of firme alliance from without, these Priestly policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestick forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest, & faithfulest neighbours abroad, by disparaging [57] and alienating from us all Protestant Princes, and Commonwealths, who are not ignorant that our Prelats, and as many as they can infect, account them no better then a sort of sacrilegious, and puritanical Rebels, preferring the *Spaniard*⁴⁶ our deadly enemy before them, and set all orthodox writers at nought in comparison of the Jesuits, who are indeed the onely corrupters of youth, and good learning; and I have heard many wise, and learned men in *Italy* say as much. It cannot be that the strongest knot of confederacy should not dayly slak'n, when Religion which is the chiefe ingagement of our league shall be turn'd to their reproach. Hence it is that the prosperous, and prudent states of the united Provinces, whom we ought to love, if not for themselves, yet for our own good work in them, they having bin in a manner planted,⁴⁷ and erected by us, and having bin since to us the faithfull watchmen, and discoverers of many a Popish, and Austrian complotted Treason,⁴⁸ and with us the partners of many a bloody, and victorious battell,⁴⁹ whom the similitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffick, which founded the old Burgundian league betwixt us, but chiefly Religion should bind to us immortally, even such friends as these, out of some principles instill'd into us by the Prelates, have

⁴⁶ In 1634 Charles had not only approved an alliance with the Dutch against Spain but had considered ways and means of aiding the Spanish cause with English ships. Gardiner, *History of England*, VII, 351-52.

The Puritans resented Laud's order of October 1, 1633, which had attempted to reduce to conformity the English congregations in Holland as well as the services held by English soldiers. William Harris, *An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of Charles I* (2 vols., London, 1758), I, 208.

⁴⁷ Milton refers here to the flourishing trade between England and Holland, dating back to the Burgundian League of 1339, which was signed to facilitate the weaving of English wool by Flemish artisans. England was the greatest wool producing country of Europe. Edward III invited Flemish weavers to settle in England. See John R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (New York, 1916) pp. 224-25. Milton's source was probably Speed, *Historie* (1627, p. 582).

⁴⁸ Milton here refers to a Spanish attempt to depose Elizabeth, revealed to her by the Prince of Orange. The source (Hale, p. 160) is Camden's *Annales*, a passage that Milton had quoted in the *CPB* (above, p. 503).

⁴⁹ In which English forces had fought against the Spaniard on the side of the Dutch: Rymerant, 1578 (Camden, *Annales*, 1615-27, I, 274-75 [Latin]; 1625, p. 381 [English]); Steenwyk, 1581 (*Annales*, 1615-27, I, 317-18; 1625, Book III, pp. 4-5), Ghent, 1582 (*Annales*, 1615-27, I, 329; 1625, Book III, pp. 20-21).

bin often dismist with distastfull answers, and somtimes unfriendly actions: nor is it to be consider'd to the breach of confederate Nations whose mutual interest is [58] of such high consequence, though their Merchants bicker ⁵⁰ in the East Indies, neither is it safe, or warie, or indeed Christianly, that the *French King*,⁵¹ of a different Faith, should afford our neerest Allyes as good protection as we. Sir, I perswade my selfe, if our zeale to true Religion, and the brotherly usage of our truest friends were as notorious to the world, as our *Prelatical Schism*, and captivity to *Rotchet Apothegmes*,⁵² we had ere this seene our old Conquerours, and afterward Liege-men the *Normans*, together with the *Brittains* our proper Colony, and all the *Gascoins* ⁵³ that are the rightfull *Dowry* of our ancient Kings, come with cap, and knee, desiring the shadow of the *English Scepter* to defend them from the hot persecutions and taxes of the *French*. But when they come hither, and see a Tympany of *Spanioliz'd Bishops* ⁵⁴ swaggering in the fore-top of the State, and meddling to turne, and dandle the *Royall Ball* with unskilfull and *Pedantick palmes*, no

⁵⁰ That is, conflict between the Dutch East India Company and the English traders. Between 1613 and 1622 the English were forced by the Dutch to withdraw from Malay Archipelago and the Spice Islands.

⁵¹ In 1632 Richelieu and Lous XIII had offered an alliance to the Dutch against the Spaniards. At the same time Charles I appeared momentarily willing to co-operate with Spain against the Dutch if Dunkirk were surrendered to the English. Gardiner, VII, 213-15. In 1634, less than a year before France signed a treaty with the Dutch for invasion of the Spanish Netherlands, Charles was still willing to ally himself with Spain against the Dutch Republic. On March 15, 1635, Laud was named head of the committee of the Privy Council for Foreign Affairs. On May 1, 1635, a treaty was signed between England and Spain by which Charles received £50,000 for promising to engage his fleet against the Dutch. Gardiner, VII, 368, 378-79, 380, 382-83.

⁵² Milton's contemptuous epithet for Laud's canons of 1640 and similar pronouncements. Cf. Sir Benjamin Rudyard (Rushworth, III, 1346-47): "They have amongst them an Apothegm of their own making, which is, No *Miter*, no *Scepter*; when we know by dear experience, that if the Miter be once in danger, they care not to throw the Scepter after."

⁵³ England had claimed Gascony as its rightful property until 1451, when the French captured Bayonne. See Holmshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 636, and Speed, *Historie* (1627), p. 674.

⁵⁴ Milton is contrasting the strength of the old monarchy with the weakness of the present one, the latter of which permits prelatial interference in secular affairs, with Laud as chief adviser. By "Spaniolized" Milton means won over to the cause of Spain, hence sympathetic with Roman Catholic aims. The three Spanish ambassadors were in England in 1640 and sought a new alliance against the Dutch; in Milton's mind they had won over Laud and his advisers to their point of view. Gardiner, IX, 131; Hale, p. 162.

marvell though they think it as unsafe to commit Religion, and liberty to their arbitrating as to a Synagogue of Jesuites.

But what doe I stand reck'ning upon advantages, and gaines lost by the mis-rule, and turbulency of the *Prelats*, what doe I pick up so thriftily their scatterings and diminishings of the meaner Subject, whilst they by their seditious practises have indanger'd to loose the King one third of his main Stock; what have they not done to banish him from his owne Native Countrey? but to [59] speake of this as it ought would ask a Volume by it selfe.

Thus as they have unpeopl'd the Kingdome by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavor'd to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartning and dishonouring our loyallest Confederates abroad, so have they hamstringed the valour of the Subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise Nation that their Liberty consists in manly and honest labours, in sobriety and rigorous honour to the Marriage Bed, which in both Sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes to loyall Enjoyments; and when the people slacken, and fall to loosenes,⁵⁵ and riot, then doe they as much as if they laid downe their necks for some wily Tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt *Cyrus* to tame the *Lydians*,⁵⁶ whom by Armes he could not, whilst they kept themselves from Luxury; with one easy Proclamation to set up *Stews*, dancing, feasting, & dicing he made them soone his slaves. I know not what drift the *Prelats* had, whose Brokers they were to prepare, and supple us either for a Forreigne Invasion or Domestick oppression; but this I am sure they took the ready way to despoile us both of *manhood* and *grace* at once, and that in the shame-fullest and ungodliest manner upon that day which Gods Law, and

⁵⁵ Milton here anticipates a persistent idea he will return to again and again. Excess of passion and pleasure unfits a citizen for serious labor and the enjoyment of civil freedom. Cf. *Second Defence* (Latin: 1654, p. 124), tr. Fellowes: "It is not agreeable to the nature of things that such people ever should be free." Significantly Milton here places the blame for such spiritual slavery upon the bishops, whereas later, under Cromwell's rule, the blame is to be each man's own.

⁵⁶ See Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 155; A. D. Godley (4 vols., New York and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1921-24), I, 195-97, the words of Croesus to Cyrus about the Lydians: "Forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt." For his use of the word "stews" Milton has no authority in Herodotus. For the reference in a contemporary edition of Herodotus, see *Historiarum Libri*, I, clv (Frankfurt, 1608, pp. 64-65).

even our own reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven ⁵⁷ set apart wherein to examin and encrease our knowledge of God, to meditate, and commune of our [60] Faith, our Hope, our eternall City in Heaven, and to quick'n, withall, the study, and exercise of Charity; at such a time that men should bee pluck't from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by *Bishops* the pretended *Fathers of the Church* instigated by publique Edict,⁵⁸ and with earnest indeavour push't forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixt dancing ⁵⁹ is a horror to think. Thus did the Reprobate hireling Preist *Balaam* ⁶⁰ seeke to subdue the Israelites to *Moab*, if not by force, then by this divellish *Pollicy*, to draw them from the Sanctuary of God to the luxurious, and ribald feasts of *Baal-peor*. Thus have they trespas't not onely against the *Monarchy of England*, but of Heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

I proceed within my own bounds to shew you next what good Agents they are about the Revennues and Riches of the Kingdome, which declares of what moment they are to *Monarchy*, or what availe. Two Leeches they have that still suck, and suck the Kingdome, their Ceremonies, and their Courts. If any man will contend that Ceremonies bee lawfull under the Gospell, hee may bee answer'd otherwise. This doubtlesse that they ought to bee many and over-costly, no true *Protestant* will affirme. Now I appeale to all wise men, what an excessive wast of Treasury hath beene within these few yeares

⁵⁷ See George Abbott, *Vindiciae Sabbathi* (1641), for a justification of the Sabbath by the law of nature as well as by God's commandment. In *A Divine Tragedie Lately Acted* (1641) Henry Burton placed Sabbath-breaking high in the hierarchy of sins and reviewed some striking punishments, asserting that ("To the Reader," p. [7]) "prophaning the Lords day, by dancing, Maygames, Ales, Pastimes, and unnecessary travell and labour, [may] draw down Gods Plagues upon whole Kingdomes and Churches." A still more extreme position Henry Walker set forth in *Corda Angliae* (1641), calling for strict prohibition of travel, drinking, barbering, merriment (p. 16), "whereby the holy Sabbath hath beene much polluted." For Milton's drastically modified later position on the Sabbath, see *Christian Doctrine*, II, vii.

⁵⁸ On May 21, 1633, appeared *The Kings Majesties Declaration to His Subjects Concerning Lawfull Sports to be Used* (UTSL). Afterward called the *Book of Sports*, the *Declaration* prohibited interference with (p. 11) "May Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of Maypoles &c other sports therewith used." It permitted "dauncing either men or women, Archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other harmless Recreation."

⁵⁹ This Prynn-like epithet is unexpected in Milton. He was afterward to protest against the "innocent freedoms" prohibited under the Commonwealth.

⁶⁰ See Numbers 22:5-41; 24; 25:1-3.

in this Land not in the expedient, but in the Idolatrous erection of Temples beautified exquisitely to out-vie [61] the Papists, the costly and deare-bought Scandals, and snares of Images, Pictures, rich Coaps, gorgeous Altar-clothes:⁶¹ and by the courses they tooke, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madnes, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to? What other materials then these have built up the *spirituall* BABEL to the heighth of her Abominations? Beleeve it Sir right truly it may be said, that *Antichrist* is *Mammons* Son. The soure levin⁶² of humane Traditions mixt in one putrifi'd Masse with the poisonous dregs of hypocrisie in the hearts of *Prelates* that lye basking in the Sunny warmth of Wealth,⁶³ and Promotion, is the Serpents Egge that will hatch an *Antichrist* wheresoever, and ingender the same Monster as big, or little as the Lump is which breeds him. If the splendor of *Gold* and *Silver* begin to Lord it once againe in the Church of *England*, wee shall see *Antichrist*⁶⁴ shortly wallow heere, though his cheife Kennell be at *Rome*. If they had one thought upon *Gods* glory and the advancement of Christian Faith, they would be a meanes that with these expences thus profusely throwne away in trash, rather *Churches* and *Schools* might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painfull Minister, that now scarce sustaines his Family with Bread, while the *Prelats* revell like [62] *Belshazzar*⁶⁵ with their full carouses in *Goblets*, and *vessels* of gold snatcht from *Gods* Temple. Which (I hope) the Worthy Men of our Land will consider. Now then for their COURTS.⁶⁶ What a Masse of Money is drawne from the

⁶¹ Cf. Prynne, who protests at length against copes, robes, images, "stately gilded Altars," "consecrated Altar-clothes," etc. *A Looking-Glasse* (1636), pp. 34, 43, 82, 83, 99.

⁶² Cf. Matthew 16:6; Galatians 5:9.

⁶³ Cf. Leighton's analysis of the prelates' income, *An Appeal* (1628), pp. 264 ff., and Prynne, *Lord Bishops* (1641), chap. 6, p. [32]: "They heap up by hook or crook 3 or 4 Fat Livings, they seldom Preach at any of them, nor keep *Residence*, or *Hospitality*, but hoord up full Bagges."

⁶⁴ Milton means the Pope.

⁶⁵ See Daniel 5:1-5.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Spirituall Courts Epitomized* (June, 1641) and *The Star-Chamber Epitomized* (1641). Richard Bernard (*A Short View of the Praelaticall Church of England*, January, 1641, E206[2], pp. 8-9) states that there were sixty courts, at least 120 proctors and two hundred apparitors, about ten thousand officials in all, requiring £200,000 a year to maintain them.

Veines into the Ulcers of the Kingdome this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies⁶⁷ that swarme about their Offices declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not oversea? 'twere better it did: better a penurious Kingdom, then where excessive wealth flowes into the *gracelesse* and injurious hands of common sponges to the impoverishing of good and loyall men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

If the sacred and dreadfull works of holy *Discipline*, *Censure*, *Penance*, *Excommunication*,⁶⁸ and *Absolution*, where no prophane thing ought to have accesse, nothing to be assistant but sage and Christianly *Admonition*, brotherly *Love*, flaming *Charity*, and *Zeale*; and then according to the Effects, *Paternall Sorrow*, or *Paternall Joy*, milde *Severity*, melting *Compassion*, if such Divine *Ministeries* as these, wherin the Angel of the *Church* represents the Person of *Christ Jesus*, must lie prostitute to sordid Fees,⁶⁹ and not passe to and fro betweene our Saviour that of free grace redeem'd us, and the submissive Penitent, without the truccage of perishing Coine, and the Butcherly execution of Tormentors, Rooks, and Rakeshames sold to lucre, then

⁶⁷ Bernard (*A Short View*, 1641, p. 9) calls them "swarmes of Waspes" Cf. *Spirituall Courts Epitomized* (1641), a revealing satire of the plight of court officers whose fees have melted away with Parliamentary action against the ecclesiastical courts (p. 5): "This is a blacke tune for us: ten groats give in a licence now makes me as jocound as a gratuity of ten pounds would before."

⁶⁸ In Canon IV, "Against Socinianisme," Laud had invoked excommunication against ministers and laymen guilty of heresy. Milton considered this an unnatural binding of conscience. The Puntans contended that the only whole presbytery should have the power of excommunication Cf. Smectymnuus, *An Answer*, p. 39: "So excommunication, though that being the dreadfulest thunder of the Church: and as Tertullian calls it . . . the great fore-runner of the Judgement of God, was never vibrated but by the hand of those that laboured in the word and Doctrine: yet was no man in the Church invested with this power more then another." Prynne makes substantially the same argument in *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 7, pp. [46-47].

⁶⁹ Cf. Richard Bernard, *A Short View* (1641), on the bishops' fees for licensing preachers, curates, school teachers; Peter Wentworth, *A Pack of Puritans* (1641), p. 44, on fees for probating wills; *A Petition Presented to the Parliament from . . . Nottingham* (June, 1641), E160(4), pp. 3-4, for fees exacted by church wardens for fast books and books of articles; fines against parishes for "not altering of Seats, painting of Churches, or buying of Ornaments." On ordination fees Prynne wrote in *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 7, p. [46]: "Our prelates Ordaine tag and rag for money, so as the ordinary fees come to 3, 4, 5, or 6 pounds." On the cost of grave plots and burials see Henry Spelman's *De Sepultura*, a remarkable tract (June, 1641), E158(19), pp. 11, 12, 24-26. "No ground in the Kingdome," asserted Spelman (p. 27), "is now sold so deare as a grave."

have the Babilonish [63] Marchants of *Soules* just excuse. Hitherto Sir you have heard how the *Prelates* have weaken'd and withdrawne the externall Accomplishments of Kingly prosperity, the love of the People, their multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining, and sapping the out-works, and redoubts of *Monarchy*; now heare how they strike at the very heart, and vitals.

We know that *Monarchy* is made up of two parts, the Liberty of the subject, and the supremacie of the King. I begin at the root. See what gentle, and benigne Fathers they have beene to our liberty. Their trade being, by the same Alchymy that the *Pope* uses, to extract heaps of *gold*, and *silver* out of the drossie *Bullion* of the Peoples sinnes,⁷⁰ and justly fearing that the quick-sighted *Protestants* eye clear'd in great part from the mist of Superstition, may at one time or other looke with a good judgement into these their deceitfull Pedleries, to gaine as many associats of guiltines as they can, and to infect the temporall Magistrate with the like lawlesse though not sacrilegious extortion, see a while what they doe; they ingage themselves to preach, and perswade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this *Monarchy* the most pernicious and destructive that could bee chosen. What more banefull to *Monarchy* then a Popular Commotion, for the dissolution of *Monarchy* slides aptest into a *Democracy*; and what stirs the Englishmen, as our wisest writers have observ'd, sooner to rebellion, then vio-[64]lent, and heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout *Prelates*, spight of our great Charter, and the soules of our Progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the *Norman* gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowesse, for these many years have not ceas't in their Pulpits wrinching, and spraining the *text*, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred, and life blood Lawes,⁷¹ Statutes, and Acts of *Parliament*

⁷⁰ Cf. the charge in *A Lordly Prelate* (1641), that a prelate (p. 3) "punishes breach of a ceremony with a suspension, excommunication, deprivation whilst fornication and adultery are committed many times for four shillings." The whole abusive satire *The Popes Benediction* (June, 1641, E158[15]), is devoted to alleged money payments for absolution. Cf. Bernard, *A Short View* (1641), in which the bishops are accused of (p. 14) "imposing Penance, which the richer may commute for money, but the miserable poore (doing their penance) cannot bee freed from their Courts without money though they begge for it, but must stand Excommunicated, and so bee shut out of the Church and given over to the Devill, for non-payment of money."

⁷¹ Cf. Fiennes' summary of broken laws, especially his argument that the Canons had been imposed without consent of Parliament. Rushworth, IV, 105-10.

that are the holy Cov'nant of Union, and Marriage betweene the King and his Realme, by proscribing, and confiscating from us all the right we have to our owne bodies, goods and liberties. What is this, but to blow a trumpet, and proclaime a fire-crosse ⁷² to a hereditary, and perpetuall civill warre. Thus much against the Subjects Liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spar'd Supremacie, or likely are hereafter to submit to it, remaines lastly to bee consider'd.

The emulation that under the old Law was in the King toward the *Preist*, is now so come about in the Gospell, that all the danger is to be fear'd from the *Preist* to the *King*. Whilst the *Preists Office* in the Law was set out with an exterior lustre of Pomp and glory, Kings were ambitious to be *Preists*; ⁷³ now *Priests* not perceiving the heavenly brightnesse, and inward splendor of their more glorious *Evangelick Ministry* with as great ambition affect to be Kings; ⁷⁴ as in all their courses is easie to be observ'd. Their eyes ever imminent [65] upon worldly matters, their desires ever thirsting after worldly employments, in stead of diligent and fervent studie in the Bible, they covet to be expert in Canons, and Decretals, which may inable them to judge, and interpose in temporall Causes, however pretended *Ecclesiasticall*. Doe they not hord up *Pelje*,⁷⁵ seeke to bee potent in *secular Strength*, in *State Affaires*, in *Lands*, *Lordships*, and *De-meanes*, to sway and carry all before them in *high Courts*, and *Privie Counsels*, to bring into their grasp, the *high*, and *principall Offices* of the Kingdom? have they not been bold of late to check the *Common Law*, to slight and brave the indiminishable Majestie of our highest Court the Law-giving and Sacred *Parliament*? ⁷⁶ Doe they not plainly

⁷² Cf. the charge in *A Postscript* against the bishop of Winchester that his exaggeration of the king's power "became a firebrand to the Civill warres that followed." Smectymnuus, *An Answer*, p. 89, below, p. 970.

⁷³ Milton means that in Old Testament times (Hale, p. 169) the kings, being inferior to the priests, were tempted to usurp their functions, as did Ahaz the functions of Urijah. II Kings 15. But now the situation is reversed. There is danger that the priests, being in an inferior position in the state, will attempt to usurp the royal power.

⁷⁴ Cf. *A Very Lively Portrayture* (1640), E205(2), p. 28: "They raigne as Kings, without the King." This charge is followed by a bill of particulars. On the other hand, the author of *Englands Complaint to Jesus Christ against the Bishops Canons* (1640, no pag.) had addressed the king thus: "The Prelates . . . usurped a false title to their false Government Ecclesiasticall by claiming their Prelati-call Jurisdiction from thine own divine Authority."

⁷⁵ See above, n. 57.

⁷⁶ Like most of his Puritan contemporaries, Milton believed in a monarchy

labour to exempt *Churchmen* from the *Magistrate*?⁷⁷ Yea, so presumptuously as to question, and menace *Officers* that represent the *Kings Person* for using their Authority against drunken *Preists*? The cause of protecting *murderous Clergie-men* was the first heart-burning that swel'd up the audacious *Becket*⁷⁸ to the pestilent, and odious vexation of *Henry* the second. Nay more, have not some of their devoted Schollers begun, I need not say to nibble, but openly to argue against the *Kings Supremacie*? is not the Cheife of them⁷⁹ accus'd out of his owne Booke,⁸⁰ and his *late Canons*⁸¹ to affect a certaine unquestionable *Patriarchat*, independent and unsubordinate to the Crowne? From whence having first brought us to a servile *Estate of Religion*, [66] and *Manhood*, and having predispos'd his conditions with the *Pope*, that layes claime to this *Land*, or some *Pepin*⁸² of his owne creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the *Monarchy* among us, as that the *Pope* could finde meanes so on the sudden both to bereave the Emperour of the *Roman Territory* with the favour of

limited by law and Parliamentary sanction. The first article of Laud's *Canons* (below, p. 986) stressed kingship by divine right with no mention of Parliament. In his phrase "check the *Common Law*" Milton has reference to the ex officio oath imposed by the High Commission. The oath was attacked by Puritan apologists as requiring a man to testify against himself. In *A Pack of Puritans* (1641) Peter Wentworth presented a strong Erastian argument against the oath (pp 46-49), citing Chrysostom and Augustine as well as Tyndale and Foxe against it. Cf. *Petition for the Prelates* (1641), pp. 20-21: "The government of our Kingdome is by Parliamentary and Common Law, but they seeke to rule against either, as appears by their Commission, which they have got for the high Commission." The author then cites the broad powers under which the high commission acted, powers "contrary to the premisses notwithstanding."

⁷⁷ See *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap 2, p [12].

⁷⁸ Cf. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587), III, 79. See above, p. 580, n. 31.

⁷⁹ William Laud. See above, p. 537, n. 74.

⁸⁰ In his *A Relation of the Conference* (1639), Laud claimed the supremacy of the Patriarch in the primitive church against the Pope's jurisdiction. Cf. *Works* (1847-60), II, 189: "Every patriarch was alike supreme in his own patriarchate." At the same time, however, contrary to Milton's accusation, Laud asserted the right of secular rulers to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs (*Works*, 1847-60, II, 228-29). Sir Edward Dering expressed Milton's fear of the patriarchate when he said (Rushworth, III, 1346): "A pope at Rome will do me less hurt, than a Patriarch may do at *Lambeth*."

⁸¹ For text of 1640 Canons, see below, pp. 985-98. In Canon I the king is recognized as the head of the Church of England. The Puritan complaint was that the Canons removed the church from Parliamentary control, the most tyrannical measure being the et cetera oath following Canon VI (below, p. 990).

⁸² See pp. 578-79.

Italy, and by an unexpected friend out of *France*, while he was in danger to lose his *new-got Purchase*, beyond hope to leap in to the faire *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*.

A good while the *Pope* suttly acted the *Lamb*, writing to the Emperour, my Lord *Tiberius*, my Lord *Mauritius*,⁸³ but no sooner did this his Lord pluck at the Images,⁸⁴ and Idols, but hee threw off his Sheepes clothing, and started up a Wolfe,⁸⁵ laying his pawes upon the Emperours right, as forfeited to *Peter*. Why may not wee as well, having been forewarn'd at home by our renowned *Chaucer*, and from abroad by the great and learned *Padre Paolo*, from the like beginnings, as we see they are, feare the like events? Certainly a wise, and provident King ought to suspect a *Hierarchy* in his Realme, being ever attended, as it is, with two such greedy Purveyers, Ambition and Usurpation, I say hee ought to suspect a *Hierarchy* to bee as dangerous⁸⁶ and derogatory from his Crown as a *Tetrarchy* or a *Heptarchy*. Yet now that the *Prelates* had almost attain'd to what their insolent, and unbridl'd minds had hurried them; to thrust the Laitie⁸⁷ under the despoticall rule of the *Monarch*, that they themselves might con-[67]fine the *Monarch*⁸⁸ to a kind of Pupillage under their *Hierarchy*, observe but how their own *Principles* combat one another, and supplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a servile peace, by lessening our numbers, dreining our estates, enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free spirits by those wayes as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot sustaine themselves the least moment, unlesse they

⁸³ Milton's source for this reference is Foxe (*Acts*, I, 19; 1631-32, I, 8). Foxe is consistently hostile to papal as opposed to kingly authority. Cf. Hale, pp. 172-73.

⁸⁴ See *CPB*, above, p. 444

⁸⁵ Later, in *A Defence*, III, Milton was to call the Pope a "Holy Wolf." Cf. *The Bishops Manifest* (1641), p. 1: "Romish Woolfes," "Priests in their Woolfe-like ravening"; see also "Wolfs in a Lamb's skinne," in Prynne, *A Looking-Glasse* (1636), preface.

⁸⁶ Many cases of bishops' antagonism to the monarchy are cited in *A Postscript*, below, pp. 966-75.

⁸⁷ That is, Parliament. See Canon I, on the divine right of kings, and introduction, above, p. 15.

⁸⁸ Cf. Sir Benjamin Rudyard (*Rushworth*, III, 1347): "Histories will tell us, That whensoever the Clergy went high, Monarchy still went lower; if they could not make the monarch the Head of their own Faction, they will be sure to make him less: Witness one example for all, the Pope's working the Emperor out of *Italy*."

rouze us up to a *Warre* fit for *Cain*⁸⁹ to be the Leader of; an abhorred, a cursed, a Fraternall *Warre*. ENGLAND and SCOTLAND dearest Brothers both in *Nature*, and in CHRIST must be set to wade in one anothers blood; and IRELAND⁹⁰ our free Denizon upon the back of us both, as occasion should serve: a piece of Service that the *Pope* and all his Factors have beene compassing to doe ever since the *Reformation*.

But ever-blessed be he, and ever glorifi'd that from his high watch-Tower in the Heav'ns discerning the crooked wayes of perverse, and cruell men, hath hitherto maim'd, and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great Wizzards⁹¹ with a delusion fit for fooles and children: had God beene so minded hee could have sent a Spirit of *Mutiny* amongst us, as hee did betweene *Abimilech* and the *Sechemites*,⁹² to have made our Funerals, and slaine heaps more in number then the miserable surviving remnant, but he, when wee least deserv'd, sent out a gentle [68] gale, and message of peace from the wings of those his Cherubins, that fanne his Mercy-seat.⁹³ Nor shall the *wisdome*, the *moderation*, the *Christian Pietie*, the *Constancy* of our Nobility and Commons of *England* be ever forgotten, whose calme, and temperat connivence could sit still, and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant, then of solid and deep reach, till their own fury had run it selfe out of breath, assailing, by rash and heady *approches*, the impregnable situation of

⁸⁹ Milton means the two so-called bishops' wars between England and Scotland, fought for the purpose of imposing Episcopal liturgy upon the Scottish churches. The first war opened in March, 1639; the second in August, 1640. Laud and his colleagues enthusiastically endorsed the two wars against Scotland. Gardiner, IX, 1, 148, 193. For a typical Puritan complaint about the two wars, see the London Petition, below, p. 983. Cf. Bernard, *A Short View* (1641), p. 32: "They have raised up a *bellum Episcopale*, to dash two Kingdomes one against another, to the shedding of much blood, if God in mercy prevent it not."

⁹⁰ One of the charges against Strafford was that he had advised Charles to use the Irish army against the English, an army which Strafford would command. The accusation read in part as follows (*The Tryal*, in Rushworth, VIII, 72-73). "Did . . . Advise His Majesty . . . that . . . he was loose and absolved from all rules of Government . . . that he [Strafford] had an Army in Ireland . . . which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom."

⁹¹ Strafford, Laud, and other enemies of Puritan reforms. Strafford was imprisoned November 25, 1640, and executed May 12, 1641. Laud was imprisoned March 1, 1641. Meanwhile, in November, 1640, Edward Finch, one of the "Ship-money judges" had escaped to Holland. See introduction, above, pp 34, 89-92.

⁹² Judges 9:1-53.

⁹³ See Numbers 7.89.

our Liberty and safety, that laught such weake enginry to scorne, such poore drifts to make a *Nationall Warre*⁹⁴ of a *Surplise Brabble*, a *Tippet-suffle*, and ingage the unattainted Honour of *English* Knighthood, to unfurle the streaming *Red Crosse*,⁹⁵ or to reare the horrid *Standard* of those fatall guly Dragons for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their *Fellow-Subjects*, that which themselves are weary of, the *Skeleton* of a *Masse-Booke*.⁹⁶ Nor must the *Patience*, the *Fortitude*, the *firme Obedience* of the Nobles and People of *Scotland* striving against manifold Provocations, nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto, be unremember'd, to the shamefull Conviction of all their Detractors.

Goe on both hand in hand O NATIONS never to be disunited, be the *Praise* and the *Heroick Song* of all POSTERITY; merit this, but seeke onely *Vertue*, not to extend your Limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant *Lawrell* out of the *teares* of *wretched Men*, but to settle [69] the *pure worship* of *God* in his Church, and *justice* in the State. Then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; *envie* shall sink to hell, *craft* and *malice* be confounded, whether it be homebred mischeif, or outlandish cunning: yea, other Nations will then covet to serve ye, for Lordship and victory are but the pages of *justice* and *vertue*. Commit securely to true *wisdome* the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and sottletie, which are but her two runnagates:⁹⁷ joyn your invincible might to doe worthy, and Godlike deeds, and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations.

⁹⁴ Milton here refers to Charles's attempts through the bishops' wars to impose the English liturgy and vestments upon the Scotch. See introduction, above, p. 49.

⁹⁵ The red cross of St. George in the English flag. Milton is here referring to the bishops' wars fought to impose the "Skeleton of a Masse-Booke" upon the Scotch

⁹⁶ Cf. Robert Baillie, *A Parallel . . . of the Liturgie with the Masse-Book* (May, 1641), pp. 7-9, 94-95. Baillie's purpose was to show that the liturgy required by Laud was derived in large part from the Roman Catholic mass. The London Petition made the same accusation, below, p. 981. Cf. Henry Walker, *The Original of the Popish Liturgie* (1641), pp. 2-5, and the 1640 reprint of Martin Marprelate, *A Dialogue Wherin Is Plainly Layd Open* (1589), no pagination. "The Papists stick not to say our Service Booke in English is (a great part of it) but a meere translation out of the Masse-Book." In *An Answer* Smectymnuus asserts (1641, p. 12) that the liturgy "symbolizeth so much of the Popish Masse, as that the Pope himself was willing to have it used, if he might but confirm it."

Notice Milton's outspoken sympathy with the Scotch in their resistance to English arms.

⁹⁷ Runaway servants. *NED*. Milton here suggests that craft and subtlety have their proper uses when controlled by wisdom within proper bounds.

Sir, you have now at length this question for the time, and as my memory would best serve me in such a copious, and vast theme, fully handl'd, and you your selfe may judge whether Prelacy be the only Church-government agreeable to MONARCHY. Seeing therfore the perillous, and confused estate into which we are faln, and that to the certain knowledge of all men through the irreligious pride⁹⁸ and hatefull Tyranny⁹⁹ of Prelats (as the innumerable, and grievous complaints of every shire cry out) if we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure Religion, or sound Policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier, and cut away from the publick body the noysom, and diseased tumor¹⁰⁰ of Prelacie,¹⁰¹ and come from Schisme to *unity* with our neighbour Reformed sister Churches, [70] which with the blessing of *peace* and *pure doctrine* have now long time flourish'd; and doubtles with all hearty *joy*, and *gratulation*, will meet, and welcome our Christian *union* with them, as they have bin all this while griev'd at our strangenes and little better then separation from them. And for the Discipline¹⁰² propounded, seeing that it hath bin inevitably prov'd that the natural, and fundamental causes of political happines in all governments are the same, and that this Church Discipline is taught in the Word of *God*, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such states as have receiv'd it, we may infallibly assure our selvs that it will as wel agree with Monarchy, though all the Tribe of *Aphorismers*, and *Politicasters* would perswade us there be secret, and misterious reasons against it. For upon the setling hereof mark what nourishing and cordial restorments to the State will follow, the Ministers of the Gospel attending only to the work of *salvation* every one within his limited charge,

⁹⁸ The Puritan propagandists effectively contrasted the humble ways of Jesus and the apostles with the proud worldliness of the bishops. In *A Looking-Glasse* (1636), Prynne had listed twenty-four ways in which the prelates lived in a fashion contrary to that of Christ and his followers. Of the apostles Prynne wrote (p. 99): "Alas poor silly Fishers and Michanicks, they neither had, nor knewe, nor ever dreamed of all these Pontificall Inventions, ceremonies, vestements, Ornaments, Titles, which our Lord Prelates claime."

⁹⁹ Cf. the array of evidence Milton used in *A Postscript*, below, especially pp 966-71.

¹⁰⁰ See note on "Wen," above, p. 583, n. 41.

¹⁰¹ Both Leighton and Prynne quoted the famous passage from Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, in *Works of W. Tyndall, John Fritth, and Doct. Barnes* (1573), p. 114: "As thou canst heal no disease, except thou begyn at the roote; even so canst thou preach against no mischief, except thou begyn, at the Byshops."

¹⁰² Milton had as yet no doubts about the Presbyterian discipline as favored by the Smectymnuans.

besides the diffusive blessings of *God* upon all our actions, the King shall sit without an old disturber,¹⁰³ a dayly inroacher, and intruder; shall ridde his Kingdome of a strong sequester'd, and collateral power; a confronting miter,¹⁰⁴ whose potent wealth, and wakefull ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousie: not to repeat the other present evils which only their removal will remove. And because things simply pure are inconsistent in the masse of nature, nor are the elements [71] or humors in Mans Body¹⁰⁵ exactly *homogeneall*, and hence the best founded Common-wealths, and least barbarous have aym'd at a certaine mixture and temperament, partaking the severall vertues of each other State, that each part drawing to it selfe may keep up a stiddy, and eev'n uprightnesse in common.

There is no *Civill Government* that hath beene known, no not the *Spartan*, not the *Roman*, though both for this respect so much prais'd by the wise *Polybius*,¹⁰⁶ more divinely and harmoniously tun'd, more equally ballanc'd as it were by the hand and scale of Justice, then is the Common-wealth of *England*: where under a free, and untutor'd *Monarch*, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation, and suffrage of the People¹⁰⁷ have in their power the supreme, and finall determination of highest Affaires. Now if Con-

¹⁰³ William Laud.

¹⁰⁴ That is, the prelacy was a force always to be faced and reckoned with, a "collateral power" to the monarchy itself.

¹⁰⁵ As Hale points out (p. lii), Milton is here quoting in part verbatim from one of his own entries in *CPB*, a passage from Sir Thomas Smith. See above, p. 442.

¹⁰⁶ See Polybius, *The Histories*, VI, xlviii; tr. W. R. Paton (6 vols., New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1922-27), III, 377-79 (Sparta): "Dismissing, therefore, these constitutions, we will return to that of Sparta. To me it seems that as far as regards the maintenance of concord among the citizens, the security of the Laconian territory and the preservation of the freedom of Sparta, the legislation of Lycurgus and the foresight he exhibited were so admirable that one is forced to regard his institutions as of divine rather than human origin." For a contemporary Greek edition see the Casaubon edition (Paris, 1609), p. 491. For Polybius' praise of the Roman constitution, see VI, xii (Loeb, 1922-27, III, 293): "Lycurgus, then, foreseeing, by a process of reasoning, whence and how events naturally happen, constructed his constitution untaught by adversity, but the Romans while they have arrived at the same final result as regards their form of government, have not reached it by any process of reasoning, but by the discipline of many struggles and troubles, and always choosing the best by the light of the experience gained in disaster have thus reached the same result as Lycurgus, that is to say, the best of all existing constitutions." The passage may be found in the Casaubon edition (Paris, 1609), pp. 459-60.

¹⁰⁷ Notice Milton's implicit rejection of divine right in this passage, a position anticipated in *CPB*, above, p. 474. To him England was never other than a limited monarchy. Cf. Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 208-09.

formity of Church *Discipline* to the Civill be so desir'd, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, then when under the Sovereigne Prince *Christs* Vicegerent using the *Scepter* of *David*, according to *Gods Law*, the *godliest*, the *wisest*, the *learnedest* Ministers in their severall charges have the instructing and disciplining of *Gods people* by whose full and free Election¹⁰⁸ they are consecrated to that holy and equall *Aristocracy*. And why should not the Piety, and Conscience of *Englishmen* as members of the Church be trusted in the Election of Pastors to Functions that nothing concerne a *Monarch*,¹⁰⁹ as well as their worldly [72] wisdomes are priviledg'd as *members* of the *State* in suffraging their Knights, and Burgesses to matters that concern him neerely? And if in weighing these severall Offices, their difference in time and qualitie be cast in, I know they will not turn the beame of equall Judgement the moity of a scruple. Wee therefore having already a kind of Apostolicall,¹¹⁰ and ancient *Church* Election in our State, what a perversnesse would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious, and stately Election in our *Church*? And what a blindness to thinke that what is already Evangelicall as it were by a happy chance in our *Politie*, should be repugnant to that which is the same by divine command in the Ministry? Thus then wee see that our Ecclesiall, and Politicall choyses may consent and sort as well together without any rupture in the STATE, as Christians, and Freeholders. But as for honour, that ought indeed to be different, and distinct as either Office looks a severall way, the Minister whose *Calling* and *end* is spirituall, ought to be honour'd as a Father and Physitian to the Soule (if he be found to be so) with a *Son-like* and *Disciple-like* reverence, which is indeed the dearest, and most affectionate *honour*, most to be desir'd by a wise man, and such as will easily command a free and plentiful provision of outward necessities, without his furdere care of this world.

The Magistrate whose Charge is to see to our Persons, and Estates,

¹⁰⁸ Milton refers here to the election of ministers by the people as the Presbyterian discipline required.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. the argument in Lord Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), p. 49: "But take *Monarchy* in what sense you please: why cannot it stand with any kind of Church Government? doth the supreme Civill power receive any *essentiall* part of it from *Church Monarchy*? Is not Monarchy compleat even there where is no Church?"

¹¹⁰ Milton is here claiming for the Presbyterian discipline the virtue of primitive church practice in the election of pastors. On the point of election of pastors in the primitive church, see Smectymnuus, *An Answer* (1641), p. 34, and *A Vindication* (1641), p. 93.

is to bee honour'd with a [73] more elaborate and personall Courtship, with large Salaries and Stipends, that hee himselve may abound in those things whereof his legall justice and watchfull care gives us the quiet enjoyment. And this distinction of Honour will bring forth a seemly and gracefull Uniformity over all the Kingdome.

Then shall the Nobles possesse all the Dignities and Offices of temporall honour to themselves, sole Lords without the improper mixture of Scholastick, and pusillanimous upstarts, the *Parliament* shall void her *Upper House* of the same annoyances,¹¹¹ the Common, and Civill *Lawes* shall be both set free, the former from the controule, the other from the meere vassalage and *Copy-hold* of the *Clergie*.

And wheras *temporall Lawes* rather punish men when they have transgress't, then form them to be such as should transgresse seldomest, wee may conceive great hopes through the showres of Divine Benediction, watering the unmolested and watchfull paines of the *Ministry*, that the whole Inheritance of God will grow up so straight and blamelesse, that the Civill Magistrate may with farre lesse toyle and difficulty, and far more ease and delight steare the tall and goodly *Vessell* of the Common-wealth through all the gusts and tides of the Worlds mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that some Objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, presse mee to the endeavour of an answer.[74] We must not run they say into sudden extreames.¹¹² This is a fallacious Rule, unlesse understood only of the actions of Vertue about things indifferent, for if it be found that those two extreames be *Vice* and *Vertue*, *Falshood* and *Truth*, the greater extremity of *Vertue* and superlative *Truth* we run into, the more *vertuous*,¹¹³ and the more *wise* wee become; and hee that flying from degenerate and traditionall

¹¹¹ That is, the twenty-six bishops privileged to sit and vote in the House of Lords. (Those who sat in April, 1640, are listed in Rushworth, III, 1158.) A bill to exclude the bishops from the Lords was rejected by them June 8, 1641; a second bill to this end was passed by the Lords, however, and received the royal assent February 13, 1642. Gardiner, *History of England*, IX, 383, X, 165. See introduction, p. 180.

¹¹² Here Milton begins his refutation of the series of arguments against the London Petition found mainly in the speech of Digby on February 9. "It is natural . . . to the multitude," said Digby, "to fly into extremes" (Rushworth, IV, 173). Milton's reply, for precipitate rather than gradual reformation, anticipates his later revolutionary position. On Digby's and Falkland's objections to hasty actions, see introduction, pp. 73, 74.

¹¹³ Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 12. "The knowledge of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evil," etc.

corruption, feares to shoot himselfe too far into the meeting imbraces of a Divinely-warranted *Reformation*, had better not have run at all. And for the suddenesse it cannot be fear'd. Who should oppose it? The *Papists*? They dare not. The *Protestants* otherwise affected. They were mad. There is nothing will be remoov'd but what to them is profess'dly indifferent. The long affection which the People have borne to it, what for it selfe, what for the odiousnes of *Prelates*, is evident: from the first yeare of Qu. *Elizabeth*, it hath still beene more and more propounded, desir'd, and beseech't, yea sometimes favourably forwarded by the *Parliaments* themselves. Yet if it were sudden & swift, provided still it be from worse to better, certainly wee ought to hie us from evill like a torrent, and rid our selves of corrupt Discipline, as wee would shake fire out of our bosomes.

Speedy and vehement were the *Reformations* of all the good Kings of *Juda*,¹¹⁴ though the people had beene nuzzl'd in Idolatry never so long before; they fear'd not the bug-bear danger, nor [75] the Lyon in the way that the sluggish and timorous Politician thinks he sees; no more did our Brethren of the *Reformed Churches* abroad; they ventur'd (God being their guide) out of rigid *POPERY*, into that which wee in mockery call precise *Puritanisme*, and yet wee see no inconvenience befell them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing, to take as much of it as wee think will serve our ends, and turne him back the rest upon his hands, lest in his anger he snatch all from us again. Next they alledge the *antiquity* ¹¹⁵ of *Episcopacy* through all *Ages*. What it was in the *Apostles* time, that questionlesse it must be still, and therein I trust the Ministers will be able to satisfie the *Parliament*. But if *Episcopacie* be taken for *Prelacie*, all the *Ages* they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable then *Papacie*.

Most certaine it is (as all our *Stories* beare witnesse) that ever since

¹¹⁴ As, for instance, those of Asa (I Kings 15.9-13), of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:4), and of Josiah (II Kings 23:1-25).

¹¹⁵ Cf. *Petition for the Prelates* (1641), p. 2. "That this [Episcopal] government is lawfull, it appears by the immediate, universall and constant *practice of all the Christian World grounded upon Scripture*, from the *Apostles* time to this last Age; for above 1500, yeares together." Hall's most telling argument on this point is found in his *Defence* (*Works*, 1863, IX, 196, 209). Falkland, calling Episcopacy "this Ancient Tree," declared it had lasted "in most Churches these Sixteen Hundred Years" (Rushworth, IV, 186). Jeremy Taylor claimed Episcopacy had been instituted by Christ. "Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy," I, II (1642), in *The Whole Works* (1839), VII, 7-11, 17 ff.

their comming to the See of *Canterbury* for neere twelve hundred yeares,¹¹⁶ to speake of them in generall, they have beene in *England* to our Soules a sad and dolefull succession¹¹⁷ of illiterate and blind guides: ¹¹⁸ to our purses, and goods a wastfull band of robbers, a perpetuall havock, and rapine: To our state a continuall *Hydra* ¹¹⁹ of mischief, and molestation, the forge of discord and Rebellion: This is the Trophey of their Antiquity, and boasted Succession through so many Ages. And for those *Prelat-Martyrs* ¹²⁰ they glory of, they are to bee judg'd what they [76] were by the *Gospel*, and not the *Gospel* to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted that if they were for Bishopricks and Ceremonies, it was in their prosperitie, and fulnes of bread, but in their persecution, which purifi'd them, and neer their death, which was their garland, they plainely dislik'd and condemn'd the Ceremonies, and threw away those Episcopall ornaments wherein they were instal'd, as foolish and detestable, for so the words of *Ridley* ¹²¹ at his

¹¹⁶ That is, since the time of the first church government in England, 597, under Augustine. Note a similar reference to the see of Canterbury in *A Postscript* (Hale, p. 183; below, p. 966. Bagshaw reminded the Commons that the kingdom was much older than the bishops (Rushworth, IV, 186): "The Kings of *England* were long before Bishops, and have a Subsistence without them; and have done, and may still depose them."

¹¹⁷ It was to trace this succession in brief that Milton compiled the materials of *A Postscript* to the Smectymnuan *An Answer*, a tract which he evidently felt was deficient in applications from English history. See below, pp. 966-75.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Prynne, *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 7, p. [44] (attacking Laud, *A Relation of the Conference*, 1639): "But O ye blind Guides, To the Law, and to the Testimony: it is a manifest signe, that there is neither *light*, nor *life* in you."

¹¹⁹ Cf. Ovid, *Meta.*, IX, 192-93 (Leipzig, 1568, p. 361). One of the twelve labors imposed on Hercules was the slaying of the hydra in the marshes of Lerna. The hydra was a many-headed monster which grew a new head every time one was cut off. Cf. Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament* (1628), p. 263. "Hydraes head."

¹²⁰ Cf. *Petition for the Prelates* (1641) p. 1: "Bishops were the chiefe instruments in the Reformation of this Church against Popery, and afterwards the most eminent Martyrs for the Protestant Religion." Hall in *Humble Remonstrance* reminded his readers (1640, p. 13) that the Anglican liturgy had been "contrived by the holy Martyrs, and Confessors of the blessed Reformation." To this the Smectymnuans replied that (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 11) "not a few . . . have called them *Traitors* rather than *Martyrs*, and *Deformers* rather than *Reformers* of our Religion."

¹²¹ For Ridley's vehement words on this occasion, October 15, 1555, see Foxe, *Acts* (1631-32), p. 500. Ridley rejected the surplice as "foolish and abominable," refusing also the chalice and the wafer of the sacrament. In his letter to Hooper (*Acts* [1631-32], III, 147), Ridley's words are more general: "Let us shake those

degradment, and his letter to *Hooper* expressly shew. Neither doth the Author of our Church History ¹²² spare to record sadly the fall ¹²³ (for so he termes it) and infirmities of these Martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their Martyrdom more countenance corrupt doctrine, or discipline, then their subscriptions justify their Treason to the Royall blood of this Relm, by diverting and intaling the right of the Crown from the true heires, to the houses of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*,¹²⁴ which had it tooke effect, this present King had in all likelihood never sat on this Throne, and the happy union of this Iland had bin frustrated.

Lastly, whereas they adde that some the learnedest of the reformed abroad admire our Episcopacy,¹²⁵ it had bin more for the strength of the Argument to tell us that som of the wisest *Statesmen* admire it,

high attitudes, not with carnall, but with spirituall weapons" Ridley addresses Hooper as "fellow elder."

¹²² John Foxe, author of *Acts and Monuments* Born in Lincolnshire in 1516, Foxe at sixteen entered Oxford, where as a fellow at Magdalen he protested compulsory chapel and enforcement of the seven-year celibacy following degrees. Latimer and Tyndale were among his friends at Oxford. Foxe married Agnes Randall on February 3, 1547 Upon the accession of Queen Mary (1553), Foxe went to Strassburg, where the earliest edition of *Acts and Monuments*, begun at the suggestion of Lady Jane Grey, appeared in 1554. This edition traced the history of martyrs from earliest Christian times to 1500 The first English edition of the *Acts* appeared in London in 1563, followed by the editions of 1570, 1576, 1583, 1596, 1610, 1631-32, 1641. Though Foxe's great work is marred by many errors and prejudices, his range of classical as well as ecclesiastical learning was immense and his reprinting of source documents an invaluable service to later historians. For many Puritans Foxe was too much of a tolerationist He pleaded for the Dutch Anabaptists and rejected violence and imprisonment as weapons against Catholicism Foxe died April 18, 1587.

¹²³ Foxe (*Acts* [1631-32], III, 147) uses the phrase, "the fals of these godly Martyrs"

¹²⁴ Cf. above, p 533: "What could be more impious then to debarre the children of the King from their right to the Crowne?"

¹²⁵ In *Episcopacie* (1640) Hall cites Calvin, Luther, and Bucer as favoring Episcopacy, concluding (p 13): "See now I beseech you, how willing these first reformers were to maintaine and establish Episcopall government, how desirous to restore it, how troubled, that they might not continue it . . . In whose steps then doe you tread whiles you defie it?" In these citations Hall is more compelling than in the succeeding ones from Beza and Moulin on the excellence of English Episcopacy. Part of the citation from Moulin reads as follows (*Episcopacie*, p. 15): "The restauration of the English Church, and eversion of Poperie, next under God and your Kings, is chiefly to be ascribed, and owed to the learning and industry of your Bishops." Aston in "A Survey of Presbyterie," Sections 4, 17, in *Remonstrance against Presbtery* (1641) makes more effective use than had Hall of Beza and Moulin as defenders of English Episcopacy

for thereby we might guesse them weary of the present discipline, as offensive to their State, which is the bugge we feare; but be-[77]ing they are Church-men, we may rather suspect them for some *Prelatizing-spirits* that admire our *Bishopricks*, not *Episcopacy*. The next objection vanishes of it selfe, propounding a doubt, whether a greater inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other discipline, then from that of *Episcopacy*. This seemes an unseasonable foresight, and out of order to deferre, and put off the most needfull constitution of one right *discipline*, while we stand ballancing the discommodity's of two corrupt ones.¹²⁶ First constitute that which is right, and of it selfe it will discover, and rectify that which swervs, and easily remedy the pretended feare of having a *Pope* in every Parish,¹²⁷ unlesse we call the zealous, and meek censure of the *Church*, a *Popedom*, which who so does let him advise how he can reject the Pastorly *Rod*, and Sheep-hooke of *CHRIST*, and those cords of love, and not feare to fall under the iron *Scepter* of his anger that will dash him to peeces like a Potsherd.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder; whether this discipline which we desire, be such as can be put in practise within this Kingdom, they say it cannot stand with the common Law, nor with the Kings safety; ¹²⁸ the government of Episcopacy, is now so weav'd into the common Law: ¹²⁹ In *Gods* name let it weave out againe; let not humain quilllets keep back divine authority. Tis not the common Law, nor the civil, but piety, and justice, that are our foundresses; they stoop [78] not, neither change colour for *Aristocracy*, *democracy*, or

¹²⁶ That is, the Anglican and the Roman Catholic.

¹²⁷ Cf. Digby's speech of February 9, 1641: "I am confident that instead of every *Bishop* we put down in a Diocess, we shall set up a *Pope* in every parish" Hale, p. 187. See also Aston, *Remonstrance against Presbitery* (May 28, 1641), Section 9: "Ascribing to every Presbyter what the Pope onely assumes to himselfe. *That all Kings ought to kisse his feet.*" Also (Section 14): A presbyter is a "little Bishop, absolute Pope of every parish."

¹²⁸ Cf. Digby (Rushworth, IV, 174): "I do not think a King can put down Bishops totally with Safety to Monarchy" See also "A Survey," Section 10, in *Remonstrance against Presbitery*: "*Presbyterie inconsistent with Monarchy.*"

¹²⁹ Here Milton follows again in part even the language of Digby's speech of February 9, 1641 (Rushworth, IV, 174): "I leave it to those to judge, who have considered the Connection and Interweaving of the Church-Government with the Common Law." But see also "The Cheshire Remonstrance" (February ?, 1641), in *Remonstrance against Presbitery*: Episcopal church government has been "so long approved, so oft established by the Common and Statut Laws of this Kingdome."

Monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just courses, but farre above the taking notice of these inferior niceties with perfect sympathy, where ever they meet, kisse each other. Lastly, they are fearfull that the discipline which will succeed cannot stand with the Ks. safety. Wherefore? it is but *Episcopacy* reduc't to what it should be, were it not that the Tyranny of *Prelates* under the name of *Bishops* hath made our eares tender, and startling, we might call every good Minister a *Bishop*,¹³⁰ as every *Bishop*, yea the *Apostles* themselves are call'd Ministers,¹³¹ and the *Angels ministring Spirits*,¹³² and the *Ministers* againe *Angels*. But wherein is this propounded government so shrewd? Because the government of assemblies will succeed. Did not the *Apostles* govern the Church by assemblies, how should it else be Catholik, how should it have Communion? Wee count it Sacrilege to take from the rich *Prelates* their Lands, and revenu's which is Sacrilege in them to keep, using them as they doe, and can we think it safe to defraude the living Church of GOD of that right which GOD has given her in assemblies! O but the consequence: Assemblies draw to them the Supremacy of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction.¹³³ No surely, they draw no Supremacy, but that authority which CHRIST, and Saint *Paul*¹³⁴ in his name conferrs upon them. The K. may still retain the same Supremacy in the Assemblies, as in the *Parliament*, here he can [79] do nothing alone against the common Law, and there neither alone, nor with consent against the Scriptures. But is this all? No, this Ecclesiasticall Supremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate Kings;¹³⁵ and then followes the worst that can be imagin'd. Doe they hope to avoyd this by keeping *Prelates* that have so often don it? Not

¹³⁰ In *An Answer* (1641, p. 23, n. a) Smectymnuus cites Cyprian as proof that the word "bishop" meant simply "priest": "By Priests the Authour here understands Bishoppes, as the whole *Series* of the Epistle shewes." See Prynne, *A Catalogue of Such Testimonies* (1637), for sources on equality of bishops and presbyters, and his discussion in *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 6, pp. [31–37]. *Lord Bishops*, p. [34]: "The *Presbyters*, or *Pastors* set over the *Flock of God*, are here [Titus 1:5–7] called Bishops by the Apostle."

¹³¹ See Matthew 20.26.

¹³² See Psalms 104:5 and Matthew 4:11.

¹³³ This was Aston's objection in "A Survey," Section 15, in *A Remonstrance against Presbitery* (1641): "Now in this whole Gradation of Church government by Presbyteries, Classes, Synods, and Nationall Assemblies: What's become of our old superintendent power of Parliaments?"

¹³⁴ See Matthew 18:15–20 and II Timothy 4:1–5.

¹³⁵ Among others, Foxe cites the excommunication of King John and Henry VIII *Acts*, 1631–32, I, 329; II, 334.

to exemplifie the malapert insolence of our owne *Bishops* in this kind towards our Kings: I shall turn back to the *Primitive*, and pure times, which the objecters would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an assembly, but one *Bishop* alone, Saint AMBROSE of *Millan*, held *Theodosius* ¹⁸⁶ the most Christian Emperor under excommunication above eight moneths together, drove him from the Church in the presence of his Nobles, which the good Emperor bore with heroick *humility*, and never ceas't by prayers, and teares, till he was absolv'd, for which coming to the Bishop with *Supplication* into the *Salutatory*, some out Porch of the Church, he was charg'd by him of tyrannicall madnes against God, for comming into holy ground. At last upon conditions absolv'd, and after great *humiliation* approaching to the Altar to offer (as those thrise pure times then thought meet) he had scarce with-drawne his hand, and stood awhile, when a bold Arch-deacon comes in the Bishops name, and chaces him from within the railes telling him peremptorily that the place wherein he stood, was for none [80] but the *Priests* to enter, or to touch: and this is another peece of pure *Primitive Divinity*. Thinke yee then our Bishops will forgoe the power of excommunication ¹⁸⁷ on whomsoever? No certainly, unlesse to compasse sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withall dredfull, and inviolable Prerogative of *Christs* diadem excommunication serves for

¹⁸⁶ In 390 A.D. the people of Thessalonica killed an officer of Theodosius I (346?–95 A.D.) in a riot over an unpopular arrest that officer had made. After the riot had been quelled, Theodosius proclaimed public games, as if in a gesture of amnesty. At the public games he loosed a force of barbarian troops on the populace. The resulting slaughter lasted three hours; the number of dead has been variously reported from seven to fourteen thousand. When Theodosius returned from Milan after the massacre, St. Ambrose (340?–97 A.D.) refused to allow him to enter the church. Theodosius remained under the ban of Ambrose for eight troubled months. The ban was lifted only after Theodosius had promised to proclaim laws which would prevent such a massacre's happening again. When the emperor had done public penance and was permitted into the church, he attempted, as his custom was in Constantinople, to attend the service standing behind the guardrail of the altar, away from the people. St. Ambrose upbraided him through his deacon and sent him to stand with the laity. Though Milton's source is surely Theodoret, *Church History*, V, 18 (EHA, Paris, 1544, ff. 342 ff.), he does not adhere to Theodoret's view of Ambrose, nor indeed to his own interpretation as recorded in *CPB*, above, p. 432. See also "Theodosius I" in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, III, 1062–68. Milton refers to the story again in *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVIII.

¹⁸⁷ On the abuse of excommunication see the Puritan complaint in the London Petition, below, p. 982.

nothing with them, but to prog, and pandar for fees,¹³⁸ or to display their pride and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the Law, and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods, and Inheritances besides the deniall of Christian buriall.¹³⁹ But in the Evangelical, and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such *Iscariotical* drifts are to be doubted, as that *Spirituell* doom, and sentence, should invade worldly possession, which is the rightfull lot and portion, even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestow'd upon them by the al-dispensing bounty, as *rain*, and *Sunshine*. No, no, it seekes not to bereave or destroy the body, it seekes to save the Soule by humbling the body, not by Imprisonment,¹⁴⁰ or pecuniary mulct, much less by stripes or bonds, or disinheritance, but by Fatherly admonishment, and Christian rebuke, to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy, and ingenuous bashfulnesse to sin: if that can not be wrought, then as a tender Mother takes her Child and holds it over the pit with scarring [81] words, that it may learne to feare, where danger is, so doth excommunication as deerly, and as freely without money, use her wholesome and saving terrors, she is instant, she beseeches, by all the deere, and sweet promises of SALVATION she entices and woos, by all the threatnings, and thunders of the *Law*, and rejected *Gospel* she charges, and adjures; this is all her Armory, her munition, her Artillery, then she awaites with long-sufferance, and yet ardent zeale. In brieft, there is no act in all the errand of *Gods Ministers* to mankind, wherein passes more loverlike contestation betweene CHRIST and the Soule of a regenerate man lapsing, then before, and in, and after the sentence of Excommunication.¹⁴¹ As for the fogging proctorage¹⁴² of money, with such an eye as strooke *Gehezi*¹⁴³ with Leprosy,

¹³⁸ See note on fees above, p. 591; also the London Petition, below, p. 982.

¹³⁹ In theory it was possible in some bishoprics to deny burial in the churchyard for nonpayment of fees. Henry Spelman lists in *De Sepultura* (1641, p. 25) the fees to the parson for interment as two shillings, eight pence, in the churchyard for coffined bodies and one shilling, four pence, for uncoffined bodies.

¹⁴⁰ Milton probably refers here to the imprisonment of Burton, Bastwick, and Lilburne, events still fresh in Puritan minds, and instigated by Laud. See above, pp. 42-48.

¹⁴¹ Milton's concept of the sharp separation of religious and civil punishments, the former exhortatory only, was to become a persistent principle in his later thought. For his final word on excommunication and separation of civil and ecclesiastical discipline, see *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxxii.

¹⁴² Milton here means the underhand methods of the proctors (officers of ecclesiastical courts) to secure fees from persons on trial. For a satirical treat-

and *Simon Magus* with a curse,¹⁴⁴ so does she looke, and so threaten her firy whip against that banking den of theeves that dare thus baffle, and buy and sell the awfull, and majestick wringles of her brow. He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible arrow, if he can be at peace in his Soule, and not smel within him the brimstone of Hell, may have faire leave to tell all his baggs over undiminish't of the least farding, may eat his dainties, drinke his wine, use his delights, enjoy his Lands, and liberties, not the least skin rais'd, not the least haire misplac't for all that excommunication has done: much more may a King injoy his rights, and Prerogatives un-[82]deflowr'd, untouch'd, and be as absolute, and compleat a King, as all his royalties and revenu's can make him. And therefore little did *Theodosius*¹⁴⁵ fear a plot upon his Empire when he stood excommunicat by Saint *Ambrose*, though it were done either with much hauty pride, or ignorant zeale. But let us rather look upon the reformed Churches beyond the seas, the *Grizons*,¹⁴⁶ the *Suisses*,¹⁴⁷ the *Hollanders*,¹⁴⁸ the *French*,¹⁴⁹ that have a Supremacy to live under as well as we, where do the Churches in all these places strive for Supremacy, where do

ment of the proctors' activities, see *The Proctor and the Parator* (May, 1641), E156(13). Sponge the proctor says to Hunter the parator (p. [3]): "I alwayes covenanted with the Parator my setter, and paid him, but I sate at home like one of the Spanish Inquisitors, and fram'd interrogatories against them that hee brought in" Sponge is charged with selling influence with the judges, encouraging the accused to appeal their cases, etc.

¹⁴³ II Kings 5:1-27.

¹⁴⁴ See Acts 8.9-24 Cf. *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap 6, p. [33]: "They are notorious *Simonists*, either purchasing their *dignity* with a great Summe of money, or procuring it, *obsequio*, by *obsequiousness*, or *Court-Service*, and *attendance*." Prynne points out (chap. 7) that Simon Magus was accused [Acts 8:20] for offering money to be ordained by Peter. *Lord Bishops* (1640), p. [46]: "But our *Prelates* Ordaine tag and rag for money."

¹⁴⁵ See above, p 607, n. 136.

¹⁴⁶ Southeastern canton of Switzerland. An independent republic until its incorporation as a canton in 1803. See Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (7 vols., New York, 1891-94), VII, 130 ff.

¹⁴⁷ For the story of the Swiss overthrow of bishops, see Foxe, *Acts* (1631-32), II, 91 ff.

¹⁴⁸ When the Dutch cashiered the bishops set over them by the Spaniards, wrote Leighton (*An Appeal* [1628], pp 222-23), "Neither did ever any true friend to the Gospell. . . condemne them; not the King of France, being a Papist, nor his brother, *Duke de Angue*, their governour, though also a Papist"

¹⁴⁹ On the place of bishops in the Huguenot church, see "La Discipline Ecclesiastique," May 25, 1559, in *Documents . . . of the Continental Reformation*, ed Beresford J. Kidd (Oxford, 1911), p 673.

they clash and jostle Supremacies ¹⁵⁰ with the Civil *Magistrate*? In *France* a more severe Monarchy then ours, the *Protestants* under this Church government carry the name of the best Subjects ¹⁵¹ the King has; and yet *Presbytery*, if it must be so call'd, does there all that it desires to doe: how easie were it, if there be such great suspicion, to give no more scope to it in *England*. But let us not for feare of a scarre-crow, or else through hatred to be reform'd stand hankering and politizing, when God with spread hands ¹⁵² testifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be so overcredulous, unlesse God hath blinded us, as to trust our deer Soules into the hands of men that beg so devoutly for the pride, and gluttony of their owne backs, and bellies, ¹⁵³ that sue and sollicite so eagerly, not for the saving of Soules, the consideration of which can have heer no place at all, but for their Bishop-[83]ricks, Deaneries, Prebends, and Chanonies; ¹⁵⁴ how can these men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the bribe of their own pleading; whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath, and loud stench of avarice, Simony, ¹⁵⁵ and Sacrilege, embezzling the treasury of the

¹⁵⁰ Among other pamphleteers, Prynne pointed out that Christ (*A Looking-Glasse*, 1636, pp. [80], [81]) "refused to intermeddle with secular affaires," whereas the bishops "ingrosse all power and temporall Jurisdiction into their hands, smite with both swords at once like madde-men on every side." For a more moderate analysis, see Smectymnuus, *An Answer* (1641), pp. 45-47.

¹⁵¹ Cf. *Petition for the Prelates* (1641), E160(2), p. 23: "In *France* the Reformed Churches not under Bishops, are as good and faithfull subjects unto their Prince, and so acknowledged by himselfe, though of another Religion, as any hee hath."

¹⁵² Like the prophets of old, Milton feels that he can with some certainty interpret God's will in England's crisis. Many sincere Puritans showed the same prophetic strain, finally to differ violently among themselves about God's purposes. Defending Episcopacy, Aston wrote ("A Survey," Section 10, in *Remonstrance against Presbitery*, 1641): "Never was Gods Church so pure, but shee had her spots . . . Instead of Reforming, some so deface, deforme her, that one would scarce thinke there were Christians in it."

¹⁵³ Cf. Prynne, *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 2, p. [10]: "They call themselves Spirituall, when they are the most carnall men in the world"; Bernard, *A Short View* (1641), p. 5: "Whether any spirituall function ordained by Christ, standeth in need of so great a Prelate?"

¹⁵⁴ By the word "chanonies" Milton may mean "canonries." A canonry is the benefice of a canon. See, however, *NED* on old northern French "canonie," meaning "canon."

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Prynne's charge in *A Looking-Glasse* (1636), p. [5]: "Wealthie riches and pride; and those rewards and promotions, which the followers of Christ forsook, do ye distribute among your friends."

Church on painted, and gilded walles of Temples wherein God hath testified to have no delight, warming their Palace Kitchens, and from thence their unctuous, and epicurean paunches, with the almes of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orfan, the widow, for with these the treasury of CHRIST ought to be, here must be his jewels bestow'd, his rich Cabinet must be emptied heer; as the constant martyr Saint *Laurence* taught the *Roman Prætor*.¹⁵⁶ Sir would you know what the remonstrance of these men would have, what their Petition imply's? ¹⁵⁷ They intreate us that we would not be weary of those insupportable greevances that our shoulders have hitherto crackt under, they beseech us that we would think 'em fit to be our Justices of peace, our Lords, our highest officers of State, though they come furnish't with no more experience then they learnt betweene the *Cook*, and the *manciple*, or more profoundly at the Colledge *audit*, or the *regent house*, or to come to their deepest insight, at their *Patrons Table*; ¹⁵⁸ they would request us to indure still the russling of their

¹⁵⁶ Cf. St. Augustine, *Sermon 302*, IX (tr. from Migne, *Latina*, XXXVIII, 1388-89): "Saint Lawrence was an archdeacon. The riches of the Church were demanded of him by a persecutor, as it is related, on which account he suffered very much that is dreadful to hear. . . . Now he did the following thing [in such a way] that he enraged his persecutor, not [so much] wanting to anger him, but [rather] wanting to commend his faith . . . to profess which he was dying, to those who followed. 'Let carts,' he said, 'proceed with me, in which I may carry the riches of the Church.' The carts were sent; he loaded them with the poor, and ordered them to return, saying, 'These are the riches of the Church . . .'" Cf. also Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, II (Migne, *Latina*, LX, 294-340; Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Opera* [Antwerp, 1564], pp. 99 ff)

¹⁵⁷ Milton refers here to *The Humble Petition of the University of Oxford, in Behalf of Episcopacy and Cathedrals* (April 24, 1641). The *Petition* stressed the apostolical succession of bishops, the support the churches gave to ministers, students, and inmates of hospitals, the revenue from churches received by the crown. For an abusive Puritan reply see *An Answer to the Petition Sent from the Universitie of Oxford* (June, 1641), E160(10). The Puritans objected to any non-preaching church officials. As for the cathedrals, asserted the answerer (p. 5), "they have Deanes and Prebends, who devour the revenews, that have no pastorall charge."

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *The Humble Petition . . . of Oxford* (1641, p. 4): "As affording a competent portion in an ingenuous way to many younger Brothers of good Parentage, who devote themselves to the Ministry of the Gospell. As the onely means of subsistence to a multitude of Officers and other Ministers, who with their Families depend upon them and are wholly maintained by them." See the reply to this point in *An Answer to . . . Oxford* (1641), E160(10), p. 5: "As for the portions that they do afford younger brothers of good parentage, I know you meane by goodnesse, greatnesse." Men should not be cloistered "as unfit to labour in the Lords Vineyard."

Silken Cassocks, and that we would burst our *midriffes* rather then laugh to see them under Sayl in all their Lawn,¹⁵⁹ and Sarce-[84]net, their shrouds, and tackle, with a *geometricall rhomboides*¹⁶⁰ upon their heads: they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a year in *Jerusalem*¹⁶¹ like good circumcizd *males*, and *Females* to be taxt by the poul,¹⁶² to be scons't our head money, our tuppences in their Chaunlerly Shop-book of *Easter*.¹⁶³ They pray us that it would please us to let them still hale us, and worrey us with their band-dogs, and Pursivants;¹⁶⁴ and that it would please the *Parliament* that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and fleaing of us in their diabolical Courts¹⁶⁵ to tear the flesh from our bones, and into our wide wounds instead of balm, to power in the oil of Tartar, vitriol, and mercury; Surely a right reasonable, innocent, and soft-hearted Petition. O the relenting bowels of the Fathers. Can this bee granted them unlesse God have smitten us with frensie from above, and with a dazling giddinesse at noon day? Should

¹⁵⁹ The wide lawn sleeves of the prelates' gowns were a focus of ridicule in Puritan tracts. Cf. *A Rent in the Lawne Sleeves* (December, 1641), E179(12), *Lambeth Faire* (June, 1641), E158(20), p. [3]: "Come buy lawn sleeves"

¹⁶⁰ A rhomboidal miter or cap worn by bishops. Cf. *Lambeth Faire* (1641), p. 5.

"My packe it is a Wardrobe, large and faire,
Wherein are *Miters*, *Caps*, rotund, and square."

¹⁶¹ Before the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, it was the duty of every Hebrew man (twelve years and over) to appear at the temple and make an offering for a sacrifice to God upon at least one feast a year. A man usually brought his whole family with him. Most Hebrew men went, like Joseph with his family (Luke 2:41-42), for the feast of Passover.

¹⁶² The only surviving church poll tax in Milton's time was the Easter tuppence for each parishioner old enough to take communion. In London the usual tax per parishioner was four pence. See Walter F. Hook, *A Church Dictionary* 14th ed (London, 1887), p. 738.

¹⁶³ "Chaunlerly": obsolete form of "chanderly," pertaining to a petty shop keeper, or chandler. Hale, 202. "Shop-book of Easter": the church's record of the special Easter offering.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Prynne, *Lord Bishops* (1640), chap. 6, p. [37]: "Nor wants he [Laud] either *Canons* and *Ceremonies*, as snares to catch, nor *Pursuivants*, as Beagles to hunt out the *poore Sheep* and to hale them to his Shambles, for refusing to be fed with such *hemlocke*, instead of *Gods* wholesome word."

¹⁶⁵ Almost every petition against Episcopacy contained a plank on this point. Cf. even the moderate *Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England*, (September, 1641), E170(4) (presented on January 23), p. 4: "That the long-somenesse of *suits* in Ecclesiastical courts, (which hang sometime two, three, foure, five, six, or seven years) may be restrained." See above, pp. 69-70, and the London Petition, below, p. 976.

not those men ¹⁶⁶ rather be heard that come to plead against their owne preferments, their worldly advantages, their owne abundance; for honour, and obedience to *Gods word*, the conversion of Soules, the *Christian peace* of the Land, and *union* of the reformed *Catholick Church*, the *unappropriating*, and *unmonopolizing* the rewards of *learning* and *industry*, from the greasie clutch of ignorance, and high feeding. We have tri'd already, & miserably felt what *ambition* *worldly glory* & *immoderat wealth* can do, what the boisterous & contradictional hand of [85] a temporall, earthly, and corporeall Spirituality can availle to the edifying of Christs holy *Church*; were it such a desperate hazard to put to the venture the universall Votes of *Christs* Congregation, the fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious Ministry, the Pastorlike and Apostolick imitation of meeke and unlordly Discipline,¹⁶⁷ the gentle and benevolent mediocritie of Church-maintenance, without the ignoble Hucsteraage of piddling *Tithes*? ¹⁶⁸ Were it such an incurable mischiefe to make a little triall, what all this would doe to the flourishing and growing up of *Christs* mysticall body? As rather to use every poore shift, and if that serve not, to threaten uproare and combustion, and shake the brand of Civill Discord? ¹⁶⁹

O Sir, I doe now feelee my selfe in wrapt on the sodaine into those mazes and *Labyrinths* of dreadfull and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end I know not, unlesse I turne mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that Eternall and Propitious *Throne*, where nothing is readier then *grace* and *refuge* to the distresses of mortall Suppliants: and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts lesse piously then the Heathen were wont to conclude their graver discourses.

Thou therefore that sits't in light & glory unapprochable, *Parent* of *Angels* and *Men*! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer

¹⁶⁶ Milton means the moderate Puritans who presented *The Minsters Petition* on January 23, 1641. See above, pp. 69-70.

¹⁶⁷ That is, a discipline without prelates, i e, the Presbyterian.

¹⁶⁸ Milton here means free will offerings as should support the church, not tithes required by law Cf. his final position in *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxiii: "To exact or bargain for tithes . . . to have recourse to civil actions and legal processes for the recovery of allowances purely ecclesiastical, is the part of wolves rather than of ministers of the gospel." For a survey of Milton's position on tithes, see Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 102-10.

¹⁶⁹ Milton refers here to the bishops' wars. See above, p. 49.

of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, [86] ineffable and everlasting *Love!* And thou the third subsistence of Divine Infinitude, *illumining Spirit*, the joy and solace of created *Things!* one *Tri-personall* ¹⁷⁰ GODHEAD! looke upon this thy poore and almost spent, and expiring *Church*, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate *Wolves*,¹⁷¹ that wait and thinke long till they deuoure thy tender *Flock*, these wilde Boares that have broke into thy *Vineyard*, and left the print of thir polluting hoofs on the Soules of thy Servants. O let them not bring about their damned *designes* that stand now at the entrance of the bottomlesse pit expecting the Watch-word to open and let out those dreadfull *Locusts* and *Scorpions*, to *re-involve* us in that pitchy *Cloud* of infernall darknes, where we shall never more see the *Sunne* of thy *Truth* againe, never hope for the cheerfull dawne, never more heare the *Bird of Morning* sing. Be mov'd with pitty at the afflicted state of this our shaken *Monarchy*, that now lies labouring under her throwes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded Calamities.

O thou that after the impetuous rage of five bloody Inundations,¹⁷² and the succeeding Sword of intestine *Warre*, soaking the Land in her owne gore, didst pitty the sad and ceasles revolution of our swift and thick-comming sorrowes when wee were quite breathlesse, of thy *free grace* didst motion *Peace*, and termes of Cov'nant with us, & having first welnigh freed us from *Antichristian* thraldome, didst build up this *Britannick Empire* [87] to a glorious and enviable heighth with all her Daughter Ilands about her, stay us in this felicitie, let not the obstinacy of our halfe Obedience and will-Worship bring forth that *Viper* of *Sedition*, that for these Fourescore Yeares hath been breeding to eat through the entrals of our *Peace*; but let her cast her Abortive Spawne without the danger of this travailing &

¹⁷⁰ Contrary to Milton's position in *Paradise Lost* and *Christian Doctrine*, in which he is plainly unitarian. Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, I, v: "These words [John 1:48-49] can never prove that the Son, whether of man or of God, is of the same essence with the Father." In *Paradise Lost* Milton speaks of Christ as (III, 308) "by merit more than birthright, Son of God." See Maurice Kelley, *This Great Argument*, pp. 84-106, for an illuminating analysis of Milton's position.

¹⁷¹ Milton's favorite epithet for greedy priests or prelates. See above, p. 595, n. 85.

¹⁷² Milton here evidently refers to the invasions of the Romans, the Picts and Scots, the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans. See his *History of Britain*, II (Caesar and Claudius); III (Picts and Scots, Angles and Saxons); V (Danes); VI (Normans).

throbbing *Kingdome*. That we may still remember in our *solemn Thanksgiving*, how for us the *Northren Ocean* even to the frozen *Thule* ¹⁷³ was scatter'd with the proud Ship-wracks of the *Spanish Armado*, and the very maw of Hell ransack't, and made to give up her conceal'd destruction, ere shee could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

O how much more glorious will those former Deliverances appeare, when we shall know them not onely to have sav'd us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserv'd us for greatest happinesse to come. Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and Tyrannous Claime of thy Foes, now unite us intirely, and appropriate us to thy selfe, tie us everlastingly in willing Homage to the *Prerogative* of thy eternall *Throne*.

And now wee knowe, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the Sorceries of the *great Whore*,¹⁷⁴ and have joyn'd their Plots with that sad Intelligencing Tyrant ¹⁷⁵ that mischiefes the World with his Mines of *Ophir*,¹⁷⁶ and lies thirsting to revenge [88] his Navall ruines that have larded our Seas; but let them all take Counsell together, and let it come to nought,

¹⁷³ Thule is the name given to some land vaguely to the north of Britain by Pytheas, the Greek geographer (whose work we know only through fragments and hearsay). Strabo denies there is such a place but relays the information Pytheas gave concerning its location. See *Rerum Geographucarum Libri*, I, iv, 2-3 (Basle, 1571, pp. 58-59, map on pp. 216-17; and 8 vols., New York and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1917-32, I, 232-37). The name came to be applied to such various coasts to the north of Scotland as the Shetlands, Norway, even Iceland; and came, figuratively, to mean the northernmost limit of the world. Though Milton's use of the name is partially metaphorical here, it probably has some basis in fact and refers to the Shetlands, the defeated armada "having also gone round about the Iland of Great Britaine, by Scotland, the Iles of Orchades, and Ireland, and been furiously beaten, and greatly diminished by tempests, wrackes, and all sorts of miseries" (Camden, *Annales*, 1625, Book III, p. 284; 1615-27, I, 494).

¹⁷⁴ See Revelation 17:1, 19:2. The Puritans frequently called the Roman Catholic Church the "Whore of Babylon" as in *An Answer to . . . Oxford* (1641), E160(10), p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Philip II of Spain (1556-1598), who had sent out workers and informers to combat Protestantism in England and Europe. Gardiner, I, 204. Milton here takes the representative English position of identifying Spain with Catholicism and accuses Philip of using the moneys of Peru and Mexico to further his religious aims. Philip III (1598-1621) reversed his father's policy of supporting a world-wide movement against Protestantism. See Hale, p. 198, and Gardiner, I, 12, 99, 204, 205.

¹⁷⁶ See I Kings 10.11. Ophir was a region rich in gold; Milton's reference is to the South American holdings of the king of Spain.

let them Decree, and doe thou Cancell it, let them gather themselves, and bee scatter'd, let them embattell themselves and bee broken, let them imbattell, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then amidst the *Hymns*, and *Halleluiahs* of *Saints* some one may perhaps bee heard offering at high *strains* in new and lofty *Measures* to sing and celebrate thy *divine Mercies*, and *marvelous Judgements* in this Land throughout all Ages; whereby this great and Warlike Nation instructed and inur'd to the fervent and continuall practice of *Truth* and *Righteousnesse*, and casting farre from her the *rags* of her old *vices* may presse on hard to that *high* and *happy* emulation to be found the *soberest*, *wisest*, and *most Christian People* at that day when thou the Eternall and shortly-expected King shalt open the Clouds ¹⁷⁷ to judge the severall Kingdomes of the World, and distributing *Nationall Honours* and *Rewards* to Religious and just *Common-wealths*, shalt put an end to all Earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy universal and milde *Monarchy* through Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly that by their *Labours*, *Counsels*, and *Prayers* have been earnest for the *Common good* of *Religion* and their *Countrey*, shall receive, above the inferiour *Orders* of the *Blessed*, the *Regall* addition of *Principalities*, *Legions*, and *Thrones* ¹⁷⁸ into their glorious Titles, and in supereminence [89] of *beatifick Vision* progressing the *datelesse* and *irrevoluble* Circle of *Eternity* shall clasp inseparable Hands with *joy*, and *blisse* in over measure for ever.

But they contrary that by the impairing and diminution of the true *Faith*, the distresses and servitude of their *Countrey* aspire to high *Dignity*, *Rule* and *Promotion* here, after a shamefull end in this *Life* (which *God* grant them) shall be thrown downe eternally into

¹⁷⁷ See Matthew 24:30 and John 1:51.

¹⁷⁸ Principalities and thrones are the names of two of the nine orders of angels. The other seven orders are angels, archangels, virtues, powers, dominations, cherubim, and seraphim "Legions" is Milton's word for these remaining seven orders. The term "legion" (William Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, II, 1627 [4 vols., Boston, 1885]) was adopted from Roman military terminology "in order to express any large number, with the accessory ideas of order and subordination." Angels are traditionally very numerous. For the identification of the souls of the blessed with the angels see Mark 12.24-5. This identification was also made in the second century: see note in *Apostolic Fathers*, II, 315, tr. Kirsopp Lake (2 vols., London and New York. Loeb Classical Library, 1919), and the passage in the similitudes in the *Pastor* of Hermas to which that note refers (Strassburg, 1522, sig. E5 [a Latin translation of the *Pastor*]).

the *darkest* and *deepest Gulfe* of HELL, where under the *despightfull controule*, the trample and spurne of all the other *Damned*, that in the anguish of their *Torture* shall have no other ease then to exercise a *Raving* and *Bestiall Tyranny* over them as their *Slaves* and *Negro's*, they shall remaine in that plight for ever, the *basest*, the *lowermost*, the *most dejected*, most *underfoot* and *downe-trodden Vassals* of *Perdition*.¹⁷⁹

The End. [90]

¹⁷⁹ In the heat of his pamphleteering zeal, Milton, like many other Puritans, applied such abuse indiscriminately. Cf. "that bitter root of Lord Bishops" in Leighton, *An Appeal* (1628), p. 254; *The Bishops Manifest* (1641), p. 6. "If thou wilt banish Antichrist . . . thou must fell down to the ground those rotten Poasts, the Bishops." Prynne called the bishops (*A Looking-Glasse*, 1636, p. 103) a "dunghill generation of Lordly Peacockes."

OF PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY

June or July, 1641

PREFACE AND NOTES BY J. MAX PATRICK

Of Prelatical Episcopacy, Milton's second prose tract, was printed only once in his lifetime, in 1641, and has never previously been fully edited. It was published anonymously, but Milton presented a copy to the Bodleian Library as his own work, calling it "De Episcopati Prælati lib. 1," listing it as his second tract. Spelling and punctuation were regularized in the 1697 printing of *The Works of John Milton*, but Milton had no known connection with these or similar changes in Toland's edition, 1694–1698. In a note on "A Cancel in an Early Milton Tract"¹ William R. Parker shows that Toland may have had access to the original manuscript of *Animadversions*, but *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* in his text seems to be based on the original printed edition. A comparison reveals no variants except in spelling and punctuation.

The pamphlet was one in a sequence of tracts and sermons for and against Episcopacy. In the reign of Elizabeth, when Richard Bancroft proclaimed that Episcopacy is divine in origin, John Rainolds countered with a defence of moderately Calvinistic doctrines concerning church government. Bancroft then replied with *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings* (1588[89]), which the pro-Episcopants reprinted in 1640. The root-and-branch program to destroy Episcopacy developed with the London Petition in December of the same year. Meanwhile Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, came to the fore as a defender of bishops with his *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted*. The antiprelatical faction thereupon reprinted Rainolds' work as *The Judgement of Doctor Reignolds Concerning Episcopacy, Whether It Be Gods Ordinance* (1641). In May of that year, at Hall's urgent request, James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, published *The Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes Touching the Originall of Episcopacy. More Largely Confirmed out of Antiquity*. Except in the title, Ussher ignored Rainolds' *Judgement* and went to the latter's earlier, more moderate *Summe of the Conference* (1584), re-

¹ *The Library*, n.s. XV (1934), 243–48.

printing from it a passage which rather vaguely expressed his own position.

In June or July, 1641, Milton published *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* as a reply to Hall's *Episcopacie*, Ussher's *Judgement*, and *A Compendious Discourse, Proving Episcopacy to Be of Apostolicall and Consequently of Divine Institution*, by Peloni Almoni, Cosmopolites (pseudonym) (1641). Thomason purchased his copy (E164[19]) in July of that year and added a note, "By John Milton"—evidence that the anonymity of the authorship was penetrated then or later. David Masson dated the tract "June or July." The contention of George W. Whiting,² followed by James H. Hanford,³ that Almoni was answering *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, and that it must have been printed before May 31, the date of Almoni's prefatory epistle, is highly improbable, as William R. Parker suggests.⁴ For Almoni mentions *Of Reformation* but not its sequel. Moreover, it is hard to believe that in the interval between May 21, when Ussher's tract was entered in the *Stationers' Registers*, and May 31, when Almoni signed his prefatory letter, the archbishop's *Judgement* was published, that it was purchased and read by Milton, that he then conducted the necessary research and wrote his pamphlet, and that he had it printed and published in time for Almoni to buy it and at least to begin a reply. Furthermore, if Whiting's view is correct, it means that Milton reversed his opinion of Irenaeus in the negligible interval between his two tracts. Clearly Milton was answering Almoni, who was one of the divulgers of "needlesse tractats" mentioned on Milton's title page. Further evidence is contained in the footnotes below and in "The Date of Milton's *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*,"⁵ by the present editor.

The greatness of Milton's tract lies less in his scholarship and reasoning than in his brilliant debating. Although he chose to be no more exact in method than as the citations of his opponents led him, he utilized almost all the rhetorical skills and devices of classical oratory. Consequently his total effect is so satisfying and so overwhelming that the opposing arguments tend to be forgotten. He was attempting to address a wider public than the erudite theologians and scholars to whom Ussher's pamphlet would have appealed. As a result, Milton pleads the case for the equality of presbyters and bishops as if he were a lawyer defending a client: he begins by asserting the respectability and authenticity of his contention, which he associates with the Bible, the perfect man of God, clearness, religion, nationalism, firmness, and the standard of the Gospel;

² *Milton's Literary Milieu* (1939), pp. 293-94.

³ *A Milton Handbook* (1946), p. 80.

⁴ *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* (1940), p. 15, n. 3.

⁵ *HLQ*, XIII (1950), 303-11.

and he pours scorn upon his opponents' position, associating it with itch, lust, indigestion, legends, credulity, blindness, stuffing, distraction, staggering, and impious gaiety. Next he shifts the argument from the fact that hundreds of bishops voiced no objection against the testimony of Leontius, and dwells upon the obscurity and singleness of that witness. Again Milton skilfully resorts to denigrative association, linking Leontius with the false and factious bishop of Antioch, with bad and slippery men in councils, with forged and corrupt texts, and with ungodly prelatism. Then, in case the attack on the obscurity of Leontius has not been effective, Milton turns upon the whole Council at which the former spoke and points to its acceptance of papal primacy and its "carnall and ambitious decree to give the second place of dignity to Constantinople from reason of State." Having appealed partly to reason but more to emotion and antipapal prejudice (in which prejudice he was, of course, sincere), Milton proceeds to a carefully logical appeal to reason based on Eusebius' admission of how difficult it was to ascertain accurate data concerning Episcopacy. This section of the argument is then concluded with a splendidly sarcastic dismissal of "this venerable apparition of Leontius."

Enough of Milton's text has been analyzed to show that it is not to be read in a coldly logical, scientific spirit. It is rather to be read as a work of persuasive oratory, as propaganda rich in irony, subtle in its rhetoric, brilliantly clever in its obscuring of some of the opposing arguments, in the use of persuasive and repelling associations, in its powerful imagery, in the almost imperceptible shifts of the grounds of debate, and in the quiet assumption of most of the argument in premises like the doctrine that in matters of church government the Scriptures alone have divine authorization and are all-sufficient. Moreover, it must be admitted that Milton errs in literally interpreting a passage of obvious irony, which he mistakenly places in Tertullian's "Of Chastity"; that he rather incautiously asks where Clement places bishops above presbyters, when such a passage does exist; that in his paragraph on Ignatius he gives a rather unfair impression of Ussher's argument. Nevertheless we must grant that his basic argument—that the validity of citations from early church fathers may, with some justice, be doubted—is largely proved.

Of Prelatical Episcopacy seems to have attracted slight attention. Some newly discovered marginal comments are cited in the notes below. Hall and Ussher do not mention the tract in their works, though Milton's disproof of the argument for Episcopacy based on Polycarp's meeting with the apostle John may be responsible for the omission of that argument from subsequent defences of Episcopacy. In "Milton and Lord

Brooke on the Church" ⁶ George W. Whiting claims that Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, borrowed extensively from *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*. The frequent references to Jeremy Taylor in the notes below are intended to suggest that he may have been countering Milton's argument in certain passages. Otherwise the tract "seems to have inspired no allusions, condemnatory or otherwise," ⁷ although William London listed it as a work by Milton in *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (1658).

Titles of the chief writings for and against prelacy are cited above or in the notes below, and in the bibliography appended to Will T. Hale's edition of Milton's *Of Reformation*. There is an excellent treatment of the entire controversy in John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*.⁸

The present text is based on the Halsey copy in the Huntington Library (105614), which is wholly uncut and is in the original sewn condition. It is referred to in the textual notes below as "A." It is a quarto bound in blue morocco by Riviere and measures 20.5 x 15.2 cm. Collation: 4^o, π^2 A-C⁴ [\$2 (-+C3) signed], 14 leaves, pp. [12] 9-24. Contents: $\pi 1$: blank. $\pi 2$: title ⁹ (verso blank). A1-C4v: text. Not infrequently $\pi 1$ is missing. A few variations in punctuation and spelling have been found as a result of collation with the following: "B," the Bridgewater Library copy in the Huntington Library, 135338; "C," the Lenox Library copy in New York Public Library, KC/1641/Milton; three copies in the McAlpin Collection of Union Theological Seminary—"D," 1641/tM650/copy 1, "E," 1641/tM650/copy 2, and "F," 1641/tM66/O/copy 2, "G," a copy owned by Books Incorporated, booksellers in San Francisco; "H," a copy owned by William R. Parker of New York University; "I," a copy owned by the present editor; and "J," the Princeton

⁶ *MLN*, LI (1936), 161-66.

⁷ Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, p. 15.

⁸ 3 vols, London, 1870-73.

⁹ On the title page is a device consisting of three ornaments, a thistle, a rose, and a fleur-de-lis, each surmounted by a crown, thus symbolizing the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and France. Obviously the symbolism is not relevant to Milton's tract. The same ornaments, often with the addition of a crowned harp to represent Ireland, are widely and promiscuously used by printers in tracts published in 1641. Leonard Lichfield, printer to Oxford University used the ornaments in a reprint of *His Majesties Answer to a Printed Book Intituled a Remonstrance* (May, 1642). With less appropriateness they were also used on the title page of Henry Vane's *Speech in the . . . Commons* (1641).

The printers were Richard Oulton, the son-in-law of Edward and Elizabeth Alde who succeeded to their long established printing business, and Gregory Dexter. The publisher, Thomas Underhill, was the same as for Milton's *Of Reformation*. See above, pp. 515-16.

Library copy. These have been collated with microfilms of copies as follows: "K" in the Dunning Collection of the University of Michigan, 42237 purchased from Quaritch in 1941; "L" in the Library of the University of Texas, AJ/M642/641p; and "M" presented to Harvard University Library by the heirs of George Ticknor. Information concerning the following British holdings has been generously provided by William R. Parker: two copies in the Bodleian Library—"N," Pamph 46(3), and "O," the one presented by Milton, 4°F.56.Th.; two copies in the British Museum—"P," Thomason's copy, E164(19), and "Q," T.993(4); and four copies in Cambridge University Library—"R," F.3.7(1), "S," Syn.7.68.46(5), "T," F.4.57(10) [sel.d], and "U," Syn.7.63.311(10).

None of the copies examined bears indications of being printed in haste, though all of them show need of more careful proofreading. Inverted letters average about three to a page, and there are several instances of type out of line. Minor corrections seem to have been made during the course of printing.

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J. MAX PATRICK

Queens College

OF
PRELATICAL
EPISCOPACY,

AND

Whether it may be deduc'd from
the Apostolical times by vertue of those Testi-
monies which are alledg'd to that purpose
in some late Treatises:

One whereof goes under the Name of

I A M E S
A R C H B I S H O P
O F
A R M A G H.



London, Printed by R. O. & G. D. for Thomas
Underhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the
Bible, in *Wood-Street*, 1641.

Of Prelaticall Episcopacy:

EPYSCOPACY, as it is taken for an Order in the *Church* above a *Presbyter*, or as wee commonly name him, the Minister of a Congregation, is either of Divine constitution, or of humane.¹ If onely of humane, we have the same humane priviledge, that all men have ever had since *Adam*, being borne free, and in the Mistresse Iland of all the *British*, to retaine this *Episcopacy*, or to remove it, consulting with our owne occasions, and conveniences, and for the prevention of our owne dangers, and disquiets, in what best manner we can devise, without running at a losse,² as wee must needs in those stale, and uselesse records of either uncertaine, or unsound antiquity, which if we hold fast to the [1] grounds of the reformed *Church*, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, (so oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of *tradition*. If it bee of *Divine* constitution, to satisfie us fully

¹ Supporters of Episcopacy contended that the office of bishop is superior to that of priest (presbyter) and "that the Episcopall function is of Apostolicall and divine institution." Downname, *Defence of the Sermon* (1611), title page. William Prynne, though an extremist, voiced the general Puritan opinion "that Superior Episcopall dignity is to be avouched onely humane institution . . . that it is only of humane right." *Catalogue of Such Testimones* (1637), p. 20. The author of *Triple Episcopacie* (1641, p. 2) differentiates "Bishops of God"—ordinary ministers or "bishops" in Milton's sense—, "Bishops of the Devil"—prelates in Milton's usage—, and "Bishops of Men"—those who, without Scriptural justification, exercise powers above presbyters but not directly in the service of Satan. Milton, in his second sentence, envisages the retention of the last type, if convenient, but does not in *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* commit himself to Genevan or Scottish church discipline. Thus he eluded the Episcopalian counter-argument that Presbyterian government was "a meere humane invention." Downname, *Defence of the Sermon* (1611), sig. A4v.

² Cf. Jeremy Taylor, "Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy" (1642, p. 8); in *Whole Works*, ed. Reginald Heber (15 vols., London, 1822), VII, 7 (hereafter cited as Taylor, "Episcopacy"): "If Christ himself did not take order for a government, then we must derive it from human prudence, and emergency of conveniences, and concourse of new circumstances, and then the government must often be changed, or else time must stand still, and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequents are extremely full of inconvenience."

in that, the Scripture onely is able, it being the onely Book left us of *Divine* authority, not in any thing more Divine then in the all-sufficiency it hath to furnish us, as with all other spirituall knowledge, so with this in particular, setting out to us a perfect man of *God* accomplish't to all the good workes of his charge.³ Through all which Booke can be no where, either by plaine Text, or solid reasoning found any difference betweene a Bishop, and a Presbyter, save that they be two names to signify the same order.⁴ Notwithstanding this clearnesse,

³ The passage is based on II Timothy 3:16–17. Milton expatiates on the text in *Animadversions*, below, p. 700. His doctrine of the all-sufficiency of Scriptures is the mainspring of *Christian Doctrine*; cf. I, xxx in that work. Cf. also Anonymous, *A Worke for the Wisely Considerate* (1641), p. 19: "The Scriptures are fully written now, and propounded to us as a perfect rule . . . so that there is no doctrine to bee propounded, but warrantable by Scripture, nothing to bee reprov'd for a vice, nor any thing condemn'd for an error, but by Scripture: nor any thing allowed for a vertue, but what holy Writ approved, 2 *Tim* 3:16. That so by holy Scriptures the man of God (every godly Minister of Christ) may be perfect, thoroughly furnished (or perfected) unto all good workes, vers. 17."

⁴ In the New Testament ἐπίσκοπος, bishop, seems to denote the same office as πρεσβύτερος, presbyter. Otherwise Paul would mention presbyters as well as deacons and bishops in Philippians 1:1 and I Timothy 3:1–13. Moreover, he refers to the same persons as presbyters and bishops or overseers: Titus 1:5–7; Acts 20:17–28. Milton develops the same argument more fully in *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxxi. For references to relevant authorities see Prynne, *Catalogue of Such Testimonies*. The problem is discussed at length in Lancelot Andrewes, *Of Episcopacy* (1647), pp. 8–19, and Taylor, "Episcopacy" (1642), pp. 197–98; (1822), VII, 142–43. Hall in *A Defence* (1641, p. 55) states: "It is agreed, that the name of Bishops and Presbyters were [*sic*], at first, promiscuously used, It is yielded by you [*Smectymnus*], 'That in the processe of time, some one was honoured with the name of Bishop, and the rest were called Presbyters.' . . . We do justly and confidently defend, that this time had no processe at all. It was in the τῶν νῦν [the now] of the living Apostles."

Milton's statement that presbyters and bishops in the Bible were the same is the Aërian heresy. Richard Hooker notes its implications (*Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, VII, ix, 4. In *Works*, ed. Keble, revised by R. W. Church and F. Paget [7th ed., 3 vols., Oxford, 1888], III, 203–04): "When Aërius did plead, There is by the Word of God no difference between a presbyter and a bishop, his meaning was not only, that the Word of God itself appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing nor allowing that any such difference should be made." Hooker then sums up the ways by which the opponents of episcopacy oppugn it. "First, by disgracing the inequality of pastors, as a new and mere human invention, a thing which was never drawn out of Scripture, where all pastors are found (they say) to have one and the same power both of order and jurisdiction: Secondly, by gathering together the differences between that power which we give to bishops, and that which was given to them of old in the Church; so that albeit even the ancient took more than was warrantable, yet so far they swerved not as ours have done. Thirdly, by endeavouring to prove, that the Scrip-

and that by all evidence of argument, *Timothy*, and *Titus* (whom our Prelates claim to imitate onely in the controuling part of their office) had rather the vicegerency of an Apostleship committed to them, then the ordinary charge of a Bishoprick, as being men of an extraordinary calling,⁵ yet to verify that which Saint *Paul* foretold of succeeding times, when men began to have itching eares, then not contented with the plentifull and wholsom fountaines of the Gospell, they began after their owne lusts to heap to themselvs teachers,⁶ and as if the divine Scripture wanted a supplement, and were to be eek't out, they cannot think any doubt resolv'd, and any doctrine confirm'd, unlesse they run to that indigested heap, and frie of Authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedlesse hand of blind chance, hath drawne down from of old to this present, in her huge dragnet, whether Fish, or Sea-weed, Shells, or Shrubbs, [2] unpickt, unchosen, those are the Fathers. Seeing therefore some men, deeply conversant in Bookes, have had so little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, then by divulging needlesse tractats stuff't with specious names of *Ignatius*, and *Polycarpus*,⁷ with frag-

ture directly forbiddeth, and that the judgment of the wisest, the holiest, the best in all ages, condemneth utterly the inequality which we allow." Hooker then expands the Puritan argument with copious citations from Thomas Cartwright and Calvin. Though by an Anglican, this summary of the Puritan position is one of the best available

⁵ (M) 2 *Tim.* 4.

For Milton apostleship was extraordinary and ceased with the first generation of Christians, but Episcopacy, which he identified with presbytery, was ordinary and continuing Cf. *Animadversions*, below, p. 710, and *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxix. Similarly John White cites Paul's classification of the ministry into apostles, prophets, pastors, and teachers (Ephesians 4.1) and says that the first three, being extraordinary, did not continue (*Speech . . . in the Commons*, 1641, p. 3), and a pamphleteer notes that the apostle "mentioneth no *Bishops*, as degrees in the ministry differing from the rest." *A Very Lively Portrayture* (1640), p. 1. Episcopalians objected that their opponents, having admitted that apostolic power was lawful, could not show why "the same should not have continuance" Matthew Sutcliffe, *A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline* (1590), p. 161. John Hughes contended that to claim Timothy's appointment as extraordinary was "that known subterfuge to which Schismatics always have recourse." "Preliminary Dissertations," in George Hickes, *Two Treatises* (2 vols., London, 1711), II, Appendix 8, pp. ccclxxiii-iv. Cf. Hall, *A Defence* (1641), p. 327.

⁶ II Timothy 4 3-4.

⁷ Ignatius, ca. 70-ca. 107, was the second or third bishop of Antioch. He suffered martyrdom at Rome in the third persecution of the Christians. Polycarp, a disciple of John, was by him appointed bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp circulated the epistles of Ignatius and himself wrote a *Letter to the Philipppians* which is now

ments of old *Martyrologies*, and *legends*, to distract, and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, & mislead them from their strong guards, and places of safety under the tuition of holy writ, it came into my thoughts to perswade my selfe, setting all distances, and nice respects 'aside, that I could do Religion, and my Country no better service for the time then doing my utmost endeavour to recall the people of GOD from this vaine forraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firme stations under the standard of the Gospell: * by making appeare to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconvenience, and lastly the impiety of these gay ⁹ testimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this I shall not strive to be more exact in Methode, then as their citations lead mee.

First therefore concerning *Ignatius* ¹⁰ shall be treated fully, when the Author shall come to insist upon some places in his Epistles. Next to prove a succession of 27. *Bishops* from *Timothy*, he cites one *Leontius Bishop* of *Magnesia*, out of the 11. act of the *Chalcedonian* Councell: this is but an obscure, and single witnesse, and for his faithfull dealing who shall commend him to us, with this his Catalogue of *Bishops*? ¹¹ what know wee further of him, but that he might

generally regarded as genuine Spurious letters and, according to some scholars, interpolations were added to the Ignatian canon, but "specious" applies less to Polycarp's writings than to the account of his martyrdom.

⁸ Cf Henry Vane, *Speech in the House of Commons* (1641), pp. 8-9. "That which . . . goes nearest to my heart, is the check which we seem to give to Divine Providence, if we doe not at this time pull downe this Government. For hath not this Parliament been called, continued, preserved, and secured, by the immediate finger of God, as it were for this work?"

⁹ "Specious" or "plausible" when applied to reasoning or evidence. Cf. *Comus*, l. 789. "Enjoy your dear Wit and gay Rhetorick."

¹⁰ (M) Pag. 4. (Milton's reference is to Ussher's *Judgement*. Ussher contends that Rainolds' identification of the Angel of Ephesus with what the fathers called a bishop is confirmed by the Episcopal succession in that church and by the testimony of Ignatius)

¹¹ A dispute over rival claimants for the bishopric of Ephesus was argued at the general council of the Christian Church held in Chalcedon in 451. One speaker, Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia in the province of Asia, had attended the Robber Council of Ephesus in 449 but is otherwise obscure. Ussher's argument was based not on the authority of Leontius but on the fact that in a dispute between claimants to the See of Ephesus, Leontius "openly declared . . . that from *Timothie* (and so from the daies of the Apostles) there had been a continued succession of seven and twenty Bishops; all of them ordained in *Ephesus*." *Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes Touching the Originall of Episcopacy* (1641), pp 4-5. Almoni similarly notes that Leontius made his statement "amongst 630 Bishops." *A Compendious Discourse* (1641), sig. B The implication is that in such a dispute the

be as factious, and false a *Bishop*, as *Leontius*¹² of *Antioch* that was a hunderd yeares his [3] predecessor? for neither the praise of his wisdom, or his vertue hath left him memorable to posterity, but onely this doubtfull relation, which wee must take at his word; and how shall this testimony receive credit from his word, whose very name had scarce been thought on, but for this bare Testimony? But they will say hee was a member of the Councell, and that may deserve to gaine him credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with faire allowance I might, that wee may as justly suspect, there were some bad and slippery men in that councell, as we know there are wont to be in our Convocations. Nor shall I neede to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more subtilty brought about, both anciently by other *Heretiks*,¹³ and modernly by Papists,

statement would have been challenged if untrue. Ussher cites the Greek text of the Eleventh Act of the Chalcedonian council (p. 5). It is also to be found in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi (59 vols., Florence, 1759–1927), VII, 293 (hereafter cited as Mansi), and, in English, in Charles J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, ed. E. W. Plumptre (5 vols., Edinburgh, 1883–96), III, 374–75 (hereafter cited as Hefele).

¹² Leontius, 348–57 AD, Bishop of Antioch, was more latitudinarian than factious. He tried to include the Arians within the Church without offending the orthodox. When he accused Athanasius of cowardice, the latter attacked him with such asperity that his reputation suffered severely. Athanasius, *Apology for his Flight*, in Migne, *Graeca*, XXV, 643–79.

¹³ Leontius of Magnesia was too obscure to be called heretical with any certainty, but Milton's reference may be to the alleged Arianism of the other Leontius. The reference to "other *Heretiks*" is also vague. Presumably they are the authors of various collections of forged or partially forged canons—not necessarily heretics. The so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*, supposed to have proceeded orally from the Apostles and to have been written down by their disciple, St. Clement of Rome, had authority in the Greek Church but were rejected as spurious by a Roman synod as early as 495, though fifty of the eighty-five canons were given an uncertain recognition in the west. The ninth century abounded in such documented forgeries, the most famous of them being the *Decretals* of the pseudo-Isidore. Milton probably also has in mind the canonists who collected, glossed, and, in some cases, falsified Gratian's *Decretum*, which was compiled about 1150. Gratian himself had quoted a number of spurious decrees including many from the pseudo-Isidore. In 1559–1574 the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, planned by Matthias Flacius, a disciple of Luther, attacked the decretals of the pseudo-Isidore, and in 1628 David Blondel, a Calvinist, exposed the fraud thoroughly. However, some Romanists, the modern Papists referred to by Milton, defended the decretals; for example, Cardinal Zabarella whose *On the Decretals* was published in Cologne in 1602, and Bonaventura Malvasia who, in 1635, attempted to answer Blondel's *Pseudo-Isidore and Torres Drubbed*. For details, see Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism. The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists* (London, 1949); Paul Fournier, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident*

then to falsifie the Editions of the Councils, of which wee have none but from our Adversaries hands, whence Canons, Acts, and whole spurious Councils are thrust upon us, and hard it would bee to prove in all, which are legitimat against the lawfull rejection of an urgent, and free disputer, but this I purpose not to take advantage of, for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of Councils, when as we know that many yeares ere this time which was almost 500. years after *Christ*, the Councils themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly Prelatisme, and so farre plung'd into worldly ambition, as that it stood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well-tasted Hierarchy by what faire pretext soever they could, in like manner as they had now learnt to defend many other grosse corruptions by as ancient, and suppos'd authentick tradition as Episcopacie. And what [4] hope can we have of this whole Council to warrant us a matter 400. years at least above their time concerning the distinction of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, whenas we find them such blind Judges of things before their eyes in their decrees of precedencie between *Bishop*, and *Bishop*, acknowledging *Rome* for the Apostolick throne, and *Peter* in that See for the rock, the basis, and the foundation of the Catholick Church, and Faith,¹⁴ contrary to the interpretation of more ancient Fathers; and therfore from a mistaken text ¹⁵ did they give to *Leo* as *Peters* successor a kind of preheminance above the whole Council, as *Evagrius* ¹⁶ expresses (for now the Pope was come to that

depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratian (2 vols., Paris, 1931-32); Anleto Giovanni Cicognani, *Canon Law* (2nd, revised ed., trans. Joseph M. O'Hara and Francis Brennan, Philadelphia, 1925).

¹⁴ Milton refers not only to the statement of Evagrius cited below but also to the notion that the Council of Chalcedon offered Pope Leo I the title of ecumenical patriarch, which he refused. The title was based on a dubious translation from Latin into Greek of the formal subscription of the papal delegates. For details see Hefele, III, 429; Mansi, VII, 136. At the third session Leo was called "Ecumenical Archbishop and Patriarch of Great Rome." Mansi, VI, 1005, 1012, 1021, 1029. In the sixteenth session a papal legate departed from the genuine text of the Nicene Canons and ascribed primacy to the bishop of Rome. Hefele, III, 425. Hence Milton's charge that the Pope was arrogating incompetible honors to himself by means of his vicars or legates.

¹⁵ Whether Milton is referring to the mistranslations and substituted texts mentioned in the preceding note or to the Roman Catholic interpretation of Matthew 16:18 ("upon this rocke I will build my Church") is not clear.

¹⁶ Evagrius Scholasticus, ca. 536-600, legal adviser to Pope Gregory, and patriarch of Constantinople, covered the period from 431 to 493 in his *Church History*. The passage is in a declaration at the Council of Chalcedon concerning

height, as to arrogate to himselfe by his Vicars incompetible¹⁷ honours) and yet having thus yeilded to *Rome* the universall Primacie for spirituall reasons, as they thought, they conclude their sitting with a carnall, and ambitious decree to give the second place of dignity to *Constantinople* from reason of State, because it was new *R O M E*, and by like consequence doublesse of earthly priviledges annex to each other City, was the BISHOP therof to take his place.¹⁸

I may say againe therefore, what hope can we have of such a Council, as beginning in the Spirit, ended thus in the flesh. Much rather should we attend to what *Eusebius* the ancientest writer extant of Church-history, notwithstanding all the helps he had above these,¹⁹

the aggressions of Dioscurus, formerly bishop of Alexandria: "Therefore Leo, most holy and most blessed Archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by means of us and the present synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all-honored apostle Peter, who is the rock and basis of the Catholic Church and the foundation of the orthodox faith, stripped him of ecclesiastical dignity and severed him from every priestly function" *Church History*, II, in Migne, *Graeca*, LXXXVI, 2503-04; translation mine

¹⁷ Not within one's competence or capacity.

¹⁸ In Canon 28 of the fifteenth session of the Council of Chalcedon it was decreed that Constantinople "which (in a civil respect) enjoys the same privileges as the ancient imperial city [Rome], should also in its ecclesiastical relations be exalted, and hold second place after that." Hefele, III, 411. Pope Leo rejected this canon because it contradicted Canon 6 of Nicea which gave the second place of dignity to Alexandria. *Ibid.*, III, 443. Cf. Edward H. Landon, *A Manual of the Councils* (London, 1893), I, 147. Milton's attack on particular church councils in this paragraph later became more general. In *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxxi, he points out that he can find no trace in Scriptures "of councils, properly so called," that is, of councils of prelates. Although he approves of the councils of the apostles from which "no faithfull Christian was debarr'd" (*Church-Government*, below, p. 789), he denies that since apostolic times such synods have ever had a happy termination. Columbia, XII, 109-11.

¹⁹ Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, tr. Kirsopp Lake (2 vols., New York: Loeb Library, 1926-32), I, 195-97 (hereafter cited as Eusebius, Loeb.) Milton's paraphrase of the passage is correct, but his interpretation is criticized in a marginal note written by a seventeenth-century hand in the copy of *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* owned by Books, Inc., of San Francisco. Words and letters which were later trimmed away when the pamphlet was bound are indicated by dots or conjecturally restored in italics. Abbreviations have been filled out and punctuation has been added "And why should not we consult with Ignatius the 3. Bishop of Antioch from Peter, and with Irenæus who was Polycarpus scholler as St. Jerome affirms in his life; out of whose writings which are yet extant, Eusebius compiled part of his history? They tell us who succeeded the Apostles in Rome and Antioch, as Eusebius doth who were their successors in Jerusalem and Alexandria, which 4. were the most prominent Churches. So that Eusebius never made it any difficulty to tell who succeeded them in those cheife churches after their deaths, which was a

confesses in the 4. chap. of his 3. Book, that it was no easie matter to tell who were those that were left Bishops of the Churches by the Apostles, more then by what a man might gather from the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the Epi-[5]stles of St. *Paul*, in which number he reckons *Timothy* for Bishop of *Ephesus*. So as may plainly appeare, that this tradition of Bishoping *Timothy* over *Ephesus* was but taken for granted out of that place in St. *Paul*, which was only an intreating him to tarry at *Ephesus*, to do something left him in charge.²⁰ Now if *Eusebius* a famous writer thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed Bishops by the Apostles, much more may we think it difficult to *Leontius* an obscure Bishop speaking beyond his own Diocese²¹: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of Bishops those were, if they had so little means to know who they were; and much lesse reason have we to stand to their definitive sentence, seeing they have bin so rash to raise up such lofty Bishops and Bishopricks out of places in Scripture meerly misunderstood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gadde after these traditions of the ancients, we heare the ancients themselvs confessing, that what knowledge they had in this point was such as they had gather'd from the Bible.

Since therefore Antiquity it selfe hath turn'd over the controversie to that sovrain Book which we had fondly straggl'd from, we shall doe

thing commonly known; only he affirmed that twas uncertaine who of their followers and fellow labourers the Apostles left behind them to feed the churches they had planted. . . . which must have . . . [about six words] . . . Now those . . . [about eleven words] . . . to build on the foundation they had layd. Yet it would not follow that they were Bishops or could ordaine others, unles the Scriptures had so left it upon record. As it hath of *Timothy* and *Titus* to whom St. *Paul* wrote in a particular maner how they should demean themselves as Bishops: order, ordaine, and censure; all which this writer calls 'something,' as if it were som deepest *had* matter, whereas indeed this *very* something contains all the Episcopall Jurisdiction.

"Here he abuses *Eusebius*, who in the same chapter tells us that *Linus* was the 1st Bishop of Rome, and *Clemen* the 3d. and *Dyonisius* the 1st of Athens, which he could never collect from the Bible."

²⁰ (M) I *Tim* I. 3.

²¹ *Almoni* (*A Compendious Discourse*, 1641, sig. B) cites the sequence of Ephesian bishops mentioned by *Leontius* as evidence of an Episcopal succession distinct from presbyters and superior to them. Milton seems to mean either that *Leontius'* evidence was unreliable because given in Chalcedon far from his home diocese of Magnesia or that *Leontius* was not competent to speak of affairs in Ephesus over which he had no jurisdiction. The former explanation is the more likely, for Ephesus and Magnesia had close connections.

better not to detain this venerable apparition of *Leontius* any longer, but dismiss him with his List of seven and twenty, to sleep unmolested in his former obscurity.

Now for the word *προεσὼς*,²² it is more likely that *Timothy* never knew the word in that sense: ²³ it was the vanity of those next succeeding times not to content themselves with the simplicity of Scripture phrase, but must make a new Lexicon to name [6] themselves by, one will be call'd *προεσὼς*, or *Antistes*, a word of precedence, another would be term'd a Gnostick as *Clemens*,²⁴ a third *Sacerdos*, or Priest, and talks of Altars; which was a plaine signe that their doctrine began to change, for which they must change their expressions: But that place of *Justin Martyr* ²⁵ serves rather to convince ²⁶ the Author, then to make for him, where the name *προεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, the president, or Pastor of the Brethren (for to what end is he their President but to teach them) ²⁷ cannot be limited to signifie a Pre-

²² A ligature is used for the internal sigma tau in the original.

²³ Ussher (*Judgement*, p. 5) interprets the word *προεστὼς* or "Antistes" to refer to a bishop superior to the presbytery. Similarly Almoni states that the Angel of Ephesus was an "ANTISTES, the Chiefe, the Prelate, the Bishop of the Church" *A Compendious Discourse* (1641), sig. B. Taylor (*Episcopacy*, 1642, p. 153; 1822, VII, 111) claims that in antiquity "antistes ecclesiae" always meant bishop.

²⁴ Clement was head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria at the close of the second century. In his *Miscellanies* he tried to reconcile the religious and the intellectual. By "gnostic," he meant one in whom such a reconciliation had been effected: such a man, who had reached knowledge through virtue and who performed the right because he loved it, was the true Christian "He who is conversant with all kinds of wisdom will be pre-eminently a gnostic." (*Miscellanies*, I, xiii, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, revised by A. Cleveland Coxe [10 vols., New York, 1899-1900], II, 313) [Hereafter cited as *Fathers*, A. N.]. For a discussion see Denis-Nicolas Le Nourry, "De Libris Stromatum," in Migne, *Graeca*, IX, 1199 ff.

²⁵ Justin Martyr, born about 100 A.D., was a Christian apologist and philosopher. The passage mentioned occurs in his *First Apology*, LXV (*Fathers*, A. N., I, 185). It may validly be translated to agree with Milton's interpretation, that the *προεστὼς* was an ordinary presbyter who presided over a meeting of Christians as their pastor and teacher. "Then bread and a cup of wine mixed with water are brought to the brother who was presiding" Ussher's interpretation, that the *προεστὼς* held the office of president over the brethren in superiority over them—in other words, that he was a bishop—is also legitimate. The account of what "Christians had wont to do" follows in *First Apology*, LXVII (*Fathers*, A. N., I, 183-84). Milton is guilty of a minor inaccuracy: Justin does not say that the antistes is the reader.

²⁶ To overcome in argument, confute. In *Paradise Regained*, III, 3-4, Satan stands "confuted and convinc't/Of his weak arguing, and fallacious drift."

²⁷ Taylor contended that "this word 'pastor' must needs be appropriated to

laticall Bishop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary *Presbyter*: for there he tells what the Christians had wont to doe in their severall Congregations, to read, and expound, to pray and administer, all which he saies the *προεστὼς*, or *Antistes* did. Are these the Offices only of a Bishop, or shall we think that every Congregation where these things were done, which he attributes to this *Antistes*, had a *Bishop* present among them? unlesse they had as many *Antistites* as *Presbyters*, which this place rather seems to imply, and so we may inferre even from their own alledg'd authority, *that Antistes was nothing else but Presbyter*.

As for that namelesse Treatise of *Timothy's* martyrdome, only cited by *Photius*²⁸ that liv'd almost 900. yeares after *Christ*, it handsomely follows in that author, the Martyrdome of the seven Sleepers, that slept (I tell you but what mine Author sayes) three hundred seaventy, and two years, for so long they had bin shut up in a Cave without meat, and were found living: This Story of *Timothy's* Ephesian Bishopricke as it follows in order, so may it for truth, if it only subsist upon its own authority, as it doth, [7] for *Photius* only saith he read it; he does not averre it. That other legendarie piece²⁹ found among the lives of the Saints, and sent us from the shop of the Jesuites at *Lovain*, does but bear the name of *Polycrates*,³⁰ how truly who

bishops, to whom, according to . . . St Peter, and the practice of infant Christendom," the power to oversee and to shepherd or govern was entrusted, "first solely, then in communication with others, but always principally. But now of late . . . the word 'pastor' is given to parish priests, against the manner and usage of ancient Christendom." *Episcopacy* (1642), p 145; (1822), VII, 107-08. However, according to White, "we are first to restore the Presbyter to his due, and to him belongs to teach and feed his flocke, and to oversee, care for, and rule them in *spiritualibus*." *Speech . . . in the Commons* (1641), p 5.

²⁸ (M) Pag. 5.

Photius, ca 815-897, Patriarch of Constantinople, cites extracts from an account of Timothy's martyrdom in *The Library*, CCLIV (Migne, *Graeca*, CIV, 102-03) The story of the Seven Sleepers immediately precedes them.

²⁹ (M?) p *Euseb.* l. 6. κεοφεκε (See textual notes)

³⁰ Milton queries the attribution of *The Acts of Timothy* to Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus in the late second century, because neither Eusebius nor Jerome mentions the work. It is called "legendary" because it occurs in the collection of Saints' lives by Jacobus de Varagine commonly known as "The Golden Legend." The text used by Ussher, *Historiae Plurimorum Sanctorum* (Louvain, October, 1485), fols. xvi-xvii, was issued by the Jesuits, whom Milton distrusted; but it is ultimately based on a recension of the fifth or sixth century and agrees substantially with earlier non-Jesuit editions, with Migne's reprint (*Graeca*, V, 1363-66), and with the version in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bollandus

can tell? and shall have some more weight with us, when *Polycrates* can persuade us of that which he affirms in the same place of *Eusebius* 5. Book,⁸¹ that St. *John* was a Priest, and wore the golden brestplate: and why should he convince us more with his traditions of *Timothy's* Episcopacie, then he could convince *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* with his traditions concerning the Feast of Easter, who not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from *Philip*, and his daughters that were Prophetesses; or from *Polycarpus*, no nor from St. *Iohn* himselfe, excommunicated⁸² both him, and all the Asian Churches for celebrating their Easter judaically: he may therefore goe back to the seaven Bishops his kinsmen, and make his moane to them that we esteem his traditionall ware, as lightly as *Victor* did.

Those of *Theodoret*, *Felix*, and *Iohn* of *Antioch*⁸³ are authorities of later times, and therefore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities sake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherin writers so much their Elders, we see so easily miscarry. What if they had told

and G. Henschensius (58 vols, Antwerp [I-L], Brussels [LI, LII, LIV-LVIII], and Tongerlo [LIII], 1643-1867), *Jan. tom. II, die 2*, pp. 562-57 (hereafter referred to as Bollandus, *Acta*).

⁸¹ Eusebius, V, xxiv (Loeb, I, 506-07). Polycrates and the Asiatic Christians celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of the Passover—that is, “judaically”—as had seven of his kinsmen who were bishops. The Roman church celebrated Easter on the first full moon after the vernal equinox. Polycrates supported his side in this Quartodeciman Controversy by citing the examples mentioned here.

⁸² Socrates Scholasticus, *Church History*, V, xxii, in *Fathers, N. and P. N. 2*, II, 130: Victor, “influenced by too ardent a zeal, fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the Quartodecimans.” Victor, Bishop of Rome ca. 185-202, failed to persuade the church as a whole to excommunicate the Asiatics. Whether he himself renounced communion with them is not clear from Eusebius, V, xxiv, 9 ff. (Loeb, I, 508 ff.), but Milton follows the later writer.

⁸³ Ussher (*Judgement*, 1641, p. 6) turned “to the testimony of *Ignatius*: whom *Theodoret* and *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, and *John* the Chronographer of *Antioch* report to have beene ordained bishop of *Antioch* by *S. Peter*; and without all controversie did sit in that See, the very same time wherein that Epistle unto the *Angell of the Church of Ephesus* was commanded to be written.” In *Polymorphos*, the first of the *Dialogues* by Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus (d. 458), Ignatius is said to have received Episcopal grace from St. Peter. *Fathers, N. and P. N. 2*, III, 175. Felix, Bishop of Rome 483-492, states that Peter ordained Ignatius a bishop. Letter to Zeno, in Migne, *Latina*, LVIII, 919-20. Ussher's source was *Concilia Generalia et Provincialia*, ed. Severinus Binius (Cologne, 1606), Book II, p. 220.

The *Chronography* of John Malalas (the Orator) of Antioch (ca seventh century) was not published until the end of the seventeenth century. About 1640 it came to the attention of Ussher in the codex of the MS of Francis Barocci in the Bodleian Library. Milton almost certainly had not read it. The passage referred to is in Migne, *Graeca*, XCVII, 383.

us that *Peter*, who as they say left *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, went afterwards to *Rome*, and was Bishop there, as this *Ignatius*, and *Irenæus*,³⁴ and all Antiquity with one mouth deliver, there be never the lesse a number of learned, and wise Protestants who have written, and will maintain, that *Peters* being at *Rome* as Bishop cannot stand with concordance of Scripture.³⁵ [8]

Now come the Epistles of *Ignatius* to shew us first, that *Onesimus* was Bishop of *Ephesus*; ³⁶ next to assert the difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*,³⁷ wherein I wonder that men teachers of the Protestant Religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen Epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious,³⁸ containing in them Heresies and trifles, which cannot

³⁴ *Ignatius, To the Romans*, IV, 3, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 75: "I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you." The passage occurs in both the shorter and longer recensions of the letter. It implies that Peter was in Rome issuing orders as a bishop. Milton throws doubt on the reliability of Ignatius without committing himself to the view that Peter was not in Rome. Irenæus is more explicit than Ignatius in writing of "the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul." *Against Heresies*, III, iii, 2, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 415.

³⁵ E.g., William Tyndale, *Expositions of Scripture and Practise of Prelates* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1849), p. 285; John Hooper, *Later Writings* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1852), p. 545. Cf. Louis Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church* (3 vols., New York: Longmans, Green, 1926), I, 45.

³⁶ *Ignatius, To the Ephesians*, I, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 49. As Ussher notes, the passage is quoted in Eusebius, III, xxxvi (Loeb, I, 280-81).

³⁷ Ussher, *Judgement* (1641), pp. 6-8, quotes Ignatius, *To the Ephesians*, I-IV and XX, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 49-51, 57-58, and *To the Smyrnaeans*, VIII, *ibid.*, I, 89-90.

³⁸ This paragraph is primarily an answer to Hall, *Episcopacie* Part II, Section 11 (1640), pp. 65-79, where the references are to the edition of Ignatius by Nicholas Vedelius (Geneva, 1623). Milton also used this edition. Vedelius rejected as spurious the letters to Mary of Cassobelaë, the Tarsians, the Philippians, the Antiochians, and Hero; these epistles are not used by Hall, Ussher, and Almon in their arguments. The letters to the Trallians, Philadelphians, Polycarp, Romans, Magnesians, Smyrnaeans, and Ephesians are listed as genuine by Vedelius, largely because Eusebius (III, 36) mentions them. They exist in two Greek recensions, but Vedelius knew only the longer of these. He printed it but marked many passages as supposititious and as borrowed (chiefly from the Apostolical Constitutions). In the opinion of many subsequent scholars not only most of these marked passages but still others are interpolations. Milton agreed that the text was "interlarded with Corruptions." In 1644 Ussher reprinted the Greek text of Vedelius but accompanied it with a very different and much shorter Latin version based on newly discovered manuscripts. Two years later Ussher's work was largely confirmed by Isaac Vossius who published a Greek text of the shorter recension. Neither Hall, writing in 1640, nor Milton, in 1641, seems to have known

agree in Chronologie with *Ignatius*, entitling him Arch-Bishop of *Antioch Theopolis*, which name of *Theopolis* that City had not till *Iustinians* time long after, as *Cedrenus*³⁹ mentions, which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskilfull fraud of him that foisted this Epistle upon *Ignatius*. In the Epistle to those of *Tarsus* he condemns them for Ministers of Satan, that say *Christ is God above all*.⁴⁰ To the *Phillippians* them that kept their Easter, as the *Asian Churches*, and *Polycarpus* did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday or Sunday, except one he counts as those that had slain the *Lord*.⁴¹ To those

of these researches Thus Ussher had better grounds than Milton knew for ascertaining what was authentic. The Archbishop made no use of the passages cited by Milton or of any passages which occur only in the longer recension.

Hall could more properly be condemned as one of those critics who accepted as authentic whatever seemed "sound and orthodoxal," particularly since he made use of passages which Vedelius had marked as supposititious. Milton directly answers several citations made by Hall but nowhere answers directly those made by Ussher, confining himself to an argument that absolute certainty about the authenticity of any Ignatian passage is impossible. In the present editor's opinion this judgment is a reasonable generalization about the mass of the letters, but has less force when applied to the particular passages cited by Ussher. For other accounts of the Ignatian controversy, see above, pp. 119 and 541-42.

³⁹ Georgius Cedrenus, a Byzantine chronicler of the eleventh century, compiled a universal history, *Historical Synopsis*. See above, p. 394. The passage is in Migne, *Graeca*, CXXI, 706. Ignatius is called "Bishop of Antioch Theopolis" ("Theopoleos Antiochiae Episcopi") in Vedelius' edition of Ignatius, Book II, p. 2, title page. The passage does not occur in the epistles themselves.

⁴⁰ *To the Tarsians* (spurious), II, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 107. The pseudo-Ignatius seems heretical for objecting to an orthodox statement; however, he apparently thought that it contradicted Christ's declaration, "My Father . . . is greater than all" John 10:30. The fifth chapter of the epistle makes clear that its author was not denying that Christ is God above all in the sense that all things are subdued to Him. The objection is to those who deny Christ a personality distinct from the Father when they say that Christ is God above all. To such ministers the writer answers that Christ "is not God over all, and the Father, but his Son," and cites as evidence John 20:17 and I Corinthians 25:28, concluding that "it is one [Person] who puts all things under, and who is all in all, and another [Person] to whom they were subdued." *To the Tarsians*, V, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 108. In *Christian Doctrine*, I, v, Milton later propounded the very heresy which he denounces here.

⁴¹ *To the Philippians* (spurious), XIII, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 119. "If anyone fasts on the Lord's day or on the Sabbath, with the sole exception of the Paschal Sabbath, he is a Christ-killer." Some Christians persisted in following Jewish religious practices rather than Christian ones, particularly in celebrating the Jewish Passover rather than the Christian Easter. To make them aware of their error, the pseudo-Ignatius hyperbolically notes that such judaizers are identifying themselves with the killers of Jesus, and asserts in the next paragraph that "if anyone cele-

of *Antioch* he salutes the Sub-Deacons, Chaunters, Porters, and Exorcists, as if these had bin Orders of the Church in his time: ⁴² those other Epistles lesse question'd are yet so interlarded with Corruptions, as may justly indue us with a wholesome suspition of the rest. As to the *Trallians* he writes that *a Bishop hath power over all beyond all government, and auctority whatsoever*.⁴³ Surely then no Pope can desire more then *Ignatius* attributes to every Bishop, but what will become then of the Archbishops and Primates if every Bishop in *Ignatius* judgement be as supreme as a Pope? To the *Ephesians*,⁴⁴ neare the very place from whence they fetch their proof for Episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the [9] Epistle, *Let no man erre*, saith he, unlesse a man be within the rayls, or enclosure of the Altar, he is depriv'd of the bread of life. I

brates the passover with the Jews or receives the emblems of that feast, he is partaking in common with those who slew the Lord and the Apostles "

⁴² *To the Antiochians* (spurious), XII, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 112. The pseudo-Ignatius salutes all who serve God and the church, not as if their offices were orders, but in a comprehensive list which extends to "the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, and all my sisters in the Lord "

⁴³ *To the Trallians*, VII. The passage occurs only in the longer recension Hall paraphrases it as undoubtedly authentic. *Episcopacie* Part II, Section 11 (1640), p. 66; also in *Works*, ed. Peter Hall (12 vols., Oxford, 1837-39), X, 212 Milton omits the qualifications of the original (*Fathers, A. N.*, I, 69): "For what is the bishop but one who beyond all others possesses all power and authority, so far as it is possible for a man to possess it, who according to his ability has been made an imitator of the Christ of God?" or "being a resemblance according to the power of Christ?"

⁴⁴ *To the Ephesians*, V, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 51, longer recension. "Let no man deceive himself: if any one be not within the altar [OR, place of sacrifice], he is deprived of the bread of God For if the prayer of one or two possesses such power that Christ stands in the midst of them [Matthew 18.19-20], how much more will the prayer of the bishop and of the whole church ascending up in harmony to God, prevail for the granting of all their petitions in Christ! He, therefore, that separates himself from such, and does not meet in the society where sacrifices are offered, and with 'the Church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven,' is a wolf in sheep's clothing [Matthew 7.15], while he presents a mild outward appearance." The wording of this passage is essentially the same down to "ascending" in the shorter recension, but the sentence which follows "the whole church" clarifies the meaning: "He, therefore, that does not assemble with the Church, has even by this manifested his pride and condemned himself " For Milton the passage in the longer version had "an ill look" because it seemed to support Episcopacy, the sacrifice of the mass, and need of attendance at such services. In other words it savored of Roman Catholicism: this for him and most of his countrymen was sufficient reason for suspecting its validity.

say not but this may be stretch'd to a figurative construction, but yet it has an ill look, especially being follow'd beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other Epistle to *Smyrna* ⁴⁵ wherein is written that they should follow their Bishop as *Christ* did his Father, and the *Presbytery* as the *Apostles*: not to speak of the insulse, and ill-layd comparison, this cited place lyes upon the very brimme of a noted corruption, which had they, that quote this passage, ventur'd to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had bin of, where it is said, that it is not lawfull without a Bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to doe sacrifice. What can our Church make of these phrases but scandalous: and but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of *God* in *Salomon*, Judge by the words themselvs. My Son, saith he, honour *God* & the King; but I say, honour *God* and the Bishop as High-priest, bearing the image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Christ*, according to his Priesting, and after him honour the King.⁴⁶ Excellent *Ignatius!* can ye blame the *Prelates* for making much of this Epistle? Certainly if this Epistle can serve you to set a Bishop above a *Presbyter*, it may serve you next to set him above a King. These, and other like places

⁴⁵ *To the Smyrnaeans*, VIII, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 89–90. "See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Christ Jesus does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles. . . . It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptize, or to offer, or to present sacrifice, or to celebrate a love-feast." The words are the same in both versions except that those italicized here do not occur in the shorter recension. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, II, 117: "he for God only, she for God in him." The reference to "they, that quote this passage" applies to Hall who cites the Ignatian extract given above, as far as "offer," and covers the rest with an "et cetera" *Episcopacie*, II, 11 (1640), p. 75, in *Works*, X, 216–17 "Insulse" means "lacking in wit or sense."

⁴⁶ *To the Smyrnaeans*, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 90. "And the Scripture [Proverbs 24:21] saith, 'My son, honour thou God and the king' And say I, Honour thou God indeed, as the Author and Lord of all things, but the bishop as the high-priest, who bears the image of God—of God, inasmuch as he is a ruler, and of Christ, in his capacity of a priest After Him, we must also honour the king." When Hall translates the passage (*Episcopacie*, II, 11, in *Works*, X, 217) he puts an *et cetera* in place of the last sentence, but Milton is quick to point out that the omitted sentence could be used to set bishops above kings. He takes the pronoun translated above as "Him" to refer to the bishop, which is unlikely; for in the same paragraph the author, though claiming that no one is greater *in the church* than the bishop in his capacity as priest, states that the bishop in his capacity as ruler is not to be compared with the king: "Nor, again, is there any one among rulers to be compared with the king." Nevertheless, the implication of the paragraph as a whole is that disobedience to a bishop is a far more grievous offence than disobedience to a king.

in abundance through all those short Epistles must either be adulterat, or else *Ignatius* was not *Ignatius*, nor a Martyr, but most adulterate, and corrupt himselfe. In the midst therfore of so many forgeries where shall we fixe to dare say this is *Ignatius*? as for his stile who knows it? so disfigur'd [10] and interrupted as it is, except they think that where they meet with any thing sound, and orthodoxal, there they find *Ignatius*, and then they beleeeve him not for his own authority, but for a truths sake, which they derive from els where: to what end then should they cite him as authentick for Episcopacie, when they cannot know what is authentick in him, but by the judgement which they brought with them, & not by any judgement which they might safely learne from him. How can they bring satisfaction frō such an Author, to whose very essence the Reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding. Had *God* ever intended that we should have sought any part of usefull instruction frō *Ignatius*, doubtles he would not have so ill provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjoynted plight; and if he intended no such thing, we doe injuriously in thinking to tast better the pure Euangelick Manna by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps, and fragments of an unknown table; and searching among the verminous, and polluted rags dropt overworn from the toyling shoulders of Time, with these deformedly to quilt, and interlace the intire, the spotlesse, and undecaying robe of Truth, the daughter not of Time, but of Heaven, only bred up heer below in Christian hearts, between two grave & holy nurses the Doctrine, and Discipline of the Gospel.

Next follows *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lions*,⁴⁷ who is cited to affirm *that*

⁴⁷ (M) page 8.

Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, III, iv, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 415 Concerning the Episcopacy of Polycarp, Ussher asks: "Who can better informe us then *Irenæus*?" (*Judgement*, 1641, p. 8); and Hall notes (*Episcopacie*, II, 13 [1640, p. 86]), "Lo, here was but one ages difference. *Polycarpus* saw and conversed with the Apostles: *Irenæus* saw *Polycarpus*: by their hands was he ordained Bishop." Almoni (*A Compendious Discourse*, 1641, sig. A3v) cites *Irenæus* on the bishoping of Polycarp and adds, probably with reference to Milton's attack on *Irenæus* in *Of Reformation*: "This testimony is so cleare and ponderous, that it may sufficiently determine the whole cause; if you consider the *Person* (who it is that speaketh) and the *Matter*, which he speaketh. But since nothing is so cleare, which may not seeme obscure, and nothing so ponderous, which may not seeme light to a mind possessed with reasonable prejudice, I will now further declare, and presse this testimony of *Irenæus*." Milton takes up the challenge and discredits both person and matter, gives a telling answer to Ussher and Hall, and answers the wide-

Polycarpus was made Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles: and this it may seem, none could better tell then he who had both seen and heard *Polycarpus*: but when did he heare him? himselfe confesses to *Florinus*, when he was a Boy.⁴⁸ Whether [11] that age in *Irenæus* may not be liable to many mistakings; and whether a Boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a Church constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of a Commission *Polycarpus* receiv'd his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous. It will not be deny'd that he might have seen *Polycarpus* in his youth a man of great eminence in the Church, to whom the other *Presbyters* might give way for his *vertue, wisdom*, and the reverence of his age; and so did *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, even in his own City, give him a kind of priority in administering the Sacrament; as may be read in *Eusebius*:⁴⁹ but that we should hence conclude a distinct, and superior order from the young observation of *Irenæus*, nothing yet alledg'd can warrant us, unlesse we shall beleieve such as would face us down, that *Calvin*, and after him *Beza* were Bishops of *Geneva*, because that in the unsetl'd state of the Church, while things were not fully compos'd, their worth, and learning cast a greater share of the businesse upon them, and directed mens eyes principally towards them, and yet these men were the dissolvers of Episcopacie. We see the same necessity in state affaires; *Brutus* that expell'd the Kings out of *Rome*, was for the time forc't to be as it were a King himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free Commonwealth. He that had seen *Pericles* lead the Athenians which way he listed, haply would have said he had bin their Prince, and yet he was but a powerfull and eloquent man in a Democratie, and had no more at any time then a Temporary, and elective sway, which was in the will of the people when to abro-[12]gate. And it is most likely that in the Church they which came after these Apostolick men being lesse in merit, but bigger in ambition, strove to invade those privileges by intrusion and plea of right, which *Polycarpus*, and others like him possest from the voluntary surrender of men subdu'd by

spread Episcopalian claim concerning Polycarp's bishopric that "no part of this storie can be doubted" Thomas Bilson, *The Perpetuall Government* (1593), sig 2v The lack of references in Taylor's *Episcopacy* (1642, p 97; 1822, VII, 72) to the meeting of Polycarp and John may indicate that Taylor read and was convinced by Milton's argument.

⁴⁸ Eusebius, V, xx, 5 (Loeb, I, 496-99)

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, V, xxiv, 17 (I, 513-14).

the excellencie of their heavenly gifts, which because their Successors had not, and so could neither have that authority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which *Polycarpus* and his equals enjoy'd, was by right of constitution, not by free wil of condescending.⁵⁰ And yet thus farre *Irenæus* makes against them as in that very place⁵¹ to call *Polycarpus* an Apostolicall *Presbyter*. But what fidelity his relations had in generall, we cannot sooner learn then by *Eusebius*, who neer the end of his third Book, speaking of *Papias* a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. *Iohn*,⁵² and was known to many that had seen, and bin acquainted with others of the Apostles, but being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those traditions which he receiv'd, fill'd his writings with many new doctrines, and fabulous conceits, he tells us there, that divers Ecclesiasticall men, and *Irenæus* among the rest, while they lookt at his antiquity, became infected with his errors.⁵³ Now if *Irenæus* were so rash as to take unexamin'd opinions from an Author of so small capacity, when he was a man, we should be more rash our selves to rely upon those observations which he made when he was a Boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle traditions so soon after the Apostles, whilst such as this *Papias* had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the [13] next age, that heeded more the person, then the Doctrine, had the gathering them up. Where ever a man, who had bin any way conversant with the *Apostles*, was to be found, thether flew all the inquisitive eares, the exercise of right instructing was chang'd into the curiosity of impertinent fabling: where the mind was to be edified with solid *Doctrine*, there the fancy was sooth'd with solemne stories: with lesse fervency was studied what Saint *Paul*, or Saint *Iohn* had written

⁵⁰ For a similar view see Arthur C. McGiffert, *A History of Christianity* (New York Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p 651.

⁵¹ Eusebius, V, xxiv (Loeb, I, 513-14).

⁵² Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, V, xxxiii, 4, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 563. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, was "the hearer of John."

⁵³ Milton here seems to be explaining the attack which he made on Irenæus and all antiquity, even at its best, in *Of Reformation*. Almoni had challenged him to do so. See editor's preface, above, p 619. Eusebius (III, xxxix, 8-13 [Loeb, I, 295-97]) supposes that the false notions propounded by Papias derived from a perverse reading of mystical and symbolical passages in apostolic writings. For Papias "was a man of very little intelligence . . . But he is responsible for the fact that so many Christian writers after him held the same opinion, relying on his antiquity, for instance Irenæus."

then was listen'd to one that could say here hee taught, here he stood,⁵⁴ this was his stature, and thus he went habited, and O happy this house that harbour'd him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this Village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warme effusion of his last blood, that sprouted up into eternall Roses to crowne his Martyrdome. Thus while all their thoughts were powr'd out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such men as had sate at table with the *Apostles* (many of which *Christ* hath profest, yea though they had cast out Divells in his name, he will not know at the last day)⁵⁵ by this meanes they lost their time, and truanted in the fundamentall grounds of saving knowledge, as was seene shortly by their writings. Lastly for *Irenæus*, wee have cause to thinke him lesse judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the *Apostles* did, when we find him so negligent in keeping the *faith* which they writ, as to say in his third Booke against Heresies, that the obedience of *Mary* was the cause of salvation to her selfe, and all mankind,⁵⁶ and in his fift Booke, that as *Eve* was seduc't to fly *God*, so the Virgin *Mary* was perswaded to obey *God*, that the Vir-[14]gin *Mary* might be made the Advocate of the Virgin *Eve*.⁵⁷ Thus if *Irenæus* for his neerenesse to the *Apostles*, must be the Patron of *Episcopacy* to us, it is no marvell though he be the Patron of Idolatry to the Papist, for the same cause. To the Epistle of those brethren of *Smirna*, that write the Martyrdome of *Polycarpus*, and stile him an Apostolicall, and propheticall Doctor, and Bishop of the Church in *Smirna*,⁵⁸ I could be content to give some credit for the great honour, and affection which I see those brethren beare him, and

⁵⁴ Cf Eusebius, V, xx, 4-6 (Loeb, I, 498-99).

⁵⁵ Matthew 7.22-23.

⁵⁶ Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, III, xxii, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 455. "So also Mary, having a man engaged [to her] and being nevertheless a virgin, by yielding obedience became the cause of salvation both to herself and the whole human race"

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, V, xix, 1, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 547. "Advocate" may be too precise. "Patroness" preserves the ambiguity of the original. The equivalent of ἀντίληψις, "one called to hold the other end of a burden," may be intended. The passage is almost certainly corrupt. A marginal comment in the Books Inc copy, written in a seventeenth-century hand, takes issue with Milton concerning this and the preceding passage. Italicized letters are inserted conjecturally to replace those which were trimmed off when the pamphlet was bound. "As for those 2. places out of Irenæus. Let any sober man peruse them and they are capable of a faire and harmles interpretation. But this writer doth purposely twist in the worst sense to discredit the Father."

⁵⁸ *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, XVI, 2, in *Fathers, A. N.*, I, 42.

not undeservedly if it be true which they there say that he was a Prophet, and had a voyce from Heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could heare, but the rest could not for the noise, and tumult that was in the place,⁵⁹ and besides if his body were so pretious to the Christians, that hee was never wont to pull off his shooes for one or other that still strove to have the office, that they might come to touch his feet,⁶⁰ yet a light scruple or two I would gladly be resolv'd in; if *Polycarpus* (who, as they say, was a *Prophet* that never faild in what he foretold) ⁶¹ had declar'd to his friends, that he knew by vision, hee should die no other death then burning,⁶² how it came to passe that the fire when it came to prooffe, would not doe his worke, but starting off like a full saile from the mast, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbes exhaling such a sweet odour, as if all the incense of *Arabia* had bin burning, in so much that when the bill-men saw that the fire was overaw'd, and could not doe the deed, one of them steps to him, and stabs him with a sword, at which wound such abundance of bloud gusht forth as quencht the fire. By all this relati-[15]on it appeares not, how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his prophesie bee fulfill'd? Next how the standers by could be so soone weary of such a glorious sight, and such a fragrant smell, as to hasten the executioner to put out the fire with the Martyrs blood,⁶³ unlesse perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the Smoake would bee more odorous then the flame? Yet these good brethren say he was Bishop of *Smyrna*. No man questions it, if Bishop, and *Presbyter* were anciently all one, and how does it appeare by any thing in this testimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of propheticall, Apostolicall, and most admired of those times, he bee also stil'd Bishop of the Church of *Smirna* in a kind of speech, which the Rhetoricians call *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, for his excellence sake,⁶⁴ as being the most famous of all the *Smyrnian Presbyters*, it

⁵⁹ *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, IX, i, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 41.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII, ii, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XVI, ii, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 42.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XII, iii, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 41.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XV-XVI, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 42. The details are correctly given. Milton's omission of the dove which came forth from the wound probably indicates that he was following the account of Polycarp's martyrdom as Eusebius quotes it (IV, xv), for the dove is not mentioned there.

⁶⁴ Literally, a speech "on the eminence," i.e., high-sounding language used for the sake of its own excellence: a rhetorical device akin to hyperbole used to give prominence to a person or thing.

cannot bee prov'd neither from this nor that other place of *Irenaeus*, that hee was therefore in distinct, and monarchicall order ⁶⁵ above the other *Presbyters*, it is more probable, that if the whole *Presbytery* had beene as renowned as he, they would have term'd every one of them severally Bishop of *Smyrna*. Hence it is that wee read sometimes of two Bishops in one place, and had all the *Presbyters* there beene of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accosts us next (for *Polycrates* hath had his answer) whose testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce *Episcopacy*, then the two former. He saies that the Church of *Smirna* had *Polycarpus* plac't there by *Iohn*, and the Church of *Rome* *Clement* ordain'd by *Peter*, and so the rest of the Churches did shew, what Bishops they had [16] receiv'd by the appointment of the *Apostles*.⁶⁶ None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture that Bishops or *Presbyters*, which were the same, were left by the *Apostles* in every Church,⁶⁷ and they might perhaps give some speciall charge to *Clement*, or *Polycarpus*, or *Linus*, and put some speciall trust in them for the experience they had of their faith, and constancy; it remaines yet to be evinc't out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word Bishop is otherwise taken, then in the language of Saint *Paul*, and the *Acts*, for an order above *Presbyters*. We grant them Bishops, we grant them worthy men,⁶⁸ we grant them plac't in severall Churches by the *Apostles*, we grant that *Irenaeus*,⁶⁹ and *Tertul*: affirme this, but that they were plac't in a superiour Order above the *Presbytery*, shew from all these

⁶⁵ That is, having prelatial power over presbyters. Almoni (*A Compendious Discourse*, 1641, sig B3) cites Jerome and Ignatius in an attempt to prove that bishops were placed above presbyters in the primitive church, but, as Milton points out, the point is not proved from Irenaeus.

⁶⁶ Tertullian, *On Prescription against Heretics*, XXXII, in *Fathers*, A. N., III, 258. Ussher also refers to Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, IV, v, in *Fathers*, A. N., III, 350.

⁶⁷ Acts 14.23. "They had ordained them Elders in every Church." The word thus translated "Elders" in the King James Version is *πρεσβυτέροις* (*presbuteros* in the Vulgate); that is, presbyters.

⁶⁸ Almoni (*A Compendious Discourse*, 1641, sig. A4), put great stress on the quality of Irenaeus: "He was an holy man, a learned man, a peaceable man . . . a constant defendour of the truth, and finally a patient sufferer for the same. What is your exception against him?"

⁶⁹ Ussher refers to Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, IV, lxiii (i.e., IV, xxxiii, 8 in the numbering system now standard); V, xx, III, iii, 1, in *Fathers*, A. N., I, 508, 547-48, 414-15; and to Eusebius, V, vi, 1 (Loeb, I, 448-51).

words why we should grant. 'Tis not enough to say the *Ap*: left this man Bishop in *Rome*, & that other in *Ephesus*, but to shew when they alterd their owne decree set downe by *St. Paul*, and made all the *Presbyters* underlings to one Bishop. But suppose *Tertullian* had made an imparity where none was originally, should hee move us, that goes about to prove an imparity betweene *God* the Father, and *God* the Sonne, as these words import in his Booke against *Praxeas*. The Father is the whole substance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himselfe professes because the Father is greater then me.⁷⁰ Beleeve him now for a faithfull relater of tradition, whom you see such an unfaithfull expounder of the Scripture. besides in his time all allowable tradition was now lost. For this same Author whom you bring to testifie the ordination of *Clement* to the Bishoprick [17] of *Rome* by *Peter*, testifies also in the beginning of his treatise concerning Chastity, that the Bishop of *Rome* did then use to send forth his edicts by the name of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Episcopus Episcoporum* chief Priest, and Bishop of Bishops.⁷¹ For shame then doe not urge that authority to keepe up a Bishop, that will necessarily ingage you to set up a *Pope*. As little can your advantage bee from *Hegesippus* an Historian of the same time not extant, but cited by *Eusebius*, his words are, that in every City all things so stood in his time as the Law, and the *Prophets*, and our Lord did

⁷⁰ John 14 28 *Tertullian*, *Against Praxeas*, IX, in *Fathers*, A. N., III, 603-04; Migne, *Latina*, II, 187. Footnotes in both editions cited indicate that *Tertullian* elsewhere teaches the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. *Milton* denies it in *Christian Doctrine*, I, v.

⁷¹ The passage occurs not in *Tertullian's On Exhortation to Chastity* but in his *Of Modesty* (*Fathers*, A. N., IV, 74). *Milton* was probably working from memory, for he not only misplaces the passage but fails to see that it is ironical. It is quoted in the following extract from *Duchesne's Early History of the Christian Church*, I, 230-31: "Tertullian . . . published his book *De Pudicitia* as a protest against a solemn declaration of the Pope, evidently Callistus, as to the absolution . . . of a certain class of sinner. For some time, the Church had held that the excommunication of apostates, homicides, and adulterers should be perpetual. Callistus relaxed this severity in cases of adultery and the like: 'I learn,' says Tertullian, 'that a peremptory edict has just been issued. The Pontifex Maximus, the Bishop of bishops, has spoken. "I," he says, "I remit sins of adultery and fornication to whosoever shall have done penance for them."' Then follows one of his most cutting and sarcastic invectives. . . . This is the description, or rather, the caricature, which he gives of the reconciliation of a penitent." The editors of *Fathers*, A. N. (IV, 74 n.), state that "Pontifex Maximus" is a heathen epithet applied as an ironical reference to the Roman bishop's ambition to be superior to all other bishops.

preach.⁷² If they stood so, then stood not Bishops above *Presbyters*, for what our Lord, and his Disciples taught, *God* be thanked, we have no need to goe learne of him: and you may as well hope to perswade us out of the same Author, that *James* the brother of our Lord was a *Nazarite*, and that to him only it was lawfull to enter into the holy of Holies, that his food was not upon any thing that had life, fish, or flesh, that he us'd no wollen garments, but onely linnen, and so as he trifles on.⁷³

If therefore the tradition of the Church were now grown so ridiculous, & disconsenting from the Doctrine of the *Apostles*, even in those points which were of lest moment to mens particular ends, how well may we be assur'd it was much more degenerated in point of *Episcopacy*, and precedency, things which could affor'd such plausible pretenses, such commodious traverses for ambition, and Avarice to lurke behind.

As for those *Brittaine* Bishops which you cite,⁷⁴ take heed what you doe, for our *Brittaine* Bishops lesse ancient then these, were re-

⁷² Eusebius, IV, xxii, 1-3 (Loeb, I, 374-75). Hegesippus completed his *Memoirs* about 180. His purpose was to assert the superior claims of the apostolic tradition over the teachings and practices of the sects. He visited Corinth and then Rome, where he recovered the list of the succession of bishops. "In each list and in each city things are as the law, the prophets and the Lord preach."

⁷³ Quoted *ibid*, II, xxiii, 4-7 (Loeb, I, 170-71). The account is generally regarded as genuine, though details of the martyrdom have been attacked. Martin J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae* (5 vols., Oxford, 1846-48), I, 228. Apparently the statement that James was a Nazarite was, for Milton, manifestly absurd and an instance of devotion to trifles instead of solid doctrine.

⁷⁴ (M) p. 13.

Ussher (*Judgement*, 1641, p. 12) cites Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, iv (in Baedae, *Opera Historica* [2 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1930], I, 28-29), that the British kept the faith undefiled from their conversion under Pope Eleutherus until the time of Diocletian. Ussher notes that three bishops from Britain attended the Council of Arles in 314, and adds that one of them could possibly trace the root of his Episcopal succession beyond Eleutherus to St. Peter. The account is almost certainly fabulous. Cf. Bede, *Opera Historica*, ed. Charles Plummer (2 vols., Oxford, 1896), II, 14; Charles Dodd (pseud.), *Church History of England*, ed. M. A. Tierney (5 vols., London, 1839), I, 4-7. However, "there were three British Bishops present at Arles." William E. Collins, *The Beginning of English Christianity* [London, 1898], pp. 33-34. In *History of Britain*, Book II (1670, p. 90), Milton notes that Constantius appointed a synod of bishops to assemble on the emperor's charges but that all but three of the British bishops refused because of their poverty and because they were reluctant to live on a private purse.

markable for nothing [18] more than their poverty, as *Sulp. Severus*, and *Beda* ⁷⁵ can remember you of examples good store.

Lastly (for the fabulous *Metaphrastes* ⁷⁶ is not worth an answer) that authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is not to be found in all his workes, and wherever it be extant, it is in controversie, whether it be *Clements* or no ⁷⁷; or if it were it sayes onely that Saint *John* in some places constituted Bishops: questionlesse he did, but where does *Clement* say he set them above *Presbyters*? ⁷⁸ no man will gainsay

⁷⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *History*, II, xli (Leyden, 1635), p. 157. Cf. *Commonplace Book*, above, p. 415, and *Of Reformation*, above, p. 543. Bede indirectly reveals the poverty of British bishops in chaps. 1–22 of his *History*. Ussher pointed to the primitive British bishops as evidence of an Episcopacy separate from presbytery in apostolic or near-apostolic times. Milton's meaning is: Be careful when you cite the example of the bishops at Arles, for the only noteworthy thing which we know even about later British bishops is their poverty. His implication is that if only poverty distinguishes later bishops, about whom we have some historical knowledge, it would be rash to argue on the basis of earlier bishops about whom we know even less.

⁷⁶ (M) p. 16

Symeon Metaphrastes, who flourished about 915–965, wrote saints' lives full of miracles and marvels which Milton regarded as fabulous. Ussher says that the British bishops at Arles possibly derived their succession from St Peter, "if it be true, that he constituted Churches here [in Britain], and ordained Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons in them; as Symeon Metaphrastes relateth out of some part of Eusebius (as it seemeth) that is not come into our hands" *Judgement* (1641), p. 13, citing Metaphrastes, "Commentary on Saints Peter and Paul," under June 29. The text referred to is not in Migne's edition of Metaphrastes (*Graeca*, CXIV–VI) for the attribution is unlikely. The passages in question occur in the "Acts of Peter and Paul," VI, xxvii, in Bollandus, *Acta*, V, 423, under June 29. The attribution to Metaphrastes is discussed on p. 400.

⁷⁷ Ussher (*Judgement*, 1641, p. 16) cites Clement's statement that John went from Patmos to Ephesus and neighboring countries and constituted bishops and churches. Milton means that the passage is not to be found in all editions of Clement's works and that, when it does occur, its genuineness is disputed. He evidently inclined to the view, now largely discarded, that Origen was the author. See D. N. Le Nourry, "Dissertatio III," in Migne, *Graeca*, IX, 1445–50. The passage occurs in Clement, *Who Is the Rich Man That Shall be Saved?* XLII, i, in *Fathers*, A. N., II, 603, and is quoted in Eusebius, III, xxiii (Loeb, I, 242–43). It is a homily on Mark 10.17 ff, intended to show that wealth properly used is no bar to salvation. It begins with an exhortation to the reader to harken to a story which is no mere tale but a true account of John preserved in memory, that is, in oral tradition. This implies that Clement regarded the story as true although it may have come from a suspicious source. No one else records the story.

⁷⁸ This question is clearly answered in Clement's *Miscellanies*, VI, xiii, in *Fathers*, A. N., II, 505. Clement states that in his opinion, "the grades [προκοπαι] here in the Church, of bishops, presbyters, and deacons are imitations of the

the constitution of *Bishops*, but the raising them to a superiour, and distinct order above *Presbyters*, seeing the Gospell makes them one and the same thing, a thousand such allegations as these will not give Prelitical *Episcopacy*, one Chapell of ease ⁷⁹ above a Parish Church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot say rather then petty-fog of witnesses, with which Episcopall men would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted *Episcopacy* from Apostolick times. Now although, as all men well know, it be the wonted shift of error, and fond Opinion, when they find themselves outlaw'd by the Bible, and forsaken of sound reason, to betake them with all speed to their old starting hole of tradition, and that wild, and overgrowne Covert of antiquity thinking to farme there at large roome, and find good stabling, yet thus much their owne deify'de antiquity betrayes them, to informe us that Tradition hath had very seldome or never the gift of perswasion; as that which Church Histories report of those *East*, and *Western Paschalists* formerly spoken of will declare, who would have thought that *Polycarpus* on the one side could have err'd in what he saw Saint *Iohn* doe,⁸⁰ [19] or *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* on the other side, in what he or some of his friends might pretend to have seene Saint *Peter*, or Saint *Paul* doe, and yet neither of these could perswade either when to keepe Easter; ⁸¹ The like frivolous contention troubled the Primitive English Churches, while *Colmanus*, and *Wilfride* on either side deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of Saint *Iohn*, and the learned Bishop *Anatolius*, and lastly the miraculous *Columba*: the other from Saint *Peter*, and the *Nicene* Councell could gaine no ground each of other till King *Oswy* perceiving no likelihood of ending the Controversie that way, was faine to decide it himselfe good King, with that small knowledge, wherewith those times had furnisht him.⁸² So when those pious Greek

angelic glory, and of that economy which, according to the angels, awaits those who . . . have lived in perfection of righteousness." Denis L. Le Nourry in "Dissertatio II" (Migne, *Graeca*, IX, 1163-65) concludes that Clement evidently distinguishes between presbyter and bishop.

⁷⁹ A chapel built in large parishes for the convenience of people who live far from the mother church of the parish

⁸⁰ Eusebius, V, xx, 4-6 (Loeb, I, 496-99).

⁸¹ *Ibid*, V, xxiv, 16 (Loeb, I, 510-13). Anicetus observed Easter with John the disciple "and the other apostles with whom he had associated," presumably including Peter and Paul.

⁸² Bede, XXV (Loeb, I, 464-77): Colman stated that he celebrated Easter in accordance with the practice of his forefathers and St. John, cited a statement

Emperours began, as *Cedrenus* relates, to put downe Monks, and abolish Images, the old Idolaters finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the Scripture, sent out their sturdy *Monks* call'd the *Abramites*, to alledge for images the ancient Fathers *Dionysius*, and this our objected *Irenæus*, nay they were so high flowne in their antiquity, that they undertooke to bring the *Apostles*, and *Luke* the *Evangelist*, yea *Christ* himselfe, from certaine records that were then current, to patronize their Idolatry, yet for all this the worthy Emperour *Theophilus*, even in those darke times chose rather to nourish himselfe, and his people with the sincere milke of the Gospell, then to drinke from the mixt confluence of so many corrupt, and poysonous waters, as tradition would have perswaded him to by most ancient seeming authorities: ⁸³ In like manner all the reformed Churches a-[20]broad unthroning *Episcopacy* doubtlesse were not ignorant of these testimonies alledg'd to draw it in a line from the *Apostles* dayes, for surely the Author will not thinke he hath brought us now any new authorities, or considerations into the world, which the Reformers in other places were not advis'd

from Anatolius, and pointed to the examples of men whose holiness was blessed by miracles and heavenly signs, namely St. Columba and his followers. In opposition, Wilfred of York, 634–710, instanced the celebration of Easter on Sundays by St. Peter, a practice confirmed by the Nicene Council. Because Christ gave St. Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, Oswy, King of Northumbria, decided in favor of Wilfred, saying, "I will not gainsay such a porter as this is." St Colman, ca 605–671, became Bishop of Lindisfarne, but retired after the Synod of Whitby rather than accept the Roman reckoning of Easter.

⁸³ Georgius Cedrenus, *Historical Synopsis*, I, 909–12, in Migne, *Graeca*, CXXI, 991–94. The "pious Greek Emperours" are those of Constantinople known as the Iconoclasts. They were probably motivated by a desire to legislate for the church. Leo III, 716–741, began the campaign against images. After a reaction, a second Iconoclastic movement developed, particularly under Theophilus, emperor from 829 to 842, and the banishments, tortures, and executions of the earlier movement were magnified. Provoked thereby, one whole brotherhood, the Abramites, came to the emperor and claimed on the evidence of (the pseudo-) Dionysius, Hierotheus, and Irenaeus that image worship dated from apostolic times. They appealed also to pictures of Christ allegedly made by Luke. See "Iconoclasm," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (8th ed., 7 vols., London: Methuen, 1930), V, 196–97 and VI, 44–46; and also Henry Hart Milman, *History of Latin Christianity* (4th rev. ed., 9 vols., London, 1872), II, 406–09. These accounts do not depict Theophilus as worthy. Milton seems willing, for the sake of argument, to accept the authority of the notoriously unreliable Cedrenus and even to read into his text meanings which are not present there: Cedrenus says nothing about Theophilus's choosing to return to the gospel.

of, and yet we see, the intercession of all these Apostolick Fathers could not prevaile with them to alter their resolved decree of reducing into Order their usurping, and over provender'd *Episcopants*: and *God* hath blest their worke this hunder'd yeares, with a prosperous and stedfast, and still happy successe. And this may serve to prove the insufficiency of these present *Episcopall* Testimonies not only in themselves, but in the account of those ever that have beene the followers of truth. It will next behooe us to consider the inconvenience ⁸⁴ we fall into, by using our selves to bee guided by these kind of Testimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well learned man, to have read diligently the ancient stories of the Church, and to be no stranger in the volumes of the Fathers shall have all judicious men consenting with him; not hereby to controule, and new fangle the Scripture, *God* forbid, but to marke how corruption, and *Apostacy* crept in by degrees, and to gather up, where ever wee find the remaining sparks of Originall truth, wherewith to stop the mouthes of our adversaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly passe by that which is Orthodoxall in them, and studiously cull out that which is commentitious, and best for their turnes, not weighing the Fathers in the ballance of Scripture, but Scripture in the ballance of the Fathers, if wee therefore [21] making first the Gospell our rule, and Oracle shall take the good which wee light on in the Fathers, and set it to oppose the evill which other men seek from them, in this way of Skirmish wee shall easily master all superstition, and false doctrine; but if we turne this our discreet, and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatsoever we find written by them, wee both forsake our owne grounds, and reasons which led us at first to part from *Rome*, that is to hold to the Scriptures against all antiquity; wee remove our cause into our adversaries owne Court, and take up there those cast principles which will soone cause us to soder up with them againe, in as much as beleiving antiquity for it self in any one point, we bring an ingagement upon our selves of assenting to all that it charges upon us. For suppose we should now neglecting that which is cleare in Scripture, that a Bishop and *Presbyter* is all one both in name, and office, and that what was done by *Timothy*, and *Titus* executing an extraordinary place, as fellow labourers with

⁸⁴ For an opposite view see Henry Ferne, *Episcopacy and Presbytery Considered* (Oxford, 1644), p. 2; and for a cautious middle position see Lord Falkland, *A Speech* (1641), p. 15.

the *Apostles*, and of a universall charge in planting Christianity through divers regions, cannot be drawne into particular, and dayly example, suppose that neglecting this cleerenesse of the text, we should by the uncertaine, and corrupted writings of succeeding times, determine that Bishop and *Presbyter* are different, because we dare not deny what *Ignatius* or rather the *Perkin Warbeck* ⁸⁵ of *Ignatius* sayes, then must we bee constrain'd to take upon our selves a thousand superstitions, and falsities which the Papist will prove us downe in from as good authorities, and as ancient, as these that set a Bishop above a *Presbyter*. And the [22] plaine truth is that when any of our men of those that are wedded to antiquity come to dispute with a Papist, and leaving the Scriptures put themselves without appeale to the sentence of *Synods*, and Councells, using in the cause of *Sion* the hir'd souldjery of revolted *Israel*,⁸⁶ where they give the *Romanist* one buffe, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true Bishop should be afraid to conquer in his cause by such authorities as these, which if we admit for the authorities sake, we open a broad passage for a multitude of Doctrines that have no ground in Scripture, to break in upon us.

Lastly I doe not know, it being undeniable that there are but two Ecclesiasticall Orders, Bishops, and Deacons mention'd in the *Gospel*, how it can be lesse then impiety to make a demurre at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting, and paralleling the sacred verity of Saint *Paul* with the offalls, and sweepings of antiquity that met as accidentally and absurdly, as *Epicurus* his atoms to patch up a Leucippean *Ignatius*,⁸⁷ enclining rather to make this phantasme an expounder, or indeed a depraver of Saint *Paul*, then Saint *Paul* an examiner, and discoverer of this impostorship, nor caring how slightly they put off the verdict of holy Text unsalv'd,⁸⁸ that sayes plainly there bee but two orders, so they maintaine the reputation of their imaginary Doctor ⁸⁹ that proclaimes three: certainly if *Christs*

⁸⁵ Warbeck, ca. 1474–1499, was a pretender to the English throne, backed by Yorkists

⁸⁶ Using in the cause of true religion the writings of those who have revolted from the true faith and who, by becoming bishops, sell themselves for money.

⁸⁷ Epicurus denied the very existence of Leucippus, founder of atomistic theory. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (2 vols., London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1925), II, 540–41. Accordingly, a "Leucippean Ignatius" is a nonexistent one, a phantasm.

⁸⁸ Unaccounted for; not taken into consideration.

⁸⁹ Primarily a reference to Ignatius, but Almoni may also have been intended.

Apostle have set downe but two, then according to his owne words, though hee himselfe should unsay it, and not onely the Angell of *Smyrna*, but an Angell from Heaven should beare us downe that there bee three, Saint *Paul* has doom'd him [23] twice,⁹⁰ let him be accur'st, for *Christ* hath pronounc't that no tittle of his word shall fall to the ground,⁹¹ and if one jot be alterable it is as possible that all should perish; And this shall bee our *righteousnes*, our ample warrant, and strong assurance both now, and at the last day never to be asham'd of, against all the heaped names of Angells, and Martyrs, Councells, and Fathers urg'd upon us, if we have given our selves up to be taught by the pure, and living precept of *Gods* word onely, which without more additions, nay with a forbidding of them hath within it selfe the promise of eternall life, the end of all our wearisome labours, and all our sustaining hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his *Ephod*, and *Teraphim*⁹² of Antiquity against the brightnesse, and perfection of the *Gospel*, let him feare lest he and his *Baal* be turn'd into *Bosheth*.⁹³ And thus much may suffice to shew that the pretended *Episcopacy* cannot be deduc't from the *Apostolicall* TIMES.

The End. [24]

⁹⁰ Galatians 1:8-9

⁹¹ The statement seems to be based on Matthew 5:18; Luke 16:17 and 21:33; and Mark 13:31, though the correspondence is not exact.

⁹² The Ephod worn by Jewish high priests was an ornate waistcoat with a jeweled breastplate on its front. Milton contrasts its prelatial glitter with the true brightness of the Gospel. In the plate was a pouch in which the sacred lots, called Urim and Thummim, were placed. As a result, Ephod sometimes refers to images which represented the sacred lots and is even extended to symbols of divinity such as idols and statues. Milton has these meanings in mind, particularly with reference to Judges 17:4-5 and 18:3. These verses state that "Micah had a house of Gods, and made an Ephod and Teraphim," the former being a graven image and the latter a molten one. Thus to set up an Ephod or Teraphim implies the introduction of a new system of worship with idolatrous innovations. Teraphim were idols, apparently of human form, used in divination (Genesis 31:19; I Samuel 19:13-16, Ezekiel 21:21; Habakkuk 3:19). Milton also remembers Gideon's idol after which all Israel went whoring (Judges 8:27). Thus Milton implies that the prelates set up an idolatrous religion based on antiquity and loot, and that the English whored after it. In *Church-Government* (below, p. 772), Milton seems to equate "the Oracle of Urim" with the "oraculous Ephod."

⁹³ Let him fear lest he and his idolatrous lordship be turned into shame. The Hebrew *Baal* (Lord) in the names of some of Saul's family was superseded by the contemptuous *bosheth* (shame). Esh-baal (I Chronicles 8:33), the man of lordship, became Ishbosheth (II Samuel 2:8, 10), the man of shame—Dryden's "foolish Ishbosheth." Cf. Judges 8:35 and II Samuel 11:21. Milton probably also had in mind the god or gods known as Baal, and Jeremiah 11:13.

ANIMADVERSIONS

July, 1641

PREFACE AND NOTES BY RUDOLF KIRK,
ASSISTED BY WILLIAM P. BAKER

At the suggestion of archbishop William Laud, bishop Joseph Hall wrote and published (February 10, 1640) ¹ *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted*, a volume destined to initiate a long and acrimonious debate. Almost a year later (January 13, 1641) he followed up his argument with *An Humble Remonstrance*. In the spring of 1641 John Milton published two tracts, *Of Reformation* and *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, in which he dealt at considerable length with the question of Episcopacy, though these pamphlets were in no personal sense directed toward Hall or his writings. In the meantime, however, five Puritan divines, calling themselves Smectymnuus from the initials of their names, attacked Hall's *Humble Remonstrance* in *An Answer to a Book Entitled An Humble Remonstrance* (March 20, 1641). Hall replied to this book on April 12, 1641, in *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*. The Smectymnuans issued *A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance* (June 26, 1641), and to this pamphlet Hall again replied on July 28 in *A Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus*. Sometime after the publication of Hall's *Defence* (April 12) and probably before the appearance of his *Short Answer*, John Milton, writing anonymously, entered the fray against Hall's *Defence* with a fierce attack entitled *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence against Smectymnuus*.² Hall, sorely tried by what he undoubtedly regarded as the unfair and scurrilous tactics of his several opponents, dropped the

¹ All dates in this paragraph are taken from William R. Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* (1940), pp. 263-64.

² *Animadversions* has never been exactly dated. Since it is an attack on Hall's *Defence*, it must have been composed after April 12, 1641, which is the date when that work was registered for publication (*Stationers' Registers*, ed. Eyre [1913-14], I, 20). It is probable that it came out before July 28, the date on which Hall's *Short Answer* was registered (*ibid.*, I, 30). Since Milton alludes to the heat of summer in which he was writing (p. 684), one may guess that *Animadversions* was written in July, 1641. See also French, *Life Records*, II, 40-41.

dispute, but in the winter of 1642 an anonymous partisan of his published *A Modest Confutation of a Slandorous and Scurrilous Libell, Entitled, Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence against Smectymnuus*. Milton, continuing in the controversy, in the late winter or spring of 1642 published *An Apology against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest Confutation*. His other antiprelatical tracts, though important for a full understanding of his thought, have no immediate bearing on his fight with Bishop Hall.

In answering Hall's *Defence*, Milton in *Animadversions* adopted the method of quotation and reply, which he had seen effectively employed in the Admonition Controversy of 1570-1572,³ the first of the pamphlet duels in the long Episcopacy struggle. By citing a passage out of its context, he was able to satirize and ridicule without the necessity of carrying on elaborate argument. Yet, as is more fully demonstrated in the notes to the present edition, he did display a consistent form of attack on Hall. When he jeered at the conventional tags of the prelate's rhetoric, when he scoffed at the bishop's reliance on authorities, when he ridiculed the divine's veneration for Episcopacy, Milton did so for the sake of defending simplicity of expression, rationality of thought, and modernity in church organization. His argument was frequently unfair and inconsistent; a skilled rhetorician himself, he at times relied on authority, and his prose is often difficult and obscure.

II

Hall, who felt that the Smectymnuans argued unfairly, must have been still more troubled by the scorn and abusive language Milton heaped on him. To Hall's praise of English divines, Milton gibed "Ha, ha, ha."⁴ To Hall's hope that "the God of Heav'n will vindicate his owne Ordinance so long perpetuated to his Church," Milton replied simply insultingly: "Goe rather to your God of this world, and see if he can vindicate your Lordships, your temporall and spiritual tyrannies, and all your pelfe: for the God of heav'n is already come down to vindicate his owne Ordinance from your so long perpetuated usurpation."⁵

Perhaps even more galling to a sincere Protestant churchman like Hall was Milton's deliberate distortion of his meaning. In accusing Hall of defending "a patch'd Missall,"⁶ Milton was implying that the bishop was at heart a Romanist, whereas all familiar with Hall's long record

³ See Donald J. McGinn, *The Admonition Controversy* (1949).

⁴ *Animadversions*, below, p. 726.

⁵ Below, p. 725.

⁶ Below, p. 690.

knew that he was one of the staunchest opponents of Papistry.⁷ This insinuation on Milton's part almost amounted to libel, though the libel was so phrased that the bishop could gain little by objecting to it. Again when the bishop remarked, "If there be found ought in *Liturgie* that may indanger a scandall, it is under carfull hands to remove it,"⁸ meaning, of course, that Parliament was in process of examining the liturgy, Milton twisted Hall's meaning in order to make it appear that the bishops themselves were preventing reformation of the liturgy. J. Milton French says: "The rough castigation to which he [Milton] submits his victims has the humor of a gigantic cat with an ultra-stupid mouse."⁹ Perhaps a principal advantage of the quotation-and-answer method lies in the opportunity it gives the satirist, however unfairly, to show his own power while causing his opponent to look small and stupid.

A scurrilous aspect of Milton's thought and method is presented when he suggests that "our great Clarks . . . spend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their studies in unprofitable questions, and barbarous sophistry, their middle age in ambition and idlenesse, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diseases."¹⁰ This particular remark was turned against Milton by the Modest Confuter who, in defending Hall against the attack of *Animadversions*, drew a character sketch of the anonymous author Milton, imputing to him all of these vices attributed by Milton to the bishops.¹¹ Milton was so nettled by this well-deserved satire that he defended himself against its aspersions in one of his most able autobiographical passages.¹² However, though posterity is indebted to Milton for his self-defense, we can scarcely condone the language he initiated against a good man.

Hitherto unedited and therefore inadequately understood, *Animadversions* has been somewhat neglected by students of Milton. Yet one may confidently assert that this pamphlet presents the best starting point from which the student of Milton's prose may set out on the somewhat difficult journey through the Miltonic tracts of the 1640's. Here is to be found the germ of *Areopagitica* in the verbal dispute concerning the word "Areopagi"¹³ and in the denunciation of the use

⁷ Hall had written *An Answer to Pope Urban His Inurbanity* (1629) and other anti-Roman tracts. See also Joseph Hall, *Heaven Upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1948), ed. Rudolf Kirk, pp. 61-62.

⁸ *Animadversions*, below, p. 689.

⁹ J. Milton French, "Milton as Satirist," *PMLA*, LI (1936), p. 429.

¹⁰ *Animadversions*, below, pp. 676-77.

¹¹ *A Modest Confutation* (1642), reprinted in facsimile in *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, by William R. Parker, sigs. A3-A3v.

¹² *An Apology*, below, pp. 888 ff.

¹³ *Animadversions*, below, p. 666.

of *Imprimatur*.¹⁴ More important by the nature of the subject matter are the short glimpses one gets into Milton's views on Episcopacy, as previously stated in *Of Reformation, Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, and as later expanded in *The Reason of Church-Government* and *An Apology against a Pamphlet*. In *Animadversions* Milton's replies to Hall's statements are darts thrown, especially to torture the bishop. In the longer pamphlets they appear as fire of full regiments against the forces of the enemy. But it is to be remarked that Milton's brilliance of mind and his hatred of slovenly thought are displayed in flashes, and in some prolonged periods of light, by the consecutive form which he was able to give to an argument carried on in a broken series of replies to fragmentary bits from Hall's *Defence*. Sir Francis Bacon tells us that his pithy "antitheta" are "as skeins" which were to be "unwinded at large," presumably in his essays,¹⁵ so we are justified in regarding many retorts in *Animadversions* as the tightly wound strands of Milton's thought which the pamphleteer would later weave into larger forms.

III

Only one edition of *Animadversions* was printed in Milton's lifetime. While this edition was going through the press, however, a number of corrections were made in the sheets, and only one copy that we have seen seems to contain all the corrected sheets, with the exception of the title page. On this copy we have based our text.¹⁶ Since the scholar will want to know why we accept some readings rather than others, an analysis of the textual problem is required.

Animadversions was printed in quarto, and most copies collate: [A¹], B-F⁴ (with C2 wrongly signed B2), G², H-I⁴, K² \$2 (+B3, C3, E3, F3, H3, I3) signed, 33 leaves, pp. [2] 1-44, 49-68. Contents: [A1]: title page (verso blank). B1-K2v: text. Note that what should be C2 is signed B2. Since B2 also exists in its proper place, we may regard this duplication as a mere misprint. The pagination begins with signature B and is consecutive to K2v, save that pages 45, 46, 47, 48 are omitted.

¹⁴ Below, p. 669.

¹⁵ Sir Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, Everyman's Library (London: J. M. Dent, 1934), p. 149.

¹⁶ We have examined the following copies of *Animadversions* (1641): "A," New York Public Library, *KC 1641; "B," New York Public Library, *KC p v. 31; "C," New York Public Library, *KC p v. 32; "D," New York Public Library, Berg Collection, Young copy; "E," New York Public Library, Berg Collection, Berg copy; "F," Harvard Library, *EC65/M6427/641a; "G," Harvard Library, *EC65/M6427/13652t; "H," Yale Library, Ij/M642/641r; "I," Yale Library, Ij/M642/C641; "J," McAlpin Collection 1641/M65A. Copy B contains all the corrected sheets, not the corrected title page.

These pages correspond with the half of signature G which, as the collation shows, is lacking. The catchword at the end of sig. G2v ("drawne") is connected in sense with the text which continues on the following page, H, in that the opening phrase on H repeats the "may be drawne" of the last line of G2v. This imperfect link may have resulted from an effort to adjust the text so that it would follow in sense after the deletion of the two leaves, i.e., pages 45 through 48.

Variations occur in the title page and in sheets C, F, G, and H:

1. The title pages of several copies contain a comma after the word "Defence," whereas others omit it. That it should be inserted is indicated by the fact that when the same wording is placed at the head of page 1 (sig. B), the comma is uniformly used.

2. Sheet C. In one copy owned by Yale (Ij/M642/641r) the whole of signature C is missigned: B, B2, B3, —. Since B and B3 appear on the outer forme and B2 and [B4] are in the inner, it seems to have happened that when the printer for Thomas Underhill noticed a mistake in the signatures of outer C, he corrected the B to C, which was locked in the outer forme of four pages which were before him. The fourth page of C was unsigned. He apparently did not look at the inner forme of C and so did not discover that C2 was missigned B2, for this error runs through all copies examined. Neither the printer nor anyone else who may have been responsible for corrections noticed that the catchword "see" at the bottom of C2v was not repeated at the top of the following page, C3, though C3 was in this same outer forme. Other corrections which were made in these four pages are distributed through the several copies which we have examined, in such a way as to indicate that they were made as they were noticed from time to time during the printing. Ultimately, at one time or another, corrections were made in all four pages of this forme, some of the corrections certainly for sense and others merely to remove typographical errors:

"you will call"	to "you call"	(sig. C, line 13)
"then then"	to "then"	(sig. C2v, line 29)
"inCendiaries"	to "Incendiaries"	(sig. C3, line 33)
"Llurgy"	to "Liturgy"	(sig. C4v, line 6)
"ure anp" (inverted "d")	to "use and"	(sig. C4v, line 7)

Inasmuch as these typographical errors are the sort that might have occurred during the printing and then have been corrected, it is unprofitable to attempt to assign relative times of printing to each of the several copies we have examined.

3. Sheet F. Two corrections occur in forme F:

"W" on its side in the word "when"	(sig. F3v, line 26)
"dignifi'd" to "dignifie"	(sig. F3v, line 28)

Perhaps the sidewise "W" first caught the proofreader's eye.¹⁷ At any rate, this correction in typography is followed two lines further on by a grammatical one: "dignifi'd," which is ungrammatical, was changed to the proper "dignifie."

4. Sheet G. Probably after the whole of *Animadversions* had been set up, it became necessary for some reason to cancel one half of signature G, that is, sigs. G3-G4, pages 45-48. The two leaves which are now present are conjugate.¹⁸ The catchword at the bottom of page 44 (sig. G2v) is "drawne," but, as we have already said, the link employed at the top of signature H recto picks up two words ("may bee") from the bottom of G2v, with the result that the catchword is the third word from the beginning of the first line, which runs: "may be drawne."

5. Sheet H. Eight changes occur in H recto, but since one was discussed in the last preceding paragraph, we shall here mention only seven. Five of these alterations are in spelling:

"borrowed"	to "borrow'd"	(sig. H, line 7)
"sanctified"	to "sanctify'd"	(sig. H, line 23)
"ordained"	to "ordain'd"	(sig. H, line 23)
"yon"	to "you"	(sig. H3, line 1)
"died"	to "di'd"	(sig. H3, line 7)
"sonnes"	to "sons"	(sig. H3, line 24)

Although the spellings which we have indicated as corrected forms follow in general the orthography used in *Animadversions*, it would be hard to be certain which spellings represent corrections were it not for the fact that also on this sheet one whole line which does not make sense was altered into a coherent form. The reset line in question comes in a sentence which gives an example from gardening. In two copies the sentence reads: "Yet for all this there comes another strange Isle Gardener that never knew the sort, never handled a Dibble or Spade to set the least pot-herbe that grew there . . ." Sig. H2v, line 11.¹⁹ In all other copies examined the sentence reads: "Yet for all this there comes another strange Gardener that never knew the soyle, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to set the least pot-herbe that grew there." In this sentence the ten words from "Isle" to "handled a" constitute one complete line of type, for which the complete line is substituted, "Gardener . . . handl'd a." "Isle" (which made no sense) has been deleted, "sort" is changed to "soyle" (which carries on the thought), and "handled" is

¹⁷ Copies D and I.

¹⁸ The fact that G and G2 are conjugate is apparent in copy E, which is dilapidated. The two leaves belong to the same sheet of paper, and the stitching runs right through this half sheet.

¹⁹ Copies D and I.

respelled "handl'd" (which is the orthography employed in four of the alterations in spelling listed at the beginning of this paragraph and is the spelling nearly always preferred in *Animadversions*).

We have made the following corrections of obvious misprints in the New York Public Library copy on which we have based our text (*KC p. v. 31). We give page, line, and word in the present text, followed by the corresponding word in the original edition:

Page 668, line 14	uncas'd	unca'sd
" 673, " 16	highly).	highly
" 676, " 12	see	Omitted from text but appears in catchword.
" 676, " 27	presented.	presented,
" 679, " 9	has	ha's
" 679, " 17	squeez'd	squeez'd
" 682, " 27	putting	pu ting
" 685, " 31	<i>Remon.</i>	<i>Remon</i>
" 687, " 3	Have	have
" 703, " 23	has	ha's
" 711, " 12	verse),	verse,
" 714, " 7	hence may be drawne	hence may bee may be drawne
" 735, " 2	which	wich

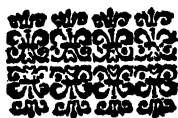
IV

We wish to extend our thanks for help rendered by John W. Beardslee, Jr., J. Milton French, Clayton Morris Hall, Alfred L. Kellogg, and Clara M. Kirk. We have received assistance and invariable courtesy from those in charge of the Houghton Library of Harvard University, the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, the Rutgers University Library, the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, and the Library of Yale University.

RUDOLF KIRK

Rutgers University

ANIMADVERSIONS
UPON
The Remonstrants
Defence
AGAINST
SMECTYMNIVVS.



LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Underhill*, and are
to be sold at the Signe of the *Bible* in
Woodstreet, 1641.

ANIMADVERSIONS

Upon the *Remonstrants* Defence,

against SPECTYMNUS.

The Preface.

Although it be a certaine truth that they who undertake a Religious Cause need not care to be Men-pleasers; yet because the satisfaction of tender and mild consciences is far different from that which is call'd Men-pleasing, to satisfie such, I shall adresse my selfe in few words to give notice before hand of something in this booke, which to some men perhaps may seeme offensive, that when I have render'd a lawfull reason of what is done, I may trust to have sav'd the labour of defending or excusing hereafter. Wee all know that in private and personall injuries, yea in publique sufferings for the cause of Christ, his rule and example teaches us to be so farre from a readinesse to speak evill, as not to answer the reviler in his language though never so much provok't. Yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious [1] enimie to truth and his Countries peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and smart fluence of tongue, and in the vaine confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly respects, stands up for all the rest to justifie a long usurpation and convicted Pseudepiscopy¹ of Prelates, with all their ceremonies, Liturgies, and tyrannies which God and man are now ready to explode and hisse out of the land; I suppose and more then suppose, it will be nothing disagreeing from Christian meeknesse to handle such a one in a rougher accent, and to send home his haughtinesse well bespurted with his owne holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unauthoritied² either from the morall precept of SALOMON to answer

¹ "The rule or existence of a spurious or pretended bishop or bishops." *NED*.

² Unauthorized. *NED*.

him thereafter that prides him in his folly; nor from the example of Christ, and all his followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of those that resisted sound Doctrine, and by subtile dissimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous souls into such vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly spoken: for who can be a greater enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver then he who defending a traditionall corruption uses no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem³ of yeelding to the time a greater part of his cause, seeming to forgo all that mans invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in Scripture, yet leaving it hanging by a twin'd threed, not from divine command but from Apostolicall prudence or assent, as if he had the surety of some rouling trench, creeps up by this meanes to his relinquish't fortresse of divine authority againe; and still hovering betweene the confines of that which hee dares not bee o-[2]penly, and that which he will not be sincerely, traines on the easie Christian insensibly within the close ambushment of worst errors, and with a slye shuffle of counterfeit principles chopping and changing till hee have glean'd all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at last, after a slight resemblance of sweeping and garnishing under the sevenfold possession of a desperate stupidity. And therefore they that love the soules of men, which is the dearest love, and stirs up the noblest jealousie, when they meet with such collusion, cannot be blam'd though they bee transported with the zeale of truth to a well heated fervencie; especially, seeing they which thus offend against the soules of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gaine, ease, and advancement in this world, but they that seeke to discover and oppose their false trade of deceiving, do it not without a sad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards, but without all private and personall spleene, and without any thought of earthly reward, when as this very course they take stopps their hopes of ascending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the serious uncasing of a grand imposture (for to deale plainly with you Readers, Prelatry is no better) there be mixt here and there such a grim laughter, as may appeare at the same time in an austere visage, it cannot be taxt of levity or insolence: for even this veine of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath

³ Masson, II, 258, points out that Milton is here turning on Hall with scorn because Hall had yielded a part of the position which he had taken in *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted* (1640).

oft-times a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and scorne together then a false Prophet taken in the greatest dearest and most dangerous cheat, the [3] cheat of soules: in the disclosing whereof if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to cast a lowring smile, when the properest object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say why those two most rationall faculties of humane intellect anger and laughter were first seated in the brest of man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the softer spirited Christian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Onely if it bee ask't why this close and succinct manner of coping with the Adversary was rather chosen, this was the reason, chiefly that the ingenuous Reader without further amusing himselve in the labyrinth of controversall antiquity, may come the speediest way to see the truth vindicated, and Sophistry taken short at the first false bound. Next that the Remonstrant himselve as oft as hee pleases to be frolick and brave it with others may find no gaine of money, and may learne not to insult in so bad a cause. But now he begins.

[SECTION 1]

Remonstrant.

My single *Remonstrance*¹ is encountred with a plurall *Adversary*.²

¹ (M) *Sect 1 p 1*.

This is the first of Milton's marginal notes in *Animadversions*. Each identifies a section or page of Hall's *Defence* (1640), which Milton is quoting.

² Hall calls the authors of *An Answer* (1641) his "plurall Adversary," meaning his five Smectymnuan antagonists. It may also represent to Hall, in Platonic and Christian terms, the protean "many" of Puritan error (cf. Spenser's *Una* and *Duessa* as imagery well understood in the age).

Both Hall and Milton accepted the oneness of truth and the plurality of error as universal truth, and they used the conception as an unquestioned axiom in their arguments. Each applied the axiom in his own way and by allusion and implication. Milton in the first few paragraphs applies the conception in what he appears to have intended as "grim laughter" (p. 663), which, along with anger, he has labeled a "rational factor of the human intellect." This allusive use of images and axioms, combined as it is with attempted grim laughter, makes the method of both arguments seem, in Milton's phrase, "to wince and fling never so peevishly."

Milton sees fit to parry Hall's "plurall" criticism by referring to the practice known as pluralism, and condemned by the Puritans, of permitting one person to hold two or more benefices.

Answers.

Did not your single Remonstrance bring along with it a hot sent of your more then singular affection to spirituall pluralities, your singlenesse would be lesse suspected with all good Christians then it is.

Remonst. Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know.

Answ. Their names are knowne to the all-knowing [4] power above, and in the meane while doutlesse they wreck not whether you or your *Nomenclator* know them or not.

Remonst. But could they say my name is Legion; ³ for wee are many.

Answ. Wherefore should you begin with the Devils name descanting upon the number of your opponents? wherefore that conceit of *Legion* with a by-wipe? ⁴ was it because you would have men take notice how you esteeme them, whom through all your booke so bountifully you call your brethren? wee had not thought that *Legion* could have furnisht the *Remonstrant* with so many brethren.

Remonst. My cause yea Gods would bid me meet them undismay'd, &c.

Answ. Ere a foot further we must bee content to heare a preambing boast of your valour, what a St. *Dunstane*, you are to encounter *Legions*, either infernall or humane.

Remonst. My cause, yea Gods.

Answ. What gods? unlesse your belly or the god of this world be hee? shew us any one point of your *Remonstrance* that do's not more concern superiority, pride, ease and the belly, then the truth and glory of God, or the salvation of soules.

Remonst. My cause, yea Gods would bid me meet them undismay'd, and to say with holy *David*, *though an host*,⁵ &c.

Answ. Doe not think to Perswade us of your undaunted courage by misapplying to your selfe the words of holy *David*; we know you feare, and are in an agonie at this present, lest you should lose that superfluity of riches and honour which your party usurp. And who-soever covets and so earnestly labours to keep such an incumbring

³ Mark 5 9 Hall uses this quotation in its proverbial sense Milton, in order to discredit the statement, implies that Hall in applying the term to men whom he has addressed as "Brethren" is uncharitable Cf. pp 672, n. 35; 727, n. 13.

⁴ Side stroke. An earlier use than any given in *NED*

⁵ Psalms 27:3.

surcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earth-quake still in his bones. You are not arm'd *Remonstrant*, nor any of your band, you are not dieted, nor [5] your loynes girt for spirituall valour, and Christian warfare, the luggage is too great that followes your Camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily. How shall we think you have not carnall feare while we see you so subject to carnall desires?

Remonst. I doe gladly fly to the barre.⁶

Ans. To the barre with him then. Gladly you say. We beleewe you as gladly as your whole faction wish't, and long'd for the assembling of this Parliament,⁷ as gladly as your beneficiaries the *Priests* came up to answer the complaints and outcries of all the Shires.

Remonst. The *Areopagi*?⁸ who were those? truly my masters I had thought this had beene the name of the place, not of the men.

Answ. A soar-Eagle,⁹ would not stoope at a flye, but sure some *Pedagogue* stood at your Elbow, and made it itch with this parlous Criticisme they urg'd you with a Decree of the sage and severe Judges of *Athens*, and you cite them to appeare for certaine *Paragogicall* contempts,¹⁰ before a capricious *Pædantie* of hot-liver'd Grammarians. Mistake not the matter courteous *Remonstrant*, they were not making Latines: ¹¹ if in dealing with an outlandish name they thought

⁶ (M) *Pag.* 2.

⁷ Cf. *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 16: "Doubtlesse the Remonstrant, and those which you esteem his faction, are as glad of, and wish as well to this Honourable Assembly, as you and yours do."

⁸ This word was first introduced into this dispute by Smectymnuus, *An Answer* (1641), p. 1. Hall in *A Defence* (1641), p. 2, twits the authors of this tract on the use of this word to signify men, for, he says, it can correctly indicate only a place. Milton is forced to admit Hall's grammatical contention, but argues that in English new endings are often made up. The *Modest Confuter* (1642, pp. 11-13) agrees to Milton's point, but says it is wrong in any case to confuse the name of a place with that of a man. In a sense this argument over the form of foreign words in English continues the Elizabethan arguments over language. Whatever the contemporaneous grammatical niceties were, and whatever Milton's motives, the argument here advanced is the common-sense one of usage and custom upon which later lexicographers were to base their work. The controversy over the use of this word (so long drawn out on both sides) perhaps suggested to Milton its use in the title of his tract in behalf of freedom of the press which he wrote three years later.

⁹ A short-winged hawk not yet full-feathered; hence, immature, like Hall. Simon Latham, *Latham's Falconry* (1633), sig. ¶3; Nicolas Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation* (1677), pp. 161, 167.

¹⁰ Mistakes in the letters of word endings. *NED*.

¹¹ Composing Latin themes as a schoolboy's exercise. See Thomas W. Baldwin, *Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (2 vols., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), I, 146.

it best not to screw the English mouth to a harsh forreigne termination, so they kept the radical word, they did no more then the elegantest Authors among the *Greeks, Romans*, and at this day the *Italians* in scorne of such a servility use to doe. Remember how they mangle our Brittish names abroad; what trespassed were it, if wee in requitall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not stick to doe so,¹² writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*,¹³ *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*,¹⁴ *K. Sejes* for *K. Ceyx*¹⁵ the husband of *Alcyone*, with many other names strangely metamorphis'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.

Remonst. Lest the world¹⁶ should think the presse had [6] of late forgot to speak any language other then libellous, this honest paper hath broken through the throng.¹⁷

Answ. Mince the matter while you will, it shew'd but green practise in the lawes of discreet *Rhethorique* to blurt upon the eares of a judicious *Parliament* with such a presumptuous and over-weening *Proem*: but you doe well to be the Sewer of your owne messe.

Remon. That which you miscall the Preface, was a too just complaint of the shamfull number of Libells.

Ans. How long is it that you, and the Prelaticall troop have bin in such distast with Libells? aske your *Lysimachus Nicanor*¹⁸ what

¹² The Modest Confuter admits (1642, p. 13): "*Chaucer* hath mollified a termination," but he claims "he hath not metamorphosed the name of a place into the name of a man." Wishing to throw the blame still further on Milton, however, he quotes Sir Philip Sidney in extenuation (p. 13): "Or if he [*Chaucer*] had, it were one of those faults which ought to be forgiven (not imitated) in so reverend antiquity."

¹³ *Chaucer* mentions this person in the *Man of Law's Tale*, the *Parliament of Fowls*, and the *Legend of Good Women*

¹⁴ *Chaucer* mentions this person in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, *Anelida and Arcite*, and *Troilus and Criseyde*.

¹⁵ *Chaucer* mentions this person in the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Man of Law's Tale*.

¹⁶ This is the first of six instances in which Milton goes back of *A Defence to Humble Remonstrance* (1640, p. 1), the pamphlet which actually started the controversy.

¹⁷ (M) At the beginning of his *Remonstrance*.

¹⁸ This is the pseudonym of John Corbet (1603?–1641; above, p. 51), who wrote *Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor of the Societie of Jesu, to the Covenanters in Scotland* (1640). Although a minister of the Church of England, Corbet pretended under his pseudonym to be a Jesuit. Under this guise Corbet attempted to demonstrate dramatically the similarity (and, as Corbet saw it, the common error) of Scotch presbyter and Roman priest. In his pretended defense of Roman practices he tells the Covenanters (p. 23): "And I pray you what Royalist

defaming invectives have lately flown abroad against the Subjects of *Scotland*, and our poore expelled Brethren of *New-England*,¹⁹ the Prelates rather applauding, then shewing any dislike: and this hath bin ever so, in so much, that Sir *Francis Bacon* in one of his discourses²⁰ complains of the Bishops uneven hand over these Pamphlets, confining those against Bishops to darknesse, but Licencing those against Puritans to be utter'd openly, though with the greater mischeife of leading into contempt the exercise of Religion in the persons of sundry Preachers, and disgracing the higher matter in the meaner person.

Remon. A point no lesse essential to that proposed *Remonstrance*.

Ans. Wee know where the shoo wrings you, you fret, and are gall'd at the quick, and O what a death it is to the Prelates to be thus unvisarded, thus uncas'd,²¹ to have the Periwigs pluk't off that cover your baldnesse, your inside nakednesse thrown open to publick view.

can answer the arguments which you have borrowed from us [i.e., the Jesuits]? all their answer is, that they exclaime that you do borrow your Arguments from your enemies, yet not so great enemies as they [i.e., the royalists] suppose; for the Jesuite is called the Popish Puritan, & the Puritan is called the Protestant Jesuite." Later he declares (pp. 24-25) "The greatest wound that ever wee [i.e., Jesuits] have received, is from such Bishops as they are [i.e., anti-Christian bishops], as *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Jewell*, *Bilson*, *Andrewes*, πνευλαῖτος, stupar mundi; *Whitgift*, *Babington*, *Abbots* [sic], *King*, *Downname*, *Ussher*, *Morton*, *Davenant*, *Montague*, *Hall*, *White*, and that Arch-enemy of yours and ours, *Canterbury*, with divers others, whom I like not to recite." Even such a staunch Church of England man as the Modest Confuter deplored the method used by Lysimachus Nicanor in his effort to support Episcopacy *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 3

¹⁹ Though Milton implies the New Englanders were spoken of by Lysimachus Nicanor, no mention of them is made in the *Epistle Congratulatorie*

²⁰ *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires* (1641). Cf. Bacon's statement (p. 11). "For the one sort [for the Puritans] flieth in darknesse, and the other [against the Puritans] is uttered openly."

²¹ The figure of speech, the meaning of which is obvious, is of course chivalric. Both Milton and Hall had rejected the trappings of chivalry and of courtly love. Milton in the *Apology against a Pamphlet* (below, p. 890) tells in nostalgic terms of an early devotion to the stories of noble knights and ladies, a devotion so great that he refused to believe an author who wrote of any misdeed. Milton abandoned this devotion in favor of a more universal criterion for virtue. "Only this my mind gave me, that every free and gentle spirit, without that oath, ought to be born a knight." Hall in *Virgideciarum* (1597-98), I, "His Defiance to Envie," had much earlier written scathingly of "the rusted swords of Elvish knights" and (I, Satire I, 1) of "Ladies wanton love." Both Hall and Milton objected to the use of these trappings as superstitious and as convenient fables for covering vice. See the discussion by A. Davenport, ed., *The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall* (Liverpool: University Press, 1949), pp. xxxv-lx.

The *Romans* had a time ²² once every year, when their Slaves might freely speake their minds, twere hard if the free borne people of *England*, with whom the voyce of Truth for these many yeares, even against the proverb,²³ hath not bin heard but in corners, after all your Monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your [7] gags and snaffles, your proud *Imprimaturs* ²⁴ not to be obtain'd without the shallow surviue, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow Soul'd, and illiterate Chaplain; when liberty of speaking, then which nothing is more sweet to man, was girded, and straight lac't almost to a broken-winded tizzick,²⁵ if now at a good time, our time of *Parliament*, the very jubily, and resurrection of the State, if now the conceal'd, the aggrieved, and long persecuted Truth, could not be suffer'd speak, and though she burst out with some efficacy of words, could not be excus'd after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor avoyde the censure of Libelling, twere hard, twere something pinching in a Kingdome of free spirits. Some Princes,²⁶ and great Statists,²⁷

²² Cf. Livy, *Roman History*, tr. John H. Freese, Alfred J. Church, and William J. Brodribb (New York, 1904), p. 96, n. 1.

²³ Cf. Acts 26:25-26.

²⁴ Milton was consistent in his attack on censorship and three years later, just as he had opposed Hall's implied support of censors in the bishops' cause, wrote *Areopagitica* in a vain attempt to prevent Parliament from establishing censors against its opponents. Hughes points out (*Prose Selections*, 1947, p. lxviii): "Milton knew that even moderate churchmen had avowed that policy [i.e., censorship of pamphlets against the prelates], as Bishop Hall did in *The Peacemaker* (1624)." ²⁵ Obsolete spelling of "phthisic," meaning some sort of lung disease. *NED*.

²⁶ References to the desire of monarchs to know the opinions of their humble subjects are universal and have apparently enjoyed uninterrupted popularity among the English. Such stories were traditional myths of Alfred; the story of Cleopatra's nocturnal ramblings in disguise for just this purpose had been popularized in Plutarch and Shakespeare; and, again in Shakespeare, Henry V in disguise visits troops on the night before the battle of Agincourt and from a humble soldier learns his duty as king. Milton's argument, essentially that free printing obviates the necessity for the consecrated ruler to learn the opinions of his remote subjects by eavesdropping, continues his "grim laughter" in its obvious reference to the emptying of the "salt lotion" of chamber pots upon the eavesdropper. Milton here and elsewhere in *Animadversions* (see pp. 666, 705) and in *Areopagitica* objects both to the practice of censorship and to the psychology from which censorship proceeds. He here objects to Hall's condemning "the prospective glasses of their princes" for the same reasons which he later advanced against Parliamentary censorship: that is, Milton argues that the truth will emerge only when all points of view are fairly expressed and carefully considered. Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), especially pp. 29-35.

²⁷ Those skilled in state affairs. *NED*. Milton's implication is that skilled rulers need to know the opinions of their subjects.

have thought it a prime piece of necessary policy to thrust themselves under disguise into a popular throng, to stand the night long under eaves of houses, and low windows, that they might hear every where the free utterances of privat brests, and amongst them find out the precious gemme of Truth, as amongst the numberlesse pibbles of the Shoar; wherby they might be the abler to discover, and avoid that deceitfull, and close coutcht evill of flattery that ever attends them, and misleads them, and might skilfully know how to apply the several redresses to each malady of State, without trusting the disloyall information of Parasites, and Sycophants: wheras now this permission of free writing, were there no good else in it, yet at some times thus licenc't, is such an unripping, such an Anatomie of the shiest, and tenderest particular truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many points the wiser, but also presents, and carries home to Princes, and men most remote from vulgar concourse, such a full insight of every lurking evil, or restrained good among the Commons, as that they shall not need heerafter in old Cloaks, and false Beards, to stand to the courtesy of a night-walking cudgeller for [8] eaves dropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the over-head emptying of some salt lotion. Who could be angry therefore but those that are guilty, with these free-spoken, and plaine harted men that are the eyes of their Country, and the prospective glasses of their Prince? But these are the nettlers, these are the blabbing Bookes that tell, though not halfe your fellows feats. You love toothlesse Satyrs;²⁸ let me informe you, a toothlesse Satyr is as improper as a toothed sleekstone,²⁹ and as bullish.

Remon. I beseech you brethren spend your Logick upon your own workes.

Ans. The peremptory Analysis that you call it, I beleieve will be so hardy as once more to unpinne your spruce fastidious oratory,³⁰ to

²⁸ The reference is to Hall's satire *Virgidemiarum* (1597-98), the first book of which bears the subtitle "Toothless Satires" and the second book the subtitle "Biting Satires." The Modest Confuter attempts to justify Hall's use of the term "toothless satires." *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 8-11.

²⁹ "A smooth stone used for smoothing and polishing." *NED*.

³⁰ Again (see above, p. 664, n. 2) Milton by implication seems to allude to the "laces frizzles and bobins" as the trappings of error. Cf. Renaissance conceptions of earthly love as a woman, decked out in clothes and jewelry, Spenser's use of the conception in his account of the disrobing of Duessa, and the usual Puritan conception of Rome, and often too of Episcopacy, as the whore of Babylon. These uses of the emblematic conception of error as a fashionably dressed, often immoral,

rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobins though she wince, and fling, never so Peevishly.

Remon. Those verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will sink alone.³¹

Ans. O rare subtlety, beyond all that *Cardan* ever dream't of, when I beseech you, will light things sink? when will light froth sink alone. Here in your phrase, the same day that heavy plummets will swimme alone. Trust this man, Readers if you please, whose divinity would reconcile *England* with *Rome*,³² and his philosophy make friends nature with the *Chaos*, *sine pondere habentia pondus*.³³

Remon. That scum may be worth taking off which followes.

woman varied widely, but Milton's implication is clear. Objections to the changes in the liturgy were made in terms of a similar image. Cf. Hall, *A Defence* (1641), p. 9. Here the objection which Hall cites is primarily the affectation and unnaturalness of fashion. Milton's argument, which today appears a mere verbal quibble, may have been a powerful one, metaphorically and perhaps literally, to the audience of his day. The importance of the differentiation between light and heavy objects was immensely significant both in theology and physics and was, therefore, cosmological, if somewhat allegorical, in implication. In *Paradise Lost*, II, 75, Satan argues that divine spirits find ascent natural and therefore easy. At the lower earthly level of comparative weights of physical substances, Milton implies that Hall's confusion is but a symptom of his entire mixed scale of values and lack of understanding of God's natural order. Such confusion, Milton argues, is symptomatic; by such confusion may one justify a reconciliation of England to Rome or of nature to chaos, but not by any reasonable argument drawn from the book of nature as God made the book.

³¹ (M) P. 4.

³² Hall, of course, was a well-known antipapist and, among other tracts, had written *An Answer to Pope Urban His Inurbanity* (1629), which made his position perfectly clear.

³³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 20, where chaos is described, and things having weight are in a confused mass with weightless things. See above, p. 223, n. 16. Such will be the state of the physical world when light things sink and when England is reconciled with Rome. This allusion to "things without weight having weight" continues the theme of Milton's attack upon Hall, that is, wherever one upsets the natural, reasonable, God-given order, all manner of chaos must inevitably result; and the argument which is in substance contradictory and chaotic in its implication serves as one more symptom of the ungodly chaos which the bishop, who has advanced that argument, is in himself and which he must bring upon the church which he rules and upon England. Milton considers the core of the matter Hall's abandonment of reason, as Milton conceived reason (cf. above, p. 664, n. 2; p. 670, n. 30; and especially p. 687, n. 45). Milton continues the allusion with a certain verbal suggestion in the "bishop's broth" comment (cf. below, p. 672, n. 34) and later (p. 676) makes much of the chaos of unrule in the allusion to "the notorious violence of his clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*." The whole dispute here, as in *Areopagitica*, centers on Milton's mistrust of anything which would interfere with reason as the instrument of knowledge, and his special mistrust of censorship.

Ans. Spare your Ladle Sir, it will be as bad as the Bishops foot ³⁴ in the broth; the scum will be found upon your own *Remonstrance*.

Remon. I shall desire all indifferent eyes to judge whether these men do not endeavour to cast unjust envy upon me.

Ans. Agreed. [9]

Remon. I had said that the civil polity as in generall notion, hath some times varied,³⁵ and that the civil came from arbitrary imposers, these gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the present, and particular government of our Monarchy.

Ans. And deservedly have they don so; take up your Logick else and see: civil politie, say you, hath sometimes varied, and came from arbitrary imposers, what proposition is this? Bishop Downam ³⁶ in his *Dialecticks* will tell you it is a generall axiome, though the universal particle be not expres't, and you your selfe in your defence so explaine in these words as in general notion. Hence is justly inferr'd he that saies civil polity is arbitrary, saies that the civil polity of *England* is Arbitrary. The inference is undeniable, *a thesi ad hypothesin*, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in Logick.

³⁴ A well-known proverb based on the belief that bishops spoil whatever they meddle in. Burton Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 188. See also note on p. 732 of this edition. Milton had used this image in *A Postscript* (below, p. 975).

³⁵ This entire argument over who had been unfair in interpreting his opponent has two levels of meaning, and the ultimate force of the argument was certainly intended by both Hall and Milton to be ethical. First, there is the obvious dialectic verbal-logic level of justification: Hall accuses the Smectymnuans of having twisted his meaning, and Milton replies that the Smectymnuans had placed upon Hall's text the only logical verbal meaning which that text would bear. Second, there is the ethical level of the implication of the act of twisting meaning. Hall accuses his opponents of proving their untruthfulness and ungodliness by their act of distorting his meaning, and Milton replies that Hall's logically unjustified accusation was in itself a proof of Hall's untruthfulness and ungodliness. The ethical logic is the Biblical justification, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Both Hall and Milton, therefore, are concerned with the "charity" or lack of it in the opposing arguments, for a lack of charity was an outward sign of perfidy and error. Cf. pp. 665, n. 3; 727, n. 13.

³⁶ Bishop George Downam (d. 1634) was one of the earliest teachers of Ramus in England. After receiving the B.A. and M.A. degrees from Cambridge University, he held several livings and in 1616 was consecrated Bishop of Derry. See *DNB* and *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922), Part I, II, 61. Downam's *Dialecticks* appears in several early editions of Ramus, the first at Frankfurt in 1610. The one which has been available to us is *P. Rami Veromandui Regii Professoris Dialecticae Libri . . . cum Commentariis Georgii Downami Annexis* (1669). Downam's commentary follows the fifty-page section by Ramus and extends to page 501. Probably the section referred to by Milton is Chapter 29, pp. 264-67.

Remon. Brethren whiles yee desire to seeme Godly, learne to be lesse malitious.³⁷

Ans. Remonstrant, till you have better learnt your principles of Logick, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.

Remon. God blesse all good men from such charity.

Ans. I never found that Logically maxims were uncharitable before, yet should a Jury of Logicians passe upon you, you would never be sav'd by the Book.

Remon And our Sacred Monarchy from such friends.

Ans. Adde, as the Prelates.

Remon. If Episcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Insolence of the Persons, not the fault of the Calling.

Ans. It was the fault of the persons, and of no Calling, we doe not count Prelatry a Calling.

Remon. The testimony of a Pope (whom these men³⁸ honor highly)³⁹ *Ans.* That slanderous insertion was doubtles a pang of your incredible charity, the want whereof, you [10] lay so often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapt up in a parenthesis, a piece of the Clergy benevolence layd by to maintain the Episcopal broile, whether the 1000 Horse⁴⁰ or no, time will discover, for certainly had those cavaliers come on to play their parts, such a ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the hand of a Prelate, might have bin of special use, and safety to them that had car'd for such a ransom.

Remon. And what saies Antichrist.

Ans. Ask your Brethren the Prelates that hold intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the Pope Antichrist now? good newes! take heed you be not shent for this, for tis verily thought, that had this Bill bin put in against him in your last Convocation,⁴¹ he would have bin clear'd by most voices.

Remon: Any thing serves against Episcopacy.

³⁷ (M) p 5

³⁸ The sarcastic parenthesis quoted from Hall's *Defence* has reference to a passage in *An Answer* (1641), p 4, which relates "that *Prus* the fourth to the Spanish Embassadour, importuning him to permit Bishops to bee declared by the Councell of *Trent* to be *Jure Divino*, gave this answer. That his King knew not what he did desire, for if Bishops should bee so declared, they would bee all exempted from his Power, and as independent as the Pope himselfe" See note on "Oath *Ex Officio*," below, p. 675, for a satirical gibe at *Jure Divino*

³⁹ (M) P 6

⁴⁰ See Gardiner, *History of England*, X, 2, Peter Heylyn, *Cypranus Anglicanus* (1671), p 457

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 143-44.

Ans. See the frowardnes of this man;⁴² he would perswade us that the succession, and divine right of Bishopdom hath bin unquestionable through all ages, yet when they bring against him Kings, they were irreligious, *Popes*, they are Antichrist, by what *Æra* of computation, through what Faery Land would the man deduce this Perpetual beadroul of uncontradicted Episcopacy? The *Pope* may as well boast his ungainsaid authority to them that will beleive that all his contradicters were either irreligious, or heretical.⁴³

Remon. If the Bishops, saith the *Pope*, be declar'd to be of divine right they would be exempted from regal power, and if there might be this danger in those Kingdomes why is this enviously upraided⁴⁴ to those of ours? who do gladly professe &c.

Ans. Because your dissever'd principles were but like the mangl'd pieces of a gash't Serpent, that now begun to close, and grow together Popish againe. Whatsoever you now gladly professe out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought your selves secure. [11]

Remon. It is a foul slander to charge the name of Episcopacy with a faction, for the fact imputed to some few.

Ans. The more foul your faction that hath brought a harmlesse name into obloquie, and the fact may justly be imputed to all of yee that ought to have withstood it, and did not.

Remon. Fie Brethren, are yee the Presbyters of the Church of *England*, and dare chalenge Episcopacy of faction.

Ans. Yes, as oft as Episcopacy dares be factious.

Remon. Had you spoken such a word in the time of holy Cyprian,⁴⁵ what had become of you?

Ans. They had neither bin hal'd into your Gehenna at *Lambeth*,⁴⁶

⁴² The argument which Milton here advances—that Hall approves himself and his cause by the popelike assertion that he is right and all his opponents are “irreligious and heretical”—perhaps alludes to Spenser's treatment of Archimago (*Faerie Queene*, Book I) in the question “through what Faery Land would the man deduce this Perpetual beadroul of uncontradicted Episcopacy?” This allusion adds a level of implication to Milton's meaning, for, in likening Hall's practice to that of Archimago, Milton implies Spenser's exhortation to the true wayfaring Christian to search out and contradict error and hypocrisy. Milton later referred to Spenser's story of Guyon in the Cave of Mammon (*Faerie Queene*, II, iii) to illustrate the moral necessity for freedom of inquiry and expression. *Areopagitica* (1644), pp. 12–13.

⁴³ (M) p. 7.

⁴⁴ This spelling of “upbraided” without the “b” does not appear in *NED*. Probably it is a misprint, but one hesitates to emend.

⁴⁵ Bishop of Carthage, baptized ca. 245–46, d. 258. See above, p. 392, n. 2.

⁴⁶ So Milton terms the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission established in

nor strappado'd with an Oath *Ex Officio* ⁴⁷ by your bow men of the Arches: ⁴⁸ and as for *Cyprians* time, the cause was farre unlike, he indeed succeeded into an Episcopacy that began then to Prelatize, but his personal excellence like an antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption which was then a disease that lay hid for a while under shew of a full, and healthy constitution, as those hydro-

1583 In the time of archbishop Laud the actions of this court were popularly regarded as tyrannous. See Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans* (3 vols, London, 1837), II, 924. Milton uses the phrase "your Gehenna at Lambeth" as a part of his rejection of the validity of Hall's citation of Cyprian, that is, the term "Gehenna", "which had long been used to signify judicial torture" (*NED*) and the vale in which children were sacrificed to Moloch (*cf. Paradise Lost*, I, 405), was combined with *Lambeth*, which, in addition to its contemporaneous association with Episcopacy, was supposed to have been a prison for Lollards. (See also Alfred L. Kellogg, "Some Patristic Sources for Milton's Gehenna," *Notes and Queries*, 195 [January 7, 1950], 10-13.) The combination of the words signified the tyranny to which Episcopacy had, as Milton saw it, descended. Milton argues that the Episcopacy which Cyprian had advocated was historically different from the Episcopacy of seventeenth-century England, though the earlier form had had within it the seeds of corruption. Cyprian's "personal excellence," he argues, "like an antidote, overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption" of prelacy, just as a seemingly healthy glow may sometimes disguise a disease.

⁴⁷ "This oath to answer interrogatories administered by the judge merely in virtue of his office, apart from moral accusation or presentment, is the famous *ex officio* oath." W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625)* (London, 1904), V, 229-30. For the text of the oath, see below, p. 999. Such a man as the author of *Lambeth Faire, Wherein You Have All the Bishops Trinkets Set to Sale* (June, 1641, E158[20]), roundly satirizes everything connected with Lambeth and the Court of High Commission when he offers ecclesiastical "trinkets" for sale:

In this same Gown, did *Canterburies Grace*,
At High-Commission shew his graceless face . . .
Here's the late *Canons*, and the New found *Oath*:
To sell *Et cetera* I am very loath . . .
Oath ex Officio, here if you will buy
Or *High Commission*, take it presently . . .
Jure Divino, that's become our Doome,
Wee'l sel't for Wharfage to the Coast of Room.

The Modest Confuter, on the other hand, writes of the Court of High Commission (1642, p. 8): "If that Court hath been illegall, either in the constitution of it, or in its proceedings, it is more than I know: but if so, the Remonstrant is as guiltlesse of such illegalities, as I am ignorant."

⁴⁸ A bowman, according to *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725), was, as in the phrase "Bowman-Prigg," "an eminent Thief or Villain; a dextrous Cheat or House-breaker." "Priggs" are defined by the same authority as "Thieves and Housebreakers, given up to all manner of Debauchery and Villainy, and yet pretending to better Education, &c. than common Varlets." Since we learn from Sir Robert Phillimore, *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England* (2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1895), II, 924, that "The Court of Arches exercises the appellate jurisdiction from each of the diocesan courts within the province" (i.e., the province of

pick ⁴⁹ humors not discernable at first from a fair and juicy fleshinesse of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour which seems gracefull to a cheek otherwise pale, and yet arises from evil causes, either of some inward obstruction, or inflammation, and might deceave the first Phisicians till they had learnt the sequell, which *Cyprians* dayes did not bring forth, and the Prelatism of Episcopacy which began then to burgeon, and spread, had as yet, especially in famous men a fair, though a false imitation of flourishing.

Remon. Neither is the wrong lesse to make application of that ⁵⁰ which was most justly charged upon the practises, and combinations of Libelling Separatists, whom I deservedly censur'd &c.

Ans. To conclude this Section, our *Remonstrant* we see [12] is resolv'd to make good that which was formerly said of his Book, that it was neither *humble*, nor a *Remonstrance*,⁵¹ and this his defence is of the same Complexion. When he is constrain'd to mention the notorious violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*, he slightlie termes it a fact imputed to some few; but when he speaks of that which the *Parliament* voutsafes to name the *City Petition*,⁵² which I, saith he, (as if the State had made him publick Censor) deservedly censur'd. And how? as before for a tumultuarie, and underhand way of procured subscriptions, so now in his defence more bitterly, as the practizes, and combinations of Libelling Separatists, and the miszealous advocates thereof, justly to be branded for incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our cheif Citty to be noted with such an infamie for a Petition, which not without some of the Magistrates, and great numbers of sober, and considerable men, was orderly, and meekly presented. Although our great Clarks ⁵³

the archbishop) and "may also take original cognizance of causes by letters of request from each of those courts," the connection between the bowmen, or minor officials of this court, whom Milton undoubtedly regarded as somewhat educated thieves, and the miscarriage of justice implied in Milton's words is clear. For a further discussion of the word "bowman," see the *Monthly Mirror*, New Series, I (January, 1807), 55-56, where the line from a song by Sir John Fielding is quoted: "Ye Bomen, prigs, and jolly-dogs, who scamp the Garden round." This indicates that the word was still in use a century after *Animadversions* was written. Milton has used this slang term with the utmost precision.

⁴⁹ Dropsical. *NED*.

⁵⁰ (M) P. 8.

⁵¹ Milton here quotes from the first page of *An Answer* (1641)

⁵² This was the famous Root and Branch Petition, praying for the abolition of prelatical participation in government. Masson, II, 213. For the text of this petition, see below, pp 977-84.

⁵³ Milton's allegation here is flatly denied by the Modest Confuter (1642, p. 22):

think that these men, because they have a Trade (as *Christ himself*, and Saint *Paul* had) cannot therefore attaine to some good measure of knowledge, and to a reason of their actions, as well as they that spend their youth ⁵⁴ in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their studies in unprofitable questions, and barbarous sophistry, their middle age in ambition, and idlenesse, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diseases: and whether this reflect not with a contumely upon the *Parliament* it selfe, which thought this Petition worthy, not only of receaving, but of voting to a commitment, after it had bin advocated, and mov'd for by some honourable, and learned Gentlemen of the House, to be cal'd a combination of Libelling Separatists, and the advocates thereof to be branded for Incendiaries, whether this appeach not the judgement, and approbation of the *Parliament*, I leave to equall Arbiters.

[SECTION 2]

Remon. After the overflowing ¹ of your gall, you descend to Liturgy, and Episcopacy.² [13]

"Truly, small Clerk, you know but little of those mens mindes. I will insure you they do not think so." He then claims that Milton later contradicts himself in the statement (below, p. 715). "For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minster, that would not be found fit to be made Ministers themselves, as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like."

⁵⁴ Milton here implies that the clergy, from their youth to their college days to their old age, spent their lives in evil ways. The author of *A Modest Confutation* (1642), in his mock attempt to form a judgment of the character of the Animadverter, deduces the portrait of this unknown opponent, who must have known evil ways from having lived them while at the university (see "To the Reader"). At this satiric deduction, based as it was on Milton's accusation against the prelates in *Animadversions*, Milton took offense and made it the occasion for an autobiographical passage (below, pp. 883-93) in his *Apology against a Pamphlet*, which he wrote in answer to *Modest Confutation*. Yet we must observe that Milton himself began this particular name-calling, from which aspersions he later felt it necessary to defend himself.

¹ Milton takes the figure of the "overflowing" in the medical sense in which it was doubtless intended. His quip is here a turning of the tables: if the system of the Smectymnuans has been purged of bile by the "overflowing of gall," then they must also have been free of the rancor of which bile was the physiological symptom. Milton ignores the inference of defecation in Hall's word "descended," but he here, as at the beginning of the next two sections, takes exception to the Remonstrant's use of words. Cf. pp. 686, n. 41, 692, n. 2, 697, n. 1. Finally, when he reaches Hall's "Postscript," in which Milton seems to have considered the attack a personal one, he becomes fierce.

² (M) *Sect. 2* (This refers to Section 2 of Hall's *Defence*, which in its turn follows the section divisions of *An Answer*.)

Ans. The overflow being past, you cannot now in your owne judgement impute any bitternesse to their following discourses.

Remon. D. Hall whom you name, I dare say for honors sake.³

Ans. Y'are a merry man Sir, and dare say much.

Remonst. And why should I not speake of Martyrs, as the Authors and users of this holy *Liturgie*?

Answ. As the Authors? the Translators you might perhaps have said, for *Edward* the Sixt, as *Hayward* hath written ⁴ in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a K. that the order of the Service, and the use thereof in the English Tongue is no other then the old Service was, and the same words in English which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English; these are his words: whereby we are left uncertaine who the Author was, but certaine that part of the work was esteem'd so absurd by the Translators thereof, as was to be asham'd of in English. O but the Martyrs were the refiners of it, for that only is left you to say. Admit they were, they could not refine a Scorpion into a Fish, though they had drawn it, and rinc't it with never so cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at variance among themselves about the use either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonst. Slight you them as you please, we blesse God for such Patrons of our good cause.

Answ. O *Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro.*⁵ Are not these they which one of your Bishops in print scornfully termes the *Foxian* Confessors? ⁶ Are not these they whose Acts and Monuments ⁷ are not onely so contemptible, but so hatefull to the

³ (M) P. 9.

⁴ "As for the order of service and use thereof in the English tongue, which you esteeme new it is no other then the old, that same words in English which were in Latine, except a few things omitted so fond, that it had bin a shame to have heard them in English." *Hayward, Edward the Sixt* (1630), p. 58.

⁵ Milton has for his own purposes altered the text of Ovid, which reads. "Qui color albus erat nunc est contrarius albo." *Metamorphoses*, II, 541. Ovid tells how the raven was once upon a time white but was turned black for talking too much. Milton's inference is that Hall has talked too much in his effort to change the blackness of Roman practices to white.

⁶ We are unable to identify the book here cited by Milton.

⁷ The opposition of the Church of England to the *Acts and Monuments* had been attested by archbishop Laud, who refused to issue a license for a new edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, July, 1637 (*Rushworth*, II, 450), but at his trial, May 27, 1644, he declared that he had no intention of prohibiting republication

Prelates, that their Story was almost come to be a prohibited *book*, which for these two or three Editions hath crept into the world by stealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the Bishops, as ma-[14]ny honest men that had to doe in setting forth the *Book* will justifie. And now at a dead lift for your *Liturgie* you blesse God for them: out upon such hypocrisie.

Remonst. As if wee were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every Bishop.⁸

Answ. Your faction then belike is a subtile *Jamus*, and has two faces: your bolder face to set forward any innovations or scandalls in the Church, your cautious, and wary face to disavow them if they succeed not, that so the fault may not light upon the function, lest it should spoil the whole plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound; wherefore els did you not long agoe, as a good Bishop should have done, disclaim, and protest against them. Wherefore have you sate still, and comply'd and hoodwinkt, till the generall complaints of the Land have squeez'd you to a wretched, cold and hollow-hearted confession of some Prelaticall riots both in this and other places of your *Booke*. Nay what if you still defend them as followes?

Remonst. If a Bishop have said that our *Liturgie* hath bin so wisely and charitably fram'd as that the devotion of it yeeldeth no cause of offence to a very *Popes* eare.

Ans. O new and never-heard of Supererogative height of wisdom and charity in our *Liturgie*! is the wisdom of God or the charitable framing of Gods word otherwise inoffensive to the *Popes* eare, then as hee may turne it to the working of his misterious iniquitie? A little pulley would have stretch't your wise and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the devotion of it might have yeelded no cause of offence to the very devils eare, and that had beene the same wisdom and charity surmounting to the highest degree. For *Anti-*

of Foxe; rather he insisted that it must be reprinted if this were done without abridgment or alteration (Laud, Works [1847-60], IV, 226, 265-66). Cf Antony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss (4 vols., London, 1813), I, 534, n. 6. The Puritans themselves seem not to have been above censoring a part of Foxe; see *Notes and Queries*, First Series, VI (September 25, 1852), 290. On the other hand, such a devoted deacon of the Church of England as Nicholas Ferrar esteemed the *Book of Martyrs* worthy to be read at Little Gidding on Sunday evenings, first a chapter from the Bible, then a story from Foxe. *Notes and Queries*, Second Series, VIII (December 10, 1859), 473-474.

⁸ (M) P. 10.

christ wee know is but the Devils Vicar, and therefore please him with your *Liturgie*, and you please his maister.

Remon. Would you thinke it requisite that wee should chide and quarrell when we speake to the God of peace? [15]

Answ. Fie no Sir; but forecast our prayers so that Sathan and his instruments may take as little exception against them as may be, lest they should chide and quarrell with us.

Remon. It is no little advantage to our cause, and piety, that our Liturgy is taught to speak severall languages for use and example.

Answ. The language of *Ashdod*⁹ is one of them, and that makes so many English-men have such a smattering of their *Philistian* Mother. And indeed our *Liturgie* hath run up and downe the world like an English gallopping Nun, proffering her selfe, but wee heare of none yet that bids money for her.

Remonst. As for that sharp censure of learned Mr. *Calvin*,¹⁰ it might well have beene forborne by him in *aliena Republica*.

Answ. Thus this untheologicall *Remonstrant*¹¹ would divide the individuall Catholicke Church into severall Republicks: know therefore that every worthy *Pastor* of the Church of *Christ* hath universall right to admonish over all the world within the Church; nor can that care be alien'd from him by any distance or distinction of nation, so long as in Christ all nations and languages are as one household.

Remonst. Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greatest Divines to meddle with his charge.¹²

Answ. It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle so maliciously, as many of them have done, though that patient and Christian City¹³ hath borne hitherto all their profane scoffes with silence.

Remonst. Our *Liturgie* past the judgement of no lesse reverent heads then his owne.

Answ. It brib'd their judgement with worldly ingagements and so past it.

⁹ One of the five chief Philistian cities. Milton could not foresee the spread of the Anglican communion to all parts of the world. Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 29, for his faith that England had been chosen to lead the Reformation.

¹⁰ This is a reference to *An Answer* (1641), p. 6.

¹¹ Milton here objects to Hall's making the question of the liturgy a national and local one. Milton implies that if Calvin had a reasonable theological criticism to make, that criticism must apply to all branches of God's church in all lands.

¹² (M) P 11.

¹³ London.

Remonst. As for that unparallel'd discourse ¹⁴ concerning the antiquity of *Liturgies*; I cannot help your wonder, but shall justifie mine owne assertion. [16]

Ans. Your justification is but a miserable shifting off those testimonies of the ancientest Fathers alledg'd against you, and the authority of some Synodal Canons, which are no warrant to us. Wee professe to decide our controversies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repress your vain glory, there will be voluntarily bestow'd upon you a sufficient conviction of your novelties out of succeeding antiquity.

Remon. I cannot see how you will avoid your owne contradiction, for I demand is this order of praying and administration set, or no, if it be not set, how is it an order, and if it be a set order both for matter, and form.¹⁵

Ans. Remove that form, lest you tumble over it, while you make such hast to clap a contradiction upon others.

Remon. If the formes were meerly Arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an order?

Ans. Nothing will cure this mans understanding, but some familiar, and Kitchin phisick; ¹⁶ which with pardon must for plainnes sake be

¹⁴ Hall takes the word "unparallel'd" from *An Answer* (1641), p. 6, and also another phrase, which Milton does not repeat in this abbreviated quotation from Hall, "ever drew the line of liturgy so high" The passage refers to the fact that the Smectymnuans had cited Tertullian and others as authorities on their side. Hall in turn had agreed with Tertullian and claimed that Tertullian's point was similar to his own. Milton, faced with the necessity of resolving an argument which he has not advanced, returns to his basic argument concerning the inadequacy of authority other than scripture. Without reopening the question of the correct interpretation of the fathers whom the Smectymnuans had cited, Milton accuses Hall of "shifting off those testimonies of the ancientest Fathers alledg'd you." The meaning of the passage is puzzling, as the passage relates directly to the argument which Milton cites from the *Remonstrance*, for Milton does not take up this specific argument, either here or elsewhere. The failure might be construed as a tacit admission of Hall's point, or perhaps as the result of forgetfulness or haste. Milton's general argument in this passage is, however, completely consistent with the argument upon which he bases this pamphlet and, indeed, all his other writing, that is, the argument that man must seek God's way by using human reason and the Scriptures.

¹⁵ (M) P. 12.

¹⁶ That is, Milton takes a familiar or "Kitchin" example to illustrate his point. The words "cure" and "phisick" seem to refer to Hall's phrase "prescription" Milton's argument is that the general requirement that the human body be fed does not prescribe a rigid and unvaried routine of diet similarly the Biblical exhortation to prayer does not prescribe a set form or particular words.

administer'd to him. Call hither your Cook. The order of Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper, answer me, is it set or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to potcht eggs, and vinnegar, or at noon to Brawn, or Beefe, or at night to fresh Sammon, and French Kickshoes? ¹⁷ may he not make his meales in order, though he be not bound to this, or that viand? doubtlesse the neat finger'd Artist ¹⁸ will answer yes, and help us out of this great controversy without more trouble. Can we not understand an order in Church assemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and administring, unlesse our praiers be still the same Crambe of words?

Remonst. What a poore exception is this, that Liturgies were compos'd by some particular men?

Ans. It is a greater presumption in any particular [17] men to arrogate to themselves that which God universally gives to all his Ministers. A Minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and fescu'd ¹⁹ to a formal injunction of his rote-lesson, should as little be trusted to Preach, besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediatly againe, for there is a large difference in the repetition of some patheticall ejaculation rays'd out of the suddain earnestnesse and vigour of the inflam'd soul, (such as was that of *Christ* in the Garden) from the continual rehearsal of our dayly orisons, which if a man shall kneel down in a morning and say over, and presently in an other part of the Room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish Battologie ²⁰ of multiplying words which *Christ* himselfe that has the putting up of our Praiers told us would not be acceptable in heaven. Well may men of eminent guifts set forth as many forms, and helps to praier as they please, but to impose them upon Ministers lawfully call'd, and sufficiently tri'd, as all ought to be, ere they be admitted, is a supercilious tyranny impropriating the Spirit of God to themselves.

Remon. Doe we abridge this liberty by ordaining a publick form.²¹

¹⁷ Kickshaws: "something dainty or elegant but unsubstantial." *NED*.

¹⁸ Cf. "neat-handed Phillis," "L'Allegro," l. 86. Here, as used with the word "Artist," "neat" seems to mean "deft" and the phrase "expert dissimulator." *NED*.

¹⁹ A "fescue" is a small pointer used in teaching children their letters; hence "fescued" means to direct in reading with a fescue. *NED*.

²⁰ "A needless and tiresome repetition in speaking or writing" *NED*.

²¹ (M) P. 13.

Ans. Your Bishops have set as fair to doe it as they durst for that old Pharisaicall fear that still dogs them, the fear of the people, though you will say you were none of those,²² still you would seem not to have joyn'd with the worst, and yet keep alooff off from that which is best. I would you would either mingle, or part, most true it is what *Savanarola* complaines, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme the Church, his greatest enemies were still these Lukewarm ones?

Remon. And if the Lords Praier be an ordinary, and stinted form, why not others? [18]

Ans. Because there bee no other Lords that can stint with like authority.

Remon. If *Justine Martyr* ²³ said that the instructor of the people prai'd (as they falsly turn it) according to his ability.²⁴

Ans. ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ²⁵ will be so render'd to the worlds end by those that are not to learne Greek of the *Remonstrant*, and so *Langus* ²⁶ renders it to his face, if he could see, and this ancient Father mentions no antiphonies, or responsories of the people heer, but the only plain acclamation of Amen.

Remon. The instructor of the people prai'd according to his ability 'tis true, so do ours, and yet wee have a Liturgy, and so had they.²⁷

Ans. A quick come off. The ancients us'd Pikes, and Targets, and therefore Guns, and great Ordnance, because wee use both.

Remonst. Neither is this liberty of powring out our selves in our praiers ever the more impeach't by a publique form.

²² Hall's middle-of-the-road position was well known, and probably Milton (like the extreme Laudians) was disgusted with any man who tried to defend the *via media*.

²³ Justin Martyr (100–165 A.D., above, pp. 397, 551) was born a pagan and educated as a Platonic philosopher. He became a Christian and thereafter defended the new religion against its enemies. *First Apology*, to which the Smectymnuans, Hall, and Milton all refer, was perhaps his most important work.

²⁴ (M) P. 14.

²⁵ See Justin Martyr, *Opera*, tr. Iohannes Langus (Paris, 1615), p. 98. Langus' Latin translation of the phrase (p. 98) is "quantum pro virile sua potest," or "as much as he can in accordance with his ability." For the reference to "Amen," see p. 97. The work known later as Justin's *First Apology* is printed in Langus as the *Second Apology*.

²⁶ Johann Lange (1503–1567) translated into Latin the *Works of Justin Martyr* (Basle, 1565). See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1883), XVII, 638–39.

²⁷ Milton as a historian seems to doubt the validity of Hall's unsubstantiated "so had they."

Answ. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious number of Liturgicall tautologies, and impertinencies.

Remon. The words of the Counsell are full and affirmative.²⁸

Ans. Set the grave counsels²⁹ up upon their shelvs again, and string them hard, lest their various, and jangling opinions put their leavs into a flutter. I shall not intend this hot season³⁰ to bid you the base³¹ through the wide, and dusty champaine of the Councils, but shall take council of that which counsel'd them, reason: and although I know there is an obsolet reprehension now at your tongues end, yet I shall be bold to say that reason is the gift of God in one man, as well

²⁸ (M) P. 16.

²⁹ Milton here insists that he bases his argument on reason rather than on human authority, that is, "reason now illustrated by the word of God" or reason in the light of Holy Scripture. The Modest Confuter accuses Milton of disregarding antiquity when he advises setting the councils up upon their shelves again, and he states (p. 34) that Episcopacy "cannot be upheld but by well-grounded reason, and diligently searched antiquity (the Scripture in this, as in a lesse material point, being lesse clear) yet it may be beaten down both by the clubs of the base rabble, and the rude fist of your false Logick. For what is all your confutation of that holy Order, but insinuatve and cheating inconsequences, or spitefull and malicious rayling; as if you intended so only to triumph over the cause, (as lately ye did over the person of a Prelate) by throwing dirt in his face." Milton here as elsewhere begins with a minor point (the degree of authority which it is proper to place in the councils) and proceeds to state his general conception of the means by which truth is to be known. Human authority, Milton argues, except as it conforms to reason and scripture, is of no independent account, whatever the value of human insight, individual or collective, may be in interpreting scripture or the book of nature. The prescription of specific services or doctrines is to be decried, according to Milton's argument, because such attempts at insuring rectitude fail to employ that instrument which God has given man that man may know the truth, the instrument of reason. Only an educated clergy, widely read and often tried, can approach truth or lead other men to it. This argument transcends the narrow consideration of the propriety of referring to church councils and implies the theory of individual responsibility "to know and choose." Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 17. The argument of the Remonstrant is not dissimilar to the one which Milton advances, that is, the Remonstrant accuses the Puritans of failing to make use of the proper means for ascertaining truth and of pursuing with pride their own arguments. Both the Remonstrant and Milton are concerned with the proper means under God of ascertaining truth: this was the issue upon which the religious controversy was joined. Both Milton and the Remonstrant agreed with Bacon that the knowledge of truth is the presence of it and that the fruits and words of a man are a proper index of that man's profession of truth. Cf. above, p. 664, n. 2.

³⁰ Milton was probably writing in July, 1641. Masson, II, 257, n. 1. We might add that the dog days carry with them the implication of madness.

³¹ Challenge a player to leave "base" or "home" and to come into the field for a race. *NED*. Cf. Spenser, "Shepherd's Calendar," October Eclogue, l. 5; Shakespeare, "Venus and Adonis," stanza 51.

as in a thousand; by that which wee have tasted already of their Cesterns,³² wee may finde that reason was the onely thing, and not any divine command that mov'd them to enjoyne set [19] forms of Liturgy. First lest any thing in generall might be missaid in their publick *Prayers* through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith: and next, lest the Arians, and Pelagians in particular should infect the people by their hymns, and formes of Praier. By the leave of these ancient Fathers, this was no solid prevention of spreading Hæresy to debarre the Ministers of God the use of their noblest talent, Praier in the Congregation, unlesse they had forbid the use of Sermons, and Lectures too, but such as were ready made to their hands as our Homelies, or else he that was heretically dispos'd, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his discours, as in his Praier or hymn. As insufficiently, and to say truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived Liturgies, lest any thing should be erroneously praid through ignorance, or want of care in the Ministers. For if they were carelesse, and ignorant in their Praiers, certainly they would be more carelesse in their Preaching, and yet more carelesse in watching over their Flock, and what prescription could reach to bound them in both these? What if reason now illustrated by the word of God, shall be able to produce a better prevention then these Councells have left us against heresie, ignorance or want of care in the Ministry, that such wisdome, and diligence be us'd in the education of those that would be Ministers, and such strict, and serious examination to be undergone ere their admission as Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*³³ sets down at large, and then they need not carry such an unworthy suspicion over the Preachers of Gods word, as to tutor their unsoundnesse with the Abcie³⁴ of a Liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a Mattin, and even song drench. And this may suffice after all your laborsome scrutinie of the Councels.

Remon. Our Saviour was pleas'd to make use in the celebration of his last and heavenly Banket both of the [20] fashions, and words which were usual in the Jewish Feasts.³⁵

Ans. What he pleas'd to make use of, does not justify what you please to force.

³² Cisterns.

³³ I and II Timothy.

³⁴ A primer *NED*.

³⁵ (M) *P.* 17.

Remonst. The set forms of Praier at the Mincha.³⁶

Answ. Wee will not buy your Rabbinical fumes, wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold tri'd in the fire.

Remon. In the Samaritan Chronicle.³⁷

Ans. As little doe wee esteem your Samaritan trumpery, of which people *Christ* himselfe testifies, *Yee worship you know not what.*³⁸

Remon. They had their severall Songs.³⁹

Ans. And so have wee our several Psalmes for severall occasions, without gramercy to your Liturgy.

Remon. Those forms which we have under the names of Saint *James* &c. though they have some intersertions which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxt for other then holy, and ancient.⁴⁰

Ans. Setting aside the odde coinage⁴¹ of your phrase, which no mintmaister of language would allow for sterling, that a thing should be taxt for no other then holy, and ancient, let it be suppos'd the substance of them may savour of something holy, or ancient, this is but the matter; the forme, and the end of the thing may yet render it either superstitious, fruitlesse, or impious, and so, worthy to be rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often the same materially, that cloath a chaste Matron, and yet ignominious for her to weare, the substance of the tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing lesse.⁴²

³⁶ One of the three daily prayers of the Jews. *Judisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1930), IV, 191.

³⁷ This manuscript of the Pentateuch was so called by Archbishop James Ussher, who owned it when Hall saw it (*A Defence*, 1641, pp. 17–18). *The Whole Works of the Most Rev James Ussher, D. D.*, ed. Charles R. Elrington (17 vols, Dublin, 1864), I, 89–92; VII, 604 ff.

³⁸ John 4 22.

³⁹ (M) P. 18.

⁴⁰ (M) P. 19.

⁴¹ Milton objects to Hall's use of language. He implies that bad language is an outward sign of bad thinking, even of error. Cf. above, p. 677, n. 1; below, pp. 692, n. 2; 697, n. 1. Hall was of course by this time famous as the "English Seneca." His friend, Dr. John Davenport, calls him (*The Christians Daily Walke* [1631], sig. A11): "that true Christian English *Seneca*"; Richard Whitlock refers to him (*Zootamia* [1654], sig. A1v) as "our English Divine *Seneca*"; and Thomas Fuller remarks (*History of the Worthies of England* [1662], "Leicestershire," p. 130) that he "was commonly called our *English Seneca*, for the pureness, plainness, and fulnesse of his style." For the first of these references I am indebted to Franklin B. Williams, Jr., and for the second to an article by Philip A. Smith (*PMLA*, LXIII [1948], 1203, n. 39). Cf. Aston, *Remonstrance* (1641), leaf 7 (McAlpin copy): "our English *Seneca*, Bishop Hall."

⁴² That is, nonetheless evil for being clothed in holy words.

Remon. In what sense we hold the Roman, a true Church is so clear'd that this iron is too hot for their fingers.

Ans. Have a care it be not the iron to sear your own conscience. [21]

Remonst. Ye need not doubt but that the alteration of the *Liturgie* will be considered by wiser heads then your owne.⁴³

Ans. We doubt it not because we know your head lookes to be one.

Remonst. Our *Liturgie* Symbolizeth⁴⁴ not with *Popish* Masse, neither as Masse nor as *Popish*.

Ans. A pretty slip-skin conveyance⁴⁵ to sift Masse into no Masse and *Popish* into not *Popish*; yet saving this passing fine sophisticall boulting hutch,⁴⁶ so long as she symbolizes in forme, and pranks her selfe in the weeds of *Popish* Masse, it may be justly fear'd shee provokes the jealousy of God, no otherwise then a wife affecting whorish attire kindles a disturbance in the eye of her discerning husband.

Remonst. If I finde gold in the Channell; shall I throw it away because it was ill laid?⁴⁷

Ans. You have forgot that gold hath been anathematiz'd for the idolatrous use, and to eat the good creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in Saint *Pauls* account⁴⁸ to have fellowship with Devils, and to partake of the Devils Table. And thus you throttle your selfe with your owne Similes.

Remonst. If the Devils confest the Son of God, shall I disclaime that truth?

Ans. You sifted⁴⁹ not so clean before, but you shuffle as foulely

⁴³ (M) *Pag.* 23.

⁴⁴ An accusation made first by Smectymnuus (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 12) and quoted verbatim with italics by Hall (*A Defence*, 1641, p. 24). Milton here paraphrases the statement. Cf. *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 32.

⁴⁵ This whole passage continues the figure of the Church of England dressing herself in the clothing of the Whore of Babylon. It is to be noted, however, that Milton still seems to regard her as "a wife affecting whorish attire" rather than as the abandoned prostitute Cf. pp. 664, n. 2; 670, n. 30.

⁴⁶ A sifter for grain or other materials. *NED*.

⁴⁷ (M) *Pag.* 24.

⁴⁸ Acts 15:29; Revelation 9:20.

⁴⁹ Cf. above, p. 686, n. 41. Hall would, of course, have agreed with Milton's answer Milton, however, is carrying on the same argument as on the preceding page, where he has insisted that though the "substance" of a thing "may savour of something holy, and ancient, this is but the matter." He continues. "The forme, and the end of the thing may yet render it either superstitious, fruitlesse, or impious, and so worthy to be rejected." Here again he agrees that the purpose of liturgy may be holy, yet he insists that the method and source of it is far otherwise; and he refuses to accept a liturgy as prescriptive simply because the religious sentiment which that liturgy professes is true religion. God's truth has been revealed; the

now: as if there were the like necessity of confessing Christ, and using the *Liturgie*: wee doe not disclaime that truth; because wee never beleev'd it for his testimonie, but wee may well reject a *Liturgie* which had no being that wee can know of, but from the corruptest times: if therefore the Devill should be given never so much to *Prayer*, I should not therfore cease from that duty, because I learn't it not from him; but if hee would commend to me a new *Pater noster*, though never so seeming holy, hee should excuse me the forme which [22] was his, but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I bee said to take it from him. 'Tis not the goodnesse of matter ⁵⁰ therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the *Liturgie*, that will beare it out, if the form, which is the essence of it, be fantastick, and superstitious, the end sinister, and the imposition violent.

Remonst. Had it beene composed ⁵¹ into this frame on purpose to bring Papists to our Churches.

Answ. To bring them to our Churches? alas what was that? unlesse they had beene first fitted by repentance, and right instruction. You'l say the word was there preach't which is the meanes of conversion; you should have given so much honour then to the word preach't, as to have left it to Gods working without the interloping of a Liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remon. The Project had been charitable and gracious.

Answ. It was Pharisaicall, and vain-glorious, a greedy desire to win Proselytes by conforming to them unlawfully, like the desire of *Tamar*,⁵² who to raise up seed to her Husband sate in the common

propriety of the form in which that truth should be expressed must be judged, not by the professed adherence of the form to truth, but rather by the historical practice (presumably of the primitive church) unsullied by man-made "superstition."

⁵⁰ Against this part of Milton's attack the Modest Confuter refers to Richard Hooker, who, writing against long prayers, had cited approvingly an example of short prayer: "The brethren in Ægypt (saith S. *Augustine*, Epist. 121.) are reported to have many prayers, but every [one] of them very short, as if they were dartes throwne out with a kinde of suddaine quicknesse, least that vigilant and erect attention of minde, which in prayer is very necessary, should be wasted or dled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long." *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, V, xxxiii (1611, p. 252).

⁵¹ Milton again paraphrases as above, p. 687, n 44 *A Defence* (1641), p. 24, reads (and italicizes its words quoted from *An Answer*, 1641, p. 12): "*It was composed, you say, into this frame, on purpose to bring Papists to our Churches.*" Milton does not indicate that Hall in his turn had taken these words from *An Answer*, a fact which is probably more likely to confuse a twentieth-century reader than one of Milton's and Hall's contemporaries.

⁵² Genesis 38.

road drest like a Curtezan, and he that came to her committed incest with her. This was that which made the old Christians Paganize, while by their scandalous and base conforming to heathenisme they did no more, when they had done thir utmost, but bring some Pagans to Christianize; for true Christians they neither were themselves, nor could make others such in this fashion.

Remonst. If there be found ought in *Liturgie* that may indanger a scandall, it is under carefull hands ⁵³ to remove it.⁵⁴

Answ. Such carefull hands as have showne themselves sooner bent to remove and expell the men from the scandals, then the Scandals from the men, and to lose a Soule rather then a sillable or a Surplice.

Remonst. It is idoliz'd ⁵⁵ they say in *England*, they mean at *Amsterdam*. [23]

Answ. Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in *England*.

Remonst. Multitudes of people ⁵⁶ they say distast it, more shame for those that have so mistaught them.

Answ. More shame for those that regard not the troubling of Gods Church with things by themselves confest to be indifferent, since true charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the Christian multitude which you affirme to be so mistaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaime never so long to the contrarie, that God hath now taught them to detest your *Liturgie* and

⁵³ In this sentence the Remonstrant is alluding to the Parliament then assembled, which was planning to consider questions of liturgy, but Milton turns the meaning against the bishops, which seems to distort Hall's sense. Milton may have been reminding his readers of Hall's appeals to Parliament for forcible assistance. Cf. Hall, "A Speech in Parliament," in *The Shaking of the Olive Tree. The Remaining Works of . . . Joseph Hall* (1660), pp. 426-27. "My Lords, if these men may with impunity, and freedom, thus bear down Ecclesiastical authority, it is to be feared they will not rest there, but will be ready to affront civil power too." Finally, after reminding the Lords of "*Jack Straws*, and *Cades*, and *Watt Tylers* of former-times," he begs the Lords "to give order for the speedy redressing of these horrible insolencies, and for stopping that deluge of libellous invectives, wherewith we are thus impetuously overflown."

⁵⁴ (M) *Pag.* 25.

⁵⁵ Milton here paraphrases as above, p. 688, n. 51. *A Defence* (1641, p. 25) reads (and italicizes the words quoted from *An Answer*, 1641, p. 12): "*It is Idoliz'd, they say, in England; they meane at Amsterdam.*" Milton does not indicate that Hall is here quoting from *An Answer*.

⁵⁶ Milton paraphrases a long sentence from *A Defence* (1641, pp. 25-26), but he preserves the sense. The words, "Multitudes of people . . . distaste," Hall quoted from *An Answer* (1641, p. 12).

Prelacie: God who hath promis'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their soules: hence is it that a man shall commonly find more savoury knowledge in one Lay-man, then in a dozen of Cathedrall *Prelates*, as we read in our Saviours time that the common people had a reverent esteeme of him, and held him a great prophet whilst the gowned *Rabbies*, the incomparable, and invincible Doctors were of opinion that hee was a friend of *Beelzebub*.

Remonst. If the multitude distast wholesome doctrine, shall we to humor them abandon it.⁵⁷

Ans. Yet againe? ⁵⁸ as if there were the like necessity of saving Doctrine, and arbitrary if not unlawfull, or inconvenient *Liturgie*: who would have thought a man could have thwackt together so many incongruous similitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patch'd Missall?

Remon. Why did not other Churches conforme to us, I may boldly say ours was, and is the more noble Church.

Ans. O *Laodicean*,⁵⁹ how vainly, and how carnally dost thou boast of noblenesse, and precedency! more Lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

Remonst. The second *quære* ⁶⁰ is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wisemen.⁶¹ [24]

Ans. Y'are but a bad Fencer, for you never make a proffer against another mans weaknesse; but you leave your owne side alwayes open: mark what followes.

Remonst. Brethren, can yee thinke that our reformers had any other intentions then all other the founders of *Liturgies*, the lest part of whose care was the help of the Ministers weaknesse.

⁵⁷ (M) *Pag.* 26.

⁵⁸ Milton is here urging the same argument on which we commented before (p. 687, n. 49). He is also insisting that Hall is defending Roman practices, an allegation which Hall was sure to deny, and with good reason, for he had long been known, both in England and on the continent, as a bitter and determined foe of papistry. See Hall, *Heaven upon Earth* ed Kirk (1948), p. 62.

⁵⁹ The Church of Laodicea was accused of being indifferent to religion (Revelation 3:15-16); hence the word here means "lukewarm."

⁶⁰ The Smectymnuans make two queries in *An Answer* (1641). first (p. 12), "Whether it be not fit to consider of the alteration of the present Liturgie"; second (p. 13), "Whether the first reformers of Religion did ever intend the use of a Liturgie further, then to be an help, in the want, or to the weaknesse of a Minister."

⁶¹ (M) *Pag.* 27.

Answer. Doe you not perceive the noose you have brought your selfe into whilst you were so briefe to taunt other men with weaknesse? ⁶² is it cleane out of your mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principall scope of those *Liturgie*-founders was to prevent either the malice or the weaknesse of the Ministers, their malice of infusing heresie in their formes of *Prayer*, their weaknesse, lest somthing might be composed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the faith: is it not now rather to bee wondred that such a weaknesse could fall from the pen of such a wise *Remonstrant* Man?

Remon. Their maine drift was the help of the peoples devotion that they knowing before the matter that should be sued for.

Answ. A sollicitous care, as if the people could be ignorant of the matter to be prayd for; seeing the heads of publique *Prayer* are either ever constant, or very frequently the same.

Remon. And the words wherwith it should be cloth'd, might be the more prepar'd, and bee so much the more intent, and lesse distracted.

Ans. As for the words, it is more to be fear'd lest the same continually should make them carelesse or sleepeie, then that varietie on the same knowne Subject should distract; variety (as both Musick and Rhethorick teacheth us) erects and rouses an Auditory, like the maisterfull running over many Cords and divisions; whereas if men should ever bee thumming the drone of one plaine [25] Song, it would bee a dull Opiat to the most wakefull attention.

Remonst. Tell me is this *Liturgie* good or evill? ⁶³

Ans. It is evill: repaire the *Acheloian* ⁶⁴ horne of your *Dilemma* how you can, against the next push.

Remon. If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be us'd.

Answ. We grant you, and we finde you have not your salve about you.

Remon. Were the imposition amisse, what is that to the people?

Answ. Not a little, because they beare an equall part with the *Priest* in many places, and have their cues and versets as well as he.

⁶² (M) P. 12.

⁶³ (M) P. 30.

⁶⁴ Achelous was the god of the river of that name in Greece. The river had many tributaries; Achelous could take many forms, among them that of a bull. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. William Smith (London, 1880), I, 8–9. Milton is here implying that Hall's dilemma presents many horns on all of which the Remonstrant is impaled.

Remon. The eares and hearts of our people looke for a settl'd *Liturgie*.⁶⁵

Ans. You deceive your selfe in their eares and hearts, they looke for no such matter.

Remonst. The like answer serves for *Homelies*,⁶⁶ surely were they enioyn'd to all, &c.

Answ. Let it serve for them that will bee ignorant, we know that *Hayward* their owne creature writes that for defect of *Preachers Homelies* were appointed to bee read in Churches, while *Edw.* 6. reigned.

Remonst. Away then with the Booke whilst it may be supply'd with a more profitable nonsense.⁶⁷

Answ. Away with it rather, because it will bee hardly supply'd with a more unprofitable non-science, then is in some passages of it to be seene.

SECT. 3.

Re. Thus their cavills concerning *Liturgie* are vanish't.¹

Answ. You wanted but *Hey-passe* to have made your transition like a mysticall man of *Sturbridge*.² But for all your sleight of hand

⁶⁵ (M) P. 31.

⁶⁶ Milton cites Hayward, *Edward the Sixt* (1630), p. 46: "And for defect of preachers, homilies were appointed to be publikey read in Churches." Milton here argues for a more numerous and better educated clergy, whereas Hall, who as a bishop has had to deal with the problem of securing young men to preach, knows the difficulties of supplying all parishes with first-rate preachers. Consequently Hall is glad to have the aid of these "homilies" to support the ministers whom he can supply.

⁶⁷ (M) P. 32.

¹ (M) P. 32.

² See above, p. 677, n. 1, p. 686, n. 41; and below, p. 697, n. 1. These notes comment upon the gibes at Hall's style with which Milton begins each of these sections. Both Hall (*Virgideciarum*, 1597-98) and Milton (*Apology against a Pamphlet*, below, p. 873, and *Church-Government*, below, p. 808) state explicitly their belief in the necessity for good style as, in Milton's phrase (below, p. 819), "eloquent and gracefull inticements to the love and practice of justice," and both Hall and Milton looked upon a good style as an outward manifestation of virtue and wisdom. The objection to bad style was therefore a serious objection and not mere carping. This time Hall's word "vanish't" reminded Milton of the jugglers at Sturbridge. A correspondent to *Notes and Queries* (Eleventh series, V, 503) has commented upon Milton's allusion: "*Haypasse*. An exclamation of jugglers commanding an article to move . . . hence a name for the command, and an appellation of a juggler." Milton's meaning seems to be: "If you had said 'Hey-passe' (presto, begone!), you would have made these cavils concerning liturgy vanish as

our just exceptions against *Liturgie* are not vanisht, they stare you still in the face.

Remonst. Certainly had I done so, I had beene no lesse [26] worthy to bee spit upon for my saucy uncharitableness, then they are now for their uncharitable falshood.

Answ. Wee see you are in choler,³ therefore till you coole a while wee turne us to the ingenious Reader. See how this *Remonstrant* would invest himselfe conditionally with all the rheume of the Towne, that hee might have sufficient to bespaul his Brethren.⁴ They are accus'd by him of uncharitable falshood, whereas their onely crime a juggler at Sturbridge makes the object with which he is playing tricks disappear. But your tricky argument does not dispose of our solid objections."

The same commentator points out that "mystical man" here means "a slight-of-hand performer, or juggler," a meaning not to be found in *NED*. Milton probably intended a pun, consistent with his argument against what he considered the superstition of Episcopal practices, upon the "mysteries" or rites of the church.

The author of the *Notes and Queries* comment describes Sturbridge.

Sturbridge, near Cambridge, used to be the scene of the largest and most important fair in England. It originated about 1417, and 'in the time of its glory was not only the greatest trade exchange of the country, but also the greatest gathering of drolls, rope-dancers, play actors, and sleight-of-hand men.

Milton's allusion in terms of a commercial fair which teems with all manner of pretence and "vain shows" is therefore an attack, by implication at least, upon the rapaciousness, hypocrisy, and superstition, as he believed, of Episcopacy.

³ Hall had said (*Humble Remonstrance*, 1640, p. 17): "Episcopall Government . . . is cried down abroad, by either weak, or factious persons." The Smectymnuans took this statement to mean that (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 14) "whatsoever hath been either spoken or written by any . . . is Taxed by him as no other than the unjust Clamors either of weake or factious persons." Hall utterly denied that his words were subject to this interpretation (*A Defence*, 1641, pp. 33-34): "*Abroad* (I say) in relation to both Houses, lest any malicious person should have traduced my words, as reflecting upon any free speech, made in either of them, against some of that calling." He continues: "Yea, if I could have been so abominably presumptuous as to inlarge my [*abroad*] to other Nations; yet I beseech you, readers, see how well this followes; Episcopall Government is with unjust clamours cryed downe abroad, by either weake or factious persons, therefore, whosoever speaks or writes against Episcopacy, is either weake or factious: Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty, or truth, left in you, cry God mercy for this egregious and palpable calumnie." Milton in his answer begins by saying that he will not reply to a man who is in choler and then proceeds in this paragraph and the next to attack Hall's logic. He calls for his authority Dr. George Downname, who taught logic at Cambridge during Hall's time there. See above, p. 672, n. 35. On the strength of his argument against Hall's logic, Milton accuses Hall either of being dishonest or of wanting "art." Here again both Hall and Milton seem ultimately to be concerned with the fruits (i.e., the charity which they demonstrate in their arguments) by which the truth of arguments must be judged. See above, p. 684, n. 29.

⁴ To bespatter with saliva. *NED*.

hath beene that they have too credulously thought him if not an over-logically, yet a well-meaning man; but now we find him either grossly deficient in his principles of *Logick*, or else purposely bent to delude the *Parliament* with equivocall Sophistry, scattering among his periods ambiguous words, whose interpretation he will afterwards dispencc according to his pleasure; laying before us universall propositions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for say *Remonstrant*.

Remon. Episcopall government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious persons.

Answ. Choose you whether you will have this proposition prov'd to you to be ridiculous, or sophisticall; for one of the two it must be. Step againe to Bishop *Downam* your Patron, and let him gently catechise you in the grounds of *Logick*, he will shew you that this axiom Episcopall Government is cry'd downe abroad by either weak or factious persons, is as much as to say, they that cry downe Episcopacy abroad are either weake or factious persons. He will tell you that this axiom containes a distribution, and that all such axioms are generall; and lastly that a distribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious. If therfore distributing by the adjuncts of faction, and weaknes the persons that decry *Episcopacy*, you made your distribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable Court, to whom you [27] wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honesty, and suffer in your want of Art, you cannot condemne them of uncharitable falsehood, that attributed to you more skill then you had, thinking you had beene able to have made a distribution, as it ought to be, generall, and full, and so any man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word (abroad) and so take againe either your manifest lesing,⁵ or manifest ignorance.

Remon. Now come these brotherly Slanderers.⁶

Answ. Goe on dissembling *Joab*,⁷ as still your use is, call brother and smite; call brother and smite, till it bee said of you, as the like was of *Herod*, a man had better be your hog then your Brother.⁸

⁵ Lying.

⁶ (M) *Pag.* 34.

⁷ Cf. II Samuel 3·22-27, 20.9-10

⁸ Macrobius, "Saturnaliorum," Lib. II, iv, in *Aur. Theodosii Macrobii V. C. et Illustris Opera* (Biponti, 1788), I, 341.

Remon. Which never came within the verge⁹ of my thoughts.

Answ. Take a Metaphor or two more as good, the Precinct, or the Diocese of your thoughts.

Remon. Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty or truth cry Godmercy.

Answ. *Remonstrant*, if you have no ground-worke of *Logick*, or plain-dealing in you, learne both as fast as you can.

Remon. Of the same straine is their witty descant of my confoundednes.¹⁰

Answ. Speak no more of it, it was a fatall word, that God put into your mouth when you began to speak for Episcopacy, as boding confusion to it.

Remon. I am still, and shall ever be thus selfe-confounded, as confidently to say that hee is no peaceable, and right affected Son of the Church of England that doth not wish well to *Liturgie*, and *Episcopacie*.¹¹

Answ. If this bee not that saucie uncharitablenesse, with which in the fore-going page you voluntarily invested your selfe with thought to have shifted it off, let the *Parliament* judge who now themselves are deliberating [28] whether *Liturgie*, and *Episcopacy* be to be well wish't to, or no.

Remonst. This they say they cannot but rank amongst my notorious—speake out Maisters, I would not have that word stick in your teeth or in your throat.

⁹ Hall here seems to use the word "verge" to mean the edge or outer boundary of his thoughts. Milton's pun on the term is probably threefold: (1) the symbol of the bishopric, the rod of authority and token of the power to compel, was the verge; (2) an area or diocese (here the area of Hall's thoughts) might be called a verge—another ecclesiastical use of the term; and (3) possibly an allusion to the title of Hall's early satire *Virgidemiarum* (1597–98), derived from the Latin *virga*, a cognate of "verge" in which Hall signified "little sticks" to castigate folly, may have been intended. The meaning of the pun is obvious; and, like all other puns, this one on "verge" takes a word in more than one context—not in the context which Hall had intended, of course. Milton's implied argument is, however, entirely consistent with his objection to the Episcopal reliance upon authority and power rather than upon reason.

¹⁰ In *A Defence* (1641), p. 34, Hall has italicized the word "confoundedness" because he has taken it from *An Answer* (1641), p. 15, where it is quoted from Hall, *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 17 (that is, sig. C3; paging is confused). In the margin of *A Defence* Hall quoted (probably from memory) from Juvenal: "*Quanquam descensu veteris confusus amici*." Juvenal, III, 1, reads: "*Quamvis digressu, etc.*"

¹¹ (M) Pag 35.

Answ. Take your spectacles Sir, it sticks in the paper, and was a pectorall Roule ¹² wee prepar'd for you to swallow downe to your heart.

Remonst. Wanton wits must have leave to play with their owne sterne.¹³

Answ. A Meditation ¹⁴ of yours doubtlesse observ'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepiscopall Kittens*.

Remonst. As for that forme of Episcopall Government,¹⁵ surely could those looke with my eyes, they would see cause to be ashamed of this their injurious misconceit.¹⁶

Answ. We must call the Barber for this wise sentence: one Mr. *Ley* ¹⁷ the other day writ a Treatise of the *Sabbath*, and in his *Preface* puts the wisdom of *Balaams* Ass upon one of our *Bishops*, bold man for his labour; but we shall have more respect to our *Remonstrant*, and liken him to the Asses Maister, though the Story say hee was not so quick-sighted as his Beast. Is not this *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, the man whose eyes are open, that said to the *Parliament* surely could those looke with my eyes; boast not of your eyes, 'tis fear'd you

¹² A roll of medicine. *NED*.

¹³ (M) *Pag.* 36.

¹⁴ *Modest Confutation* (1642), sig. A2v, notes that this is a reference to Hall, *Occasional Meditations* (1630).

¹⁵ (M) *Remonst.* p. 18.

¹⁶ Milton here goes back to *A Humble Remonstrance* (1640), pp 17–18, as he duly acknowledges in his margin. Milton here quotes the opening phrase and the concluding clause of the long sentence in which Hall has used the phrase “weak or factious persons.” See above, p. 693, n. 3. Hall’s sentence is: “As for that forme of Episcopall Government, which hath hitherto obtained in the Church of God, I confesse, I am confounded in my self, to heare with what unjust clamours, it is cried down abroad, by either weak, or factious persons; of either, or both which, I may well take up that word of our Saviour, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*: Surely, could those look with my eyes, they would see cause to be thoroughly ashamed of this their injurious misconceit.”

¹⁷ John Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath. Or a Preparative Discourse for Discussion of Sabbathary Doubts* (1641). Ley is styled on the title page, “Pastor of Great Budworth in Cheshire,” and his book is dedicated to James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. In the passage referred to by Milton, Ley takes Hall to task for uncharitably asking his reader (in *Episcopacie* [1640], Part I, p. 60): “Who can indure to heare the braying of this proud Schismaticke?” (The allusion is to Numbers 22·30) Although he does not directly “put the wisdom of Balaam’s ass upon” Hall, he does adroitly suggest it, and at the same time he denies the implication. Sigs. b2–b3.

have *Balaams* disease, a pearle in your eye,¹⁸ *Mammons* Præstriction.¹⁹

Remonst. Alas we could tell you of *China, Japan, Peru, Brasil, New England, Virginia*, and a thousand others that never had any *Bishops* to this day.²⁰

Answ. O do not foile your cause thus, and trouble *Ortelius*,²¹ we can help you, and tell you where they have bin ever since *Constantines* time at least, in a place call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, in the spacious, and rich Countries of *Crapulia, Pamphagonia, Yvronia*, and in the Dukedome of *Orgilia*, and *Variana* and their *Metropolis* of *Ucalego*-[29]nium. It was an oversight that none of your prime *Antiquaries* could think of these venerable Monuments to deduce *Episcopacy* by: knowing that *Mercurius Britanicus*²² had them forthcomming.

SECT. 4.

Remonst. Hitherto they have flourish't,¹ now I hope they will strike.

Ans. His former transition was in the faire about the Jugglers, now he is at the *Pageants* among the Whifflers.

Remonst. As if Arguments were *Almanacks*.²

¹⁸ "A thin white film or opacity growing over the eye. A kind of cataract." *NED*. The use of the term "pearle" with Mammon refers also, of course, to preoccupation with material things. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I, 679-84.

¹⁹ Cited as an example of the meaning "blindfolding, blinding." *NED*.

²⁰ (M) *Pag.* 37.

²¹ Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), one of the greatest geographers of his age.

²² Milton is here digging at Hall for his satirical imaginary commonwealth, *Mundus Alter et Idem* (1605?), which Hall wrote under the pseudonym of Mercurius Britannicus. (Tr. into English by John Healey as *The Discovery of a New World* [1609?] and ed. Huntington Brown [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937].) Hall's purpose in writing this book was humorous, but also moral. It must have been, however, precisely the kind of humor which was most distasteful to Milton.

¹ As at the beginning of Section 2, Milton had objected to Hall's use of the word "overflowing" and at the beginning of Section 3 had snapped Hall up on the word "vanish't," which reminded Milton of slight-of-hand performers at Sturbridge, so at this transition, where Hall uses the word "flourished," Milton thinks of jousting and at once reminds his readers of the pageants and the whifflers who keep the way clear for a procession. *NED*. The attack is again upon vain shows with which Milton charged his opponents. See above, pp. 677, n. 1; 686, n. 41; 692, n. 2.

² (M) *Pag.* 43.

Answ. You will find some such as will prognosticate your date, and tell you that after your long *Summer Solstice* the *Æquator* calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient, and equall house of *Libra*.³

Remon. Truly brethren you have not well taken the height of the *Pole*.

Answ. No marvell, there be many more that doe not take well the height of your pole; but will take better the declination of your altitude.

Remonst. Hee that said I am the way, said that the old way ⁴ was the good way.⁵

Ans. He bids ask of the old paths, or for the old wayes, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old wayes are not good; but that the good way is to be searcht with diligence among the old wayes, which is a thing that wee doe in the oldest Records wee have, the Gospell. And if others may chance to spend more time with you in canvassing later antiquity, I suppose it is not for that they ground themselves thereon; but that they endeavour by shewing the corruptions, incertainties, and disagreements of those Volumes, and the easines of erring, or overslipping in such a boundlesse and vast search, if they may not convince those that are so strongly perswaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous minds [30] from that over-awfull esteeme of those more ancient then trusty fathers whom custome and fond opinion, weake principles, and the neglect of sounder and superior knowledge hath exalted so high, as to have gain'd them a blind reverence: whose Books in bignes, and number so endlesse, and im-

³ "The seventh sign of the zodiac which the sun enters on the 23rd of September." *NED*. Since the day and night are of the same length at this season, the house of *Libra* is "equall." Milton's phrase "reduce you to the ancient, and equall house of *Libra*" has at least two levels of meaning: (1) Milton is of course predicting the waning of the Episcopal cause with the coming of winter; (2) the word "*libra*," a pair of scales, and the word "equal" both suggest the idea of justice, particularly in the Biblical phrase (Daniel 5:27) "weighed in the balances and art found wanting" as it applied to Babylon—the epithet applied to Roman Catholicism and, by the Puritans, to the Laudian party.

⁴ The first part of this sentence comes from John 14:6, but the rest is puzzling, for it does not appear in the New Testament. Jeremiah 6:16 reads: "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where *is* the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." The argument of ancient authority is of course related to the argument concerning Apostolic succession; and Milton's consistent effort in this argument is to attack any authority short of divine revelation which supersedes reason.

⁵ (M) *Pag.* 44.

mesurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine, or humane wisdom did ever meane should bee a rule or reliance to us in the decision of any weighty, and positive Doctrine. For certainly, every rule, and instrument of necessary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be so in proportion as may bee weilded and manag'd by the life of man without penning him up from the duties of humane society, and such a rule and instrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But hee that shall bind himselfe to make Antiquity his rule, if hee read but part, besides the difficulty of choyce, his rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may bee other Writers of another mind which hee hath not seene, and if hee undertake all, the length of mans life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why doe wee therefore stand worshipping, and admiring this unactive, and livelesse *Colossus*,⁶ that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children, and weaklings lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every Sparrow.⁷ If you let him rest upon his *Basis*, hee may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint workmanship of his massie limbs; but if yee goe about to take him in pieces, yee marre him;⁸ and if

⁶ The colossi to which Milton here alludes were of course statues which had celebrated pagan deities; and the giants were connected with English and Celtic fairy lore and with pageants and mummings, suitable for make-believe or to amaze children. It must be remembered that the pagan deities were accounted for as fallen angels whom Satan had sent to earth to subvert mankind from truth to superstition. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I, 364 ff. Milton's implication is clear: to worship the ancients merely because they are ancient is to worship a false god, to set another image before the living God and with much speaking to forget the deadness of the Baal-like statue (the enormous body of ancient writings) which superstitious man has created after the image of his imprisoning delusions. The image of the living God is rather to be found only, and of course imperfectly, in the human reason, the one God-like faculty which remained after the fall. Milton advocates therefore that man pursue truth—the knowledge, that is, of the means of salvation—by consulting the revealed word of God, the Scriptures, and by using his reason. Man, a rational creature in God's own image, has these two proper "instruments of necessary knowledge" (cf. *Areopagitica* [1644], p. 17): his own reason and God's revealed word.

⁷ Dropping of feces. *NED*.

⁸ Milton's argument is this: A superstitious elevation of the body of ancient writings to the godhead will not bear examination; whereas the truth, regardless of the manner in which it is shown, examined, or even divided into parts, may still be reassembled and even in its parts may be recognized as unmistakably a portion of the living truth. Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 29. "Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look

you thinke like *Pigmees* ⁹ to turne and wind him whole as hee is, besides your vaine toile and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your owne heads. Goe therefore, and use all your Art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows to heave and hale your mighty *Polyphem* of Antiquity to the delusion of Novices, [31] and unexperient Christians. Wee shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God which hee hath left us as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted, and proportion'd to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithfull man, whose every part consenting and making up the harmonious *Symmetry* of compleat instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God or *Bishop* thoroughly furnish't to all the good works of his charge: ¹⁰ and with this weapon, without stepping a foot further, wee shall not doubt to batter, and throw down your *Nebuchadnezzars* Image ¹¹ and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer threshing floores, as well the gold of those Apostolick Successors ¹² that you

on; . . . [deceivers] hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that *Isis* made for the mangl'd body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all . . . nor ever shall doe, till her Masters second coming; he shall bring together every joynt and member."

⁹ Milton combines with the reference to the colossi the pygmy-giant allusion which in one form or another may be traced without lacunae to the ancients. (*Cf.* Lucan, X, ii.) The usual form of the figure of speech is the familiar one which states the ability of the pygmy to see farther than the giant on whose shoulders he stands. Milton combines this allusion with the reference to the pagan statues (see above, p. 699, n. 6) and therefore implies that the pygmies, even by concerted effort and with all manner of ingenious tools, cannot so much as budge the dead weight of this mountainous superstitious idol (*Polyphem*), the body of ancient writings. It should be remembered that Milton here refers to the worship of the ancients as necessary authority, not the use of the ancients in disciplining and delighting the mind. This attitude toward the ancients and the terms in which Milton states it show him to have been at one with the thought of Bacon and the Royal Society on issues which were later to be treated in the Battle of the Ancients and Moderns. Milton, however, is nearer the Elizabethan beginnings of that controversy in his emphasis upon the use of reason as a means of interpreting the Bible and thereby arriving at a knowledge of the means of salvation than to seventeenth-century interest in experimental science as the proper office of reason.

¹⁰ (M) *Tim.* 2. 3. 16. 17.

¹¹ Daniel 2:31-35. Doubtless the specific example of false gods, reminiscent, of course, of the story of Elijah and Baal. See above, pp. 699-700, nn. 6, 9.

¹² Milton here continues the likening of the worship of the ancients, even the early church fathers, to superstitious idolatry (analogous to the worship of pagan deities). The "gold of the Apostolick Successors" was analogous to the pagan legend of the reign of Saturn (*cf.* Hesiod's treatment of the legend); the Con-

boast of, as your *Constantinian* silver, together with the iron, the brasse, and the clay of those muddy and strawy ages that follow.

Remon. Let the boldest forehead of them all deny that *Episcopacie* hath continued thus long in our Iland, or that any till this age contradicted it.¹³

Answ. That bold forehead you have cleanly put upon your selfe, 'tis you who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do so much: you have row'd your selfe fairly between the *Scylla* and *Charibdis* either of impudence, or nonsense, and now betake you to whether you please.

Remon. As for that supply of accessory strength which I not begg.

Answ. Your whole *Remonstrance* does nothing else but beg it and your fellow-*Prelates* do as good as whine to the *Parliamant* for their Flesh-pots of *Egypt*, making sad Orations at the Funerall of your deare *Prelacie*, like that doubtie Centurion *Africanus* in *Lucian*,¹⁴ who to imitate the noble *Pericles* in his *Epitaphian* speech, stepping up after the battell to bewaile the slaine *Severianus*, falls into a pittifull condolement, to think of those costly suppers, and drinking banquets, which he must now taste of [32] no more; and by then he had done, lack't but little to lament the deare-loved memory, and calamitous losse of his Capon, and whitebroth.

Remon. But raise, and evince from the light of Nature, and rules of just policie, for the continuance of those things which long use and many lawes have firmly establish't as necessary and beneficiall.

stantinian silver age was analogous to the silver age of voluptuousness under Jupiter; and the brass, clay, and straw were reserved, by implication at least, for Milton's Episcopal adversaries. Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 533): "And heere-withall I invoke the *Immortall* DEITIE Reveler and Judge of Secrets, That wher-ever I have in this BOOKE plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Christian *Emperors*; or have otherwise inveighed against Error and Superstition with vehement Expressions: I have done it, neither out of malice, nor list to speak evill, nor any vaine-glory; but of meere necessity, to vindicate the spotlesse *Truth* from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteeme, that shee is like to finde small credit with us for what she can say, unlesse shee can bring a Ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove her selfe a retainer to *Constantine*, and weare his badge. More tolerable it were for the Church of God that all these Names were utterly abolisht, like the *Brazen Serpent*; then that mens fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the Heavenly *Truth* be thus captivated."

¹³ (M) Pag. 45.

¹⁴ "The Way to Write History," *Works of Lucian of Samasota*, tr. Henry W. and Francis G. Fowler (4 vols., Oxford, 1905), II, 122.

Answ. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better guide then Nature. Look upon the meane condition of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, without that accessory strength you take such paines to raise from the light of Nature, and Policie: take Divine Counsell, *Labour not* ¹⁵ *for the things that perish*; you would be the salt of the earth,¹⁶ if that savour be not found in you, doe not thinke much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot. Hark how *S. Paul* writing to *Timothy* ¹⁷ informs a true *Bishop*. *Bishops* (saith he) *must not be greedy of filthy lucre, and having food and rayment, let us bee therewith content: but they* (saith hee, meaning more especially in that place *Bishops*) *that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish, and hurtfull lusts, which drowne men in destruction, and perdition: for the love of money is the root of all evill, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith.* How can wee therefore expect sound Doctrine, and the solution of this our controversie from any covetous, and honour-hunting *Bishop* that shall plead so stiffly for these things, while *St. Paul* thus exhorts, every *Bishop*: *But thou O man of God* ¹⁸ *flye these things.* As for the just policie, that long use and custome, and those many Lawes which you say have conferr'd these benefits upon you, it hath been nothing else but the superstitious devotion of *Princes* and great men that knew no better, or the base importunity of begging *Friers*, haunting and harassing the deathbeds of men departing this life in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven [33] for the building of *Churches*, *Cloysters*, and *Covents*. The most of your vaunted possessions, and those proud endowments that yee as sinfully wast, what are they but the black revennues of *Purgatorie*, the price of abused, and murder'd soules, the damned *Simony* of *Trentals*,¹⁹ and *Indulgences* to mortall Sin: how can ye choose but inherit the curse that goes along with such a Patrimony. Alas! if there be any releasement, any mitigation, or more tollerable being for the soules of our misguided Ancestors, could wee imagine there might be any recovery to some degree of ease left for as many of them as are lost; there cannot bee a better way then to take the misbestowed wealth which they were

¹⁵ John 6:27. This seems to have been quoted from memory, for all versions read. "Labour not for the meat which perisheth."

¹⁶ Matthew 5:13.

¹⁷ I Timothy 3:3.

¹⁸ I Timothy 6:11.

¹⁹ Bribery by means of paying for a series of thirty masses.

cheated of, from these our *Prelates*, who are the true Successors of those that popt them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their finall undoing: and to bestow their beneficent gifts upon places and meanes of Christian education; and the faithfull labourers in Gods harvest, that may incessantly warn the posterity of *Dives* ²⁰ lest they come where their miserable forefather was sent by the cousenage and misleading of avaritious and worldly *Prelates*.

Remon. It will stand long enough against the battry of their paper-pellets.

Ans. That must be try'd without a square cap in the Counsell, and if pellets will not doe, your owne Canons shall be turn'd against you.

Remonstr. They cannot name any man in this Nation that ever contradicted *Episcopacie*, till this present Age.

Answer. What an over-worne and bedrid Argument is this, the last refuge ever of old falshood, and therefore a good signe I trust that your Castle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of *Judaisme*, and Idolatry against *Christ* and his *Apostles*, of *Papacie* against Reformation: [34] and perhaps to the frailty of flesh and blood in a man destitute of better enlight'ning, may for some while bee pardonable; for what has fleshly apprehension other to subsist by then Succession, Custome, and Visibilty, which onely hold if in his weaknesse and blindnesse he be loath to lose, who can blame? but in a *Protestant* Nation that should have throwne off these tatter'd Rudiments long agoe, after the many strivings of Gods Spirit, and our fourscore yeares vexation of him in this our wilderness since Reformation began, to urge these rotten Principles, and twit us with the present age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifestly come downe among us, to doe some remarkable good to our Church or state, is as if a man should taxe the renovating and re-ingendring Spirit of God with innovation, and that new creature for an upstart noveltie; yea the new Jerusalem, which without your admired linke of succession descends from Heaven, could not scape some such like censure. If you require a further answer, it will not misbecome a Christian to bee either more magnanimous, or more devout then *Scipio* was, who in stead of other answer to the frivolous accusations of *Petilius* the *Tribune*; *This day Romans* ²¹ (saith he) *I fought with Hanibal prosperously; let us all*

²⁰ Cf. Luke 16:19-31.

²¹ *Livy*, tr. Evan T. Sage (Loeb Classical Library), XI, 212.

goe and thank the gods that gave us so great a victory: in like manner will we now say, not caring otherwise to answer this un-Protestant-like Objection: in this Age,²² *Brittains* God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred yeers of *Popish* corruption; in this Age hee hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of *Prelats*, and *Papall* Discipline; in this age he hath renewed our *Protestation* against all those yet remaining dregs of superstition: Let us all goe every true protested *Brittaine* thoughtout the 3. *Kingdoms*, and render thanks to God the Father of light, and fountaine of heavenly grace, and to his son CHRIST our Lord; leaving this *Remonstrant* and his adherents to their owne [35] designes, and let us recount even here without delay the patience and long suffering that God hath us'd towards our blindness and hardnes time after time. For he being equally neere to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free power to turne his benefick and fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdome he pleases, hath yet ever had this Iland under the speciall indulgent eye of his providence; and pittying us the first of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purifie and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous pollutions, sent first to us a healing messenger to touch softly our sores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knockt once and twice and came againe, opening our drousie eye-lids leasurely by that glimmering light which *Wicklef*, and his followers dispers't, and still taking off by degrees the inveterat scales from our nigh perisht sight, purg'd also our deaf eares, and prepar'd them to attend his second warning trumpet in our Grandsires dayes. How else could they have been able to have receiv'd the sudden assault of his reforming Spirit warring against humane Principles, and carnall sense, the pride of flesh that still cry'd up Antiquity, Custome, Canons, Councels and Lawes, and

²² This long passage the author of *Modest Confutation* termed (1642, p. 22) "a long, tedious, theatricall, big-mouthed, astounding Prayer." We who live three centuries later undoubtedly feel through the whole passage the vibrant quality of some of Milton's finest prose. The high patriotism, which was not narrowly nationalistic in spite of its pride in England as a guide to other peoples but rather universal in its insistence upon reason, virtue, and intellect as the worthy objects of man and of man's society and the only means of knowledge or of judgment available to humanity, was later to find expression in *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 31) and as it had in *Of Reformation* (above, p. 566). Within two years disillusionment with this ideal would lead Milton to write the bitter sonnet ending "*New Presbyter* is but *Old Priest* wrt Large," but this sonnet in itself is a demonstration of the universality of Milton's patriotism: that is, Milton condemned the cause which he had espoused when that cause failed to achieve justice and reason.

cry'd down the truth for noveltie, schisme, profanenesse and Sacrilege: when as we that have liv'd so long in abundant light, besides the sunny reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with those old opinions, and so obstructed and benumm'd with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our forefathers soone melted and gave way, against the morning beam of *Reformation*. If God hath left undone this whole worke so contrary to flesh and blood, till these times, how should wee have yeilded to his heavenly call, had we beene taken, as they were, in the starknes of our ignorance, that yet after all these spirituall preparatives, and purgations have our earthly apprehensions so clamm'd, [36] and furr'd with the old levin.²³ O if we freeze at noone after their earely thaw, let us feare lest the Sunne for ever hide himselfe, and turne his orient steps from our ingratefull Horizon justly condemn'd to be eternally benighted. Which dreadfull judgement O thou the ever-begotten light, and perfect Image of the Father, intercede may never come upon us, as we trust thou hast; for thou hast open'd our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppressions; thou hast done justice upon those that tyranniz'd over us, while some men waver'd, and admir'd a vaine shadow of wisdom in a tongue nothing slow to utter guile, though thou hast taught us to admire onely that which is good, and to count that onely praise-worthy which is groundd upon thy divine Precepts. Thou hast discover'd the plots, and frustrated the hopes of all the wicked in the Land; and put to shame the persecutors of thy Church; thou hast made our false *Prophets* to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chac'd them with sudden confusion and amazement before the redoubled brightnesse of thy descending cloud that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walke through

²³ This entire phrase refers to the Biblical images based upon the baking of bread and the ceremonies of the Passover. Christ (Luke 12:1) warned against "the leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy," and St. Paul (I Corinthians 5:7-8) used the Passover rite as a symbol of Christ's fulfilling of prophecy: "Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened, For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us: Therefore let us keep the feast not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." *NED* cites other similar uses of the word "clammed" with "dough" to mean "sticky" or "clogged"; and the word "furr'd" is here used in the sense of "covered or coated with morbid matter." *NED*. Milton therefore implies that his opponent is hypocritical and that he has ignored the coming of Christ in favor of pre-Christian superstition.

the midst of thy Sanctuary, amidst those golden *candlesticks*, which have long suffer'd a dimnesse amongst us through the violence of those that had seiz'd them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold then of their starry light; teaching the doctrine of *Balaam* ²⁴ to cast a stumbling-block before thy servants, commanding them to eat things sacrific'd to Idols, and forcing them to fornication. Come therefore O thou that hast the seven starres in thy right hand,²⁵ appoint thy chosen *Preists* according to their Orders, and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duely to dresse and powre out the consecrated oyle into thy holy and ever-burning lamps; thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer [37] upon thy servants over all the Land to this effect, and stirr'd up their vowes as the sound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can say that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the Heavens, and hadst left to doe marvelously among the sons of these last Ages. O perfect, and accomplish thy glorious acts; for men may leave their works unfinisht, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection; shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from *Egypt* to destroy us in this Wildernesse though wee deserve; yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoycing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settl'd peace in the Church, and righteous judgement in the Kingdome, then shall all thy Saints addresse their voyces of joy, and triumph to thee, standing on the shoare of that red Sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnish't present as a thanke-offering to thee, which could not bee deferr'd in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a Harp, and sing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it shall no more bee said as in scorne, this or that was never held so till this present Age, when men have better learnt that the times and seasons passe along under thy feet, to goe and come at thy bidding, and as thou didst dignifie our fathers dayes with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, since thou tookst the flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy spirit as thou pleasest; for who shall

²⁴ Revelation 2:14.

²⁵ Revelation 1:16.

prejudice thy all-governing will? seeing the power of thy grace is not past away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy Kingdome is now at hand, and thou standing at the dore. [38] Come forth out of thy Royall Chambers, O Prince of all the Kings of the earth, put on the visible roabes of thy imperiall Majesty, take up that unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father hath bequeath'd thee; for now the voice of thy Bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to bee renew'd.

SECT. 5.

Remon. Neglect not the gift which was given thee by *Prophecie*, and by laying on the hands of *Presbytery*.¹

Answ. The English Translation expresses the Article (*the*) and renders it the *Presbytery* which you doe injury to omitt.²

Remonst. Which I wonder yee can so presse, when *Calvin* ³ himself takes it of the Office, and not of the Men.

Ans. You think then you are fairly quit of this prooffe, because *Calvin* interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with *Calvins* name, unlesse we be convinc't with *Calvins* reason; the word *πρεσβυτέριον* ⁴ is a collective Nowne signifying a certain number of men in one order, as the word privy Councell with us, and so *Beza* ⁵ interprets, that knew *Calvins* mind doubtlesse with whom he liv'd. If any among us should say the privy Counsell ordain'd it, and thereby constraine us to understand one mans authoritie, should we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have us'd all your cramping irons to the Text, and done your utmost to cramme a *Presbyterie* into the skin of one person, 'twill be but a piece of frugall nonsense. But if your meaning

¹ I Timothy 4:14 Milton complains that Hall has omitted the article "the" from the phrase, "Of the Presbytery." Although the article is used in the King James Version, it is interesting to note that it was omitted in such translations as those of Cranmer and Rheims, which, however, translate the phrase "of priesthood."

² (M) *Pag.* 50.

³ See above, p. 680, n. 11.

⁴ Again Milton rejects authority, even though the authority be that of Calvin, whose theology he admired. He would not accept Calvin's name unless he were "convinc't with Calvin's reason," any more than he would accept the authority of the church councils, on which Hall based so much of his argument for Episcopacy. See above, p. 684, n. 29.

⁵ Theodore de Beza (1519–1605) was a celebrated Protestant who succeeded Calvin in his offices at Geneva. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, V, 896–900.

be with a violent and bold *Hyperbaton* ⁶ to transpose the Text, as if the Words lay thus in order, neglect not the gift of *Presbytery*; this were a construction like a *Harquebuze* shot over a File of words twelve deep without authority to bid them stoop, or to make the word *gift* like the River *Mole* in *Surrey* ⁷ to runne under the bottome of a long Line, and so start up to governe the word *Presbyterie*, as in immediate [39] *Syntaxis*, a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wives tale of a certaine Queene of *England* ⁸ that sunk at *Charing-crosse*, and rose up at *Queene-hithe*. No marvell though the *Prelates* bee a troublesome generation, and which way soever they turne them, put all things into a foule discomposure, when to maintaine their domineering they seeke thus to rout, and dis-aray the wise and well-

⁶ "A figure of speech in which the customary or logical order of words or phrases is inverted, esp. for the sake of emphasis" *NED*.

⁷ The Mole probably derives its name from the fact that it sinks into the ground at Box Hill and again appears two or three miles distant. It probably does not flow in a regular channel through the earth but seeps through sands. Owen Manning and William Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (3 vols., London, 1804-09), I, iii-iv; II, 665-66. Cf. Milton, "At a Vacation Exercise," l. 95:

Or Sullen Mole that runneth underneath

and Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, IV, xi, xxxi, 8-9:

And Mole, that like a nousling mole doth make
His way still under ground, till Thamis he overtake

Also Michael Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Song the Seventeenth, The Argument, ll. 2-4. These several uses of the idea of running underground carry with them the double implication of, first, mole-like blindness and, second, exceptions to the common order of nature. Milton applies the illustration which follows it (see next note) to the grammatical point upon which Hall's interpretation of Calvin depends and concludes that such an interpretation is neither reasonable nor grammatically likely.

⁸ "Milton referred to a popular ballad which confused the two queens of Henry III and Edward I, both named Alianora [*sic*], of whom the one was very unpopular for the exaction of her dues payable at Queenhythe, and the other was known to the masses by her memorial at Charing Cross." *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, IX, 254. The title of this ballad is "A Warning Piece to England against Pride and Wickedness: Being the Fall of Queen Eleanor, Wife to Edward the First, King of England, Who by Her Pride, by God's Judgment, Sunk into the Ground at Charing Cross and Rose at Queen Hith." *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, III, 112. See also George Peele, *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First* . . . *Lastly the Sinking of Queene Elmor, Who Suncke at Charing-crosse, and Rose Againe at Pottershieth, Now Named Queene-hith* (1593). Milton seems to refer to the story as a superstitious tale suitable for a ballad of the nine-days'-wonder sort but not likely to be taken seriously by an intelligent, educated, reasonable person. Milton's implication is that this story is as worthy of serious consideration as is Hall's grammatical interpretation of Calvin.

couch't order of Saint *Pauls* owne words, using either a certain textuall riot to chop off the hands of the word *Presbyterie*, or els a like kind of *Simony* to clap the word *gift* betweene them. Besides, if the verse ⁹ must be read according to this transposition, *μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου* ¹⁰ it would be improper to call ordination *χάρισμα*, when as it is rather onely *χείρισμα*, an outward testimony of approbation, unless they will make it a Sacrament as the *Papists* doe: But surely the *Prelates* would have Saint *Pauls* words rampe one over another, as they use to clime into their Livings and *Bishopricks*.

Remonst.

Neither need wee give any other satisfaction to the point, then from Saint *Paul* himselfe, 2 *Timoth.* 1. 6. *Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands;* ¹¹ mine, and not others.

Answer.

Y're too quick; this last place is to bee understood by the former, as the Law of Method, which beares cheife sway in the Art of teaching, requires, that clearest and plainest expressions bee set formost,

⁹ Cf. I Timothy 4:14

¹⁰ The Greek Text of I Timothy 4.14 reads as follows: *μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου*. Of which a very literal translation would be: Do not neglect the gift which is in you, which was given you through prophecy with laying on of the hands of the presbytery

Milton claims that Hall has garbled this text in two ways:

1. In the attempt to show that the last word *πρεσβυτερίου* (presbytery) refers not to a group of people, but to an office held by a single individual, Hall omits the article *τοῦ* (the) making it read "presbytery," not "the presbytery." This is "textual riot, to chop off the hands of the Presbyterie."
2. Milton claims that Hall virtually changes the text of Paul, skipping the intervening nine words *ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν* and making Paul read "the gift of presbytery." This is what Milton calls "a construction like a harquebuss shot over a file or words twelve deep." This would make more plausible the claim that "presbytery", already made into an individual by "clipping" the article, conferred some superhuman grace, whereas Milton claims that laying on of hands is only "an outward testimony of approbation." Furthermore, Milton claims that Hall's interpretation is practically equivalent to the Papist idea that ordination is a sacrament.

¹¹ II Timothy 1:6. The Rheims translation reads: "imposition of my hands"; King James Version: "putting on of my hands."

to the end they may enlighten any following obscurity; and wherefore wee should not attribute a right Method to the teachableness of Scripture, there can bee no reason given: to which Method, if wee shall now goe contrarie, besides the breaking of a Logicall rule, which the *Remonstrant* hitherto wee see hath made little account of, wee shall [40] also put a manifest violence, and impropriety upon a knowne word against his common signification in binding a Collective to a singular person. But if wee shall as *Logicke* (or indeed Reason) instructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and understand (by the Imposition of my hands) that is, of mine cheifly as an *Apostle*, with the joynt authority and assistance of the *Presbyterie*, there is nothing more ordinary, or kindly in speech, then such a phrase as expresses onely the cheife in any action, and understands the rest. So that the imposition of Saint *Pauls* hands, without more expression in this place cannot exclude the joynt Act of the *Presbyterie* affirm'd by the former Text.

Remon. In the meane while see Brethren how you have with *Simon* fisht all night, and caught nothing.¹²

Ans. If we fishing¹³ with *Simon* the Apostle can catch nothing; see what you can catch with *Simon Magus*; for all his hooks, & fishing implements he bequeath'd among you.

SECT. 13.¹

Remon. We doe againe professe; that if our *Bishops* challenge any other power then was delegated to, and required of *Timothy*, and *Titus*, wee shall yeeld them usurpers.

Ans. Ye cannot compare an ordinary *Bishop* with *Timothy*, who was an extraordinary man foretold and promis'd to the Church by

¹² (M) *Pag.* 76.

¹³ Milton alludes to the occasion on which Christ (Mark 1.17) told Simon Peter and Andrew that they must become fishers of men. Milton contrasts Simon Peter's sincere efforts to save men's souls with the mercenary attempt of Simon Magus (Acts 8:5-24) to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit with money; hence Milton uses Simon Magus's name to cast a slur on the prelates.

¹ Milton began by dividing his tract into sections following the sections of Hall's *Defence*, which, as we have noted, in its turn followed the sections of *An Answer*. After the first five sections, however, Milton jumped to Section 13 (with only one intervening page reference to Section 9, p. 76). His reason for skipping so much of Hall's *Defence* is perhaps to be found in *Apology against a Pamphlet* (below, p. 872): "But wherefore in that manner neglecting the main bulk of all that specious antiquity, which might stunne children, but not men, I chose rather to observe some kinds of military advantage." This explanation is entirely consistent with his rejection of authority as a valid means to knowledge.

many Prophecies, and his name joyn'd as collaterall with Saint *Paul*, in most of his Apostolick Epistles, even where hee writes to the *Bishops* of other Churches, as those in *Philippi*. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that *Timothy* was *Bishop* of any particular place; for that wherein [41] it is said in the third Verse of the first *Epistle*: *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*,² will be such a glosse to prove the constitution of a *Bishop* by, as would not onely be not so good as a *Bordeaux* glosse; ³ but scarce be receiv'd to varnish a Visard of *Modona*.⁴ All that can bee gather'd out of holy Writ concerning *Timothy* is that hee was either an *Apostle*,⁵ or an *Apostles* extraordinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any place. The like may bee said of *Titus*, (as those words import in the 5. Verse), that he was for that cause left in *Crete*, that he might supply, or proceed to set in order that which Saint *Paul* in Apostolick manner had begun, for which hee had his particular Commission, as those words sound, (*as I had appointed thee.*) ⁶ So that what hee did in *Crete*, cannot so much be thought the exercise of an ordinary Function, as the direction of an inspired mouth. No lesse also may be gather'd from the *2 Cor.* 8. 23.⁷

Remonst. You descend to the Angels ⁸ of the seven *Asian* Churches,⁹

² I Timothy 1:3.

³ Apparently a shiny gloss obtained from Bordeaux, or similar to such a gloss. Milton's play upon the word "glosse" is of course obvious: "glosse" meaning to explain away, "gloss over," or pass over without sufficient explanation; and "glosse" meaning outward show, here, by implication, opposed to inner truth.

⁴ In nineteenth-century usage "Modena" was a dark purple color. *NED*. A correspondent in *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, III, 112, observes: "Perhaps this is a memory of Milton's Italian days Modena may have been just as celebrated for varnished paper masks as Cremona was celebrated for violins." A perhaps more significant remark comes from the Modest Confuter, who, after declaring that Milton has played the hypocrite under this mask, says (p. 34) that with it he has "deceived the people," which statement may indicate that *Animadversions* had had considerable effect and required an answer. Milton in *Apology against a Pamphlet* (below, p. 887) replies to this passage by using "visards" to signify "stage prop."

⁵ See I and II Timothy.

⁶ Titus 1:5 reads: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."

⁷ This verse reads: "Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow helper concerning you: or our brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ."

⁸ Pastors or ministers of churches *NED*.

⁹ Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. Revelation 1:11.

your shift is that the Angell is heere taken collectively, not individually.

Answ. That the word is collective appeares plainly, *Revel.* 2.¹⁰

First, Because the Text it selfe expounds it so; for having spoken all the while as to the Angell, the seventh verse concludes that this was spoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the same Tenor all the way; for we see not where he particularizes, then certainly hee must begin collectively, else the construction can bee neither *Grammaticall* nor *Logicall*. [42]

Secondly, if the word *Angel* be individuall; then are the faults attributed to him individuall: but they are such as for which God threatens to remove the Candlestick out of his place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the light of his truth: and wee cannot thinke he would doe so for one *Bishops* fault. Therefore those faults must be understood collective, and by consequence the subject of them collective.

Thirdly, an individuall cannot branch it selfe into subindividuals; but this word *Angel* doth in the tenth Verse. *Feare none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the Devill shall cast some of you into prison.* And the like from other places of this and the following Chapter may be observd. Therefore it is no individuall word, but a Collective.

Fourthly, in the 24. Verse ¹¹ this word *Angel* is made capable of a *Pronounne plurall*, which could not bee, unlesse it were a Collective. As for the supposed Manuscript of *Tecla*,¹² and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative, wee cannot preferre them before the more receiv'd reading, and wee hope you will not against the Translation of your Mother the Church of *England*, that pass't the revise of your cheifest *Prelates*: Besides this, you will lay an unjust

¹⁰ This chapter (and others) must be read if one is to fathom the argument concerning Episcopacy which both Milton and Hall were trying to resolve by Scriptural authority. Suffice for me to say I do not agree with Milton's statement, "That the word [Angels] is collective appears *plainly*." Italics mine.

¹¹ The sense of Revelation 2:24 does not seem to admit a plural antecedent for the first pronoun "you," though the sense of the entire verse is "collective."

¹² The Code Alexandrinus, called "Thecla" from the tradition that it was written in the hand of a noble Egyptian woman of that name. In 1641 the manuscript was in the Royal Library, whence it passed in the eighteenth century to the newly established British Museum. Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (2d ed., London, 1912), pp. 75-76

censure upon the much-praised *Bishop* of *Thyatira*,¹³ and reckon him among those that had the Doctrine of *Jesabel*,¹⁴ when the Text sayes *he onely suffer'd her*. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as wee know your so much call'd-for Charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the *Bishop*, if you comprehend him in the name of *Angel*, otherwise you leave his case very doubtfull. [43]

Remonstrance.

Thou sufferest thy Wife JESABEL: was shee Wife to the whole Company, or to one *Bishop* alone? ¹⁵

Ans. Not to the whole company doubtles, for that had bin worse then to have bin the *Levites* wife ¹⁶ in *Gibeah*: but heere among all those that constantly read it otherwise, whom you trample upon, your good Mother of *England* ¹⁷ is downe againe in the throng, who with the rest reads it, *that Woman* Jesabel: but suppose it were Wife, a man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name *Jesabel* no man doubts to be a borrow'd name.

Remonst.

Yet what makes this for a Diocesan *Bishop*? much every way.¹⁸

Answer.

No more then a speciall endorsement could make to puffe up the foreman of a Jury. If wee deny you more precedence, then as the *Senior* of any society, or deny you this priority to bee longer then Annuall. Prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you thinke to doe from the title of eminence, *Angel*: alas your wings are too short. 'Tis not Ordination nor Jurisdiction that is Angelicall, but the heavenly message of the Gospell, which is the office of all Ministers

¹³ In Revelation 2.19, we read: "I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last *to be* more than the first "

¹⁴ Revelation 2:20 tells us: "Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols."

¹⁵ (M) *Pag.* 105.

¹⁶ Judges 20.4-5.

¹⁷ Church of England.

¹⁸ (M) *Pag.* 111.

alike; in which sense *John the Baptist* is call'd an *Angcl*,¹⁹ which in Greeke signifies a Messenger, as oft as it is meant by a man, and might be so render'd heere without treason to the *Hierarchy*; but that the whole Booke soares to a Prophetick pitch in types, and Allegories. Seeing then the reason of this borrow'd name is meere to signifie the preaching of the Gospell, and that this preaching equally appertaines to the whole *Ministry*; hence may bee [44] ²⁰ drawne a fifth argument, that if the reason of this borrowed name, Angel, be equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching ministry of the place, then must the name be collectively, and communicatively taken; but the reason, that is to say, the office of preaching and watching over the Flock is equally collective and communicative. Therefore the borrow'd name it selfe, is to be understood as equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching ministry of the place; and if you will contend still for a superiority in one person, you must ground it better then from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe head ²¹ that fell into the water, and say, Alas Master, for it was borrow'd, unlesse you have, as good a faculty to make Iron swim, as you had to make light froth sink.

Remonst. What is, if this be not ordination, and jurisdiction? ²²

Answ. Indeed in the constitution, and founding of a Church, that some men inspir'd from God should have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and dispose, must needs be. So *Moses*, though himselfe no priest, sanctify'd, and ordain'd *Aaron* and his sons; ²³ but when all needfull things be set and regulated by the writings of the Apostles, whether it be not a meere folly to keep up a superiour degree in the Church onely for ordination, and jurisdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apostles were the builders, and as it were the Architects of the Christian Church; wherein consisted their excellence above ordinary ministers? a Prelate would say in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them and sending from about them to all countreyes their Bishops and Archbishops as their deputies, with a kind of Legantine ²⁴ power. No, no, vaine Prelates,

¹⁹ (M) Math. 11. (Milton's reference is to Matthew 11:10)

²⁰ At this point a cancel of two leaves occurs in the quarto. The pagination skips from 44 to 49. See preface, above, pp. 656-58.

²¹ II Kings 6:5.

²² (M) Pag. 124.

²³ Leviticus 8

²⁴ Erroneous spelling of "legatine." NED.

this was but as the Scaffolding of a new edifice which for the time must board, and over-[49]looke the highest battlements, but if the structure once finish't, any passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular grace, and strengthening to the house, who would otherwise thinke, but that the man were presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his friends and kindred. The eminence of the Apostles consisted in their powerfull preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable charity, which above all earthly respects like a working flame, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that love which dwels in God to save soules; which, while they did, they were contented to be the off-scouring of the world, and to expose themselves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unspeakable. As for Ordination what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward signe or symbol of admission? it creates nothing, it conferres nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a Minister, and his own painfull study and diligence that manures and improves his ministeriall gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd ordination from the Apostles, had done the Church noble service, as *Apollos*,²⁵ and others; it is but an orderly forme of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge, the imployment of Preaching is as holy, and farr more excellent, the care also and judgement to be us'd in the winning of soules, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy Minister, is an ability above that which is requir'd in ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be found fit to be made Ministers themselves, as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee should constitute a superiour order in the Church to performe an office which is not onely every ministers function, but inferiour also [50] to that which hee has a confest right to, and why this superiority should remaine thus usurp'd, some wise *Epimenides* ²⁶ tell us. Now for jurisdiction this deare Saint of the Prelates, it will be best to consider, first, what it is: That soveraigne Lord, who in the discharge of

²⁵ An Alexandrian Jew who went to Ephesus in 54 A.D. and soon afterward became a Christian and a bishop. Acts 18:24 and 19:1, and I Corinthians 1:12.

²⁶ A Cretan poet noted for his wisdom. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. William Smith (2 vols., London, 1880), II, 35-36.

his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him supream Bishop of our soules was so humble as to say, Who made me a Judge, or a divider ²⁷ over yee, hath taught us that a Church-mans jurisdiction is no more but to watch over his flock ²⁸ in season, and out of season, to deale by sweet, and efficacious instructions; gentle admonitions, and sometimes rounder reproofs; against negligence, or obstinacy will be requir'd a rousing volie of Pastorly threatnings, against a persisting stubbornes or the feare of a reprobate sense, a timely separation from the flock by that interdictive sentence, lest his conversation unprohibited, or unbranded might breath a pestilentiall murrein into the other sheepe. In summe, his jurisdiction is to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted: what other work the Prelates have found for Chancellours and suffragans, Delegates and Officialls, with all the hell-pestering rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an invasion upon the temporall Magistrate, and affected by them as men that are not asham'd of the ensigne and banner of Antichrist. But true Evangelicall jurisdiction or discipline, is no more, as was said, then for a Minister to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthiest worke of these two, to plant, as every Ministers office is equally with the Bishops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiscerning Prelates call jurisdiction, and would appropriate to themselves as a businesse of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and heare a Law case: A certaine man of large possessions, had a faire Garden, and kept therein an honest and laborious servant, whose skill and profession was [51] to set or sow all wholesome herbs, and delightfull flowers, according to every season, and what ever else was to be done in a well-husbanded nursery of plants and fruits; now, when the time was come that he should cut his hedges, prune his trees, looke to his tender slips, and pluck up the weeds that hinder'd their growth, he gets him up by breake of day, and makes account to doe what was needfull in his garden, and who would thinke that any other should know better than he how the dayes work was to be spent? Yet for all this there comes another strange Gardener that never

²⁷ Luke 12:14.

²⁸ This passage reminds us of Chaucer's description of the Poor Parson in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. The references a few lines farther along to "the hell pestering rabble of Sumners and Apparitors" again calls to mind the Sumner as the Friar described him.

knew the soyle, never handl'd a Dibble ²⁹ or Spade to set the least pot-herbe that grew there, much lesse had endur'd an houres sweat or chilnesse, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every bush, the weeding and worming of every bed both in that, and all other Gardens thereabout; the honest Gardener, that ever since the day-peepe, till now the Sunne was growne somewhat ranke, had wrought painfully about his bankes and seed-plots at this commanding voyce, turnes suddenly about with some wonder, and although hee could have well beteen'd ³⁰ to have thank't him of the ease hee profer'd, yet loving his owne handiworke, modestly refus'd him, telling him withall, that for his part, if hee had thought much of his owne paines, he could for once have committed the worke to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well knowne to be a matter of lesse skill and lesse labour to keepe a Garden handsome, then it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himselfe. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellowes to meddle with, but for me onely that am for this purpose in dignity farre above you, and the provision which the Lord of the soyle allowes me in this office is, and that with good reason, ten fold your wages; the Gardener smil'd and shooke his head, but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the end of this Parliament.³¹ [52]

Remon. If in time you shall see wooden chalices, and wooden priests, thanke your selves.³²

Answ. It had beene happy for this land, if your priests had beene but onely wooden, all *England* knowes they have been to this Iland not wood, but wormewood, that have infected the third part ³³ of our

²⁹ "An instrument used to make holes in the ground for seeds, bulbs, or young plants." *NED*.

³⁰ "Thought fit." *NED*. Milton's use of the word in this sense is earlier than that recorded in *NED*.

³¹ Milton means that the end of the Parliament will probably mean the destruction of the power of the prelates, represented in the parable as the strange Gardener. The Long Parliament had met almost continuously from November 3, 1640.

³² (M) P. 127.

³³ Milton takes occasion in the long passage which follows to contrast the Christ-like pastor, who is humble and whose consecration to his work is selfless and spiritual, with the "time-serving priests," who are proud, vain, ignorant, and mercenary. The Modest Confuter (1642, pp. 34-35) later answered Milton's accusations by pointing out that an occasional corrupt or immoral or heretical prelate does not prove that all bishops are so or that Episcopacy is evil. "It is the man

waters, like that Apostate starre ³⁴ in the Revelation; that many soules have di'd of their bitterness; and if you meane by wooden, illiterate, or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you, and their number increasing daily, as their lazinesse, their Tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monasticall Schoolemen daily increast. What should I tell you how the Universities, that men looke should be fountaines of learning ³⁵ and knowledge, have been poyson'd and choak'd under your governance? and if to be wooden be to be base, ³⁶ where could there be found among all the reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of *Rome* it selfe a baser brood of flattering and time-serving priests, according as God pronounces by *Isaiah*, ³⁷ the Prophet that teacheth lies he is the taile. As for your young schollers that petition for Bishopricks ³⁸ and Deaneries to incourage them in their studies, and that many Gentlemen else will not put their sons to learning, away with such young mercenary striplings and their Simoniacall fathers, God has no neede of such, they have no part or lot in his Vineyard, they may as well sue for Nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their wither'd daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in; this is the root of all our mischief, that which they alleage for the incouragement of their studies, should be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come, and gorge upon the Church; how can it be but ever unhappy to the Church of *England*, while shee [53] shall thinke to intice men to the pure service of God by the same meanes that were us'd to tempt our Saviour then, the sinfull corrupt nature of man, that yeelds these bitter fruits, not Episcopacy."

³⁴ Revelation 8:10-11.

³⁵ The Modest Confuter (1642, p. 35) later replied to Milton's accusation (that the corrupt Anglican priesthood had "poyson'd and choak'd" the universities) by blaming not Episcopacy but the ideas of Arminius and Calvin from beyond the sea.

³⁶ The Modest Confuter pointed out that those who defended king and clergy were not necessarily flatterers (1642, p. 36): "In my opinion those flatterers shall do very ill to be silent, till either their Prince be lesse vertuous, or you lesse malicious."

³⁷ Isaiah 9:15.

³⁸ The Modest Confuter asks (1642, pp. 36-37) whether bishoprics and deaneries are the only temptations to worldlings or whether smaller forms of clerical rewards may not be sufficient for corrupt men even if Episcopal government were done away with.

to the service of the devill, by laying before him honour and preferment. Fit professors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that godlinesse with content is great gaine, whenas their godlinesse of teaching had not been but for worldly gaine. The heathen Philosophers³⁹ thought that vertue was for its owne sake inestimable, and the greatest gaine of a teacher to make a soule vertuous; so *Xenophon*⁴⁰ writes of *Socrates* who never bargain'd with any for teaching them; he fear'd not lest those who had receiv'd so high a benefit from him, would not of their owne free-will returne him all possible thankses. Was morall vertue so lovely, and so alluring, and heathen men so enamour'd of her, as to teach and study her with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement; and is Christian piety so homely and so unpleasant, and Christian men so cloy'd with her, as that none will study and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O stale-growne piety! O Gospell rated as cheap as thy Master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study, unlesse thou canst buy those that will sell thee! O race of Capernaitans,⁴¹ senslesse of divine doctrine, and capable onely of loaves and belly-cheere! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would faine aske these men at whose hands they seeke inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houses? No doubt but they will soone answer, that all these things they seeke at Gods hands. Doe they thinke then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, & the divine gift of learning from the den of *Plutus*, or the cave of *Mammon*?⁴² Certainly never any cleare spirit nurst up from brighter influences with a soule inlarg'd to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge ever enter'd there but with scorn, & thought it ever foule disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward

³⁹ The Modest Confuter approves Milton's love of virtue for its own sake, but he argues against Milton's condemnation of the clergy for using earthly things "to entice men to the pure service of God." If put to base uses, earthly things themselves are not to be condemned but rather the evil persons who so pervert them must be blamed. He concluded with a counteraccusation of bad faith or ignorance (1642, p. 38, misnumbered as 39): "Either you wilfully oversee much truth, or are very ignorant."

⁴⁰ Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, I, ii, 6-8.

⁴¹ A controversial term for believers in transubstantiation *NED*. Milton perhaps refers also to the overliteral question of the dwellers in Capernaum who asked (John 6:52): "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"

⁴² In *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 13) Milton alludes to the Cave of Mammon as it was described by Spenser in *Faerie Queene*, II, vii.

of his studies, it being the greatest honor, the greatest fruit and [54] proficiency of learned studies to despise these things. Not liberal science, but illiberal must that needs be that mounts in contemplation meereley for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling Clergy though never so learned? For such can have neither true wisdom nor grace, and then in vain do men trust in learning, where these be wanting. If in lesse noble and almost mechanik arts according to the difinitions of those Authors, he is not esteem'd to deserve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that beares not a generous mind above the peasantly regard of wages, and hire; much more must we thinke him a most imperfect, and incomplete Divine, who is so farre from being a contemner of filthy lucre; that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly, and brutish hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Bishoprick, which poore and low pitch't desires, if they doe but mixe with those other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this study, it is justly expected that they should bring forth a baseborn issue of Divinity like that of those imperfect, and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two most unlike procreants the Sun, and mudde.⁴³ And in matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable, then a learned foole,⁴⁴ or a learned Hypocrite, the one is ever coopt up at his empty speculations, a sot, an ideot for any use that mankind can make of him, or else sowing the World with nice, and idle questions and with much toyle, and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep shallows that wet not the instep: a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better, and wiser, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life then he: The other is still using his sophisticated arts and bending all his studies how to make his insatiate avarice, & ambition seem pious, and orthodoxall by painting his lewd and deceitfull principles with a smooth, and glossy varnish in [55] a doctrinall way to bring about his wickedest purposes. In stead of the great harme therefore that these men feare upon the dissolving of Prelates, what an ease, and happinesse will it be to

⁴³ This idea of spontaneous generation, frequently attributed to the "ancient philosophers," occurs in Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, in which only the lower forms of life are thought to spring spontaneously from decaying matter.

⁴⁴ When Milton here mentions "a learned foole," "a learned Hypocrite," "a plaine unlearned man," he reminds one of the *Characters of Vertues and Vices*, which Hall had published early in the year 1608, a few months before Milton was born.

us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningest and most dangerous mercenaries will cease of themselves to frequent the fold, whom otherwise scarce all the prayers of the faithfull could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true Pastor ⁴⁵ of Christs sending hath this especiall mark, that for greatest labours, and greatest merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could so subsist, or a very common and reasonable supply of humane necessities: Wee cannot therefore doe better then to leave this care of ours to God, he can easily send labourers into his Harvest, that shall not cry, Give, give,⁴⁶ but be contented with a moderate and beseeing allowance; nor will he suffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace, and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practice this our knowledge in right establisht discipline, how much more will hee replenish us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory, and our good? He can stirre up rich Fathers to bestow exquisite education upon their Children, and so dedicate them to the service of the Gospell; he can make the sons of Nobles his Ministers, and Princes to be his Nazarites; for certainly there is no imployment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great spirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, then to be the messenger, and Herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and by the faithfull worke of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithfull men, making a kind of creation like to Gods, by infusing his spirit and likenesse into them, to their salvation, as God did into him; arising to what climat so ever he turne him, like that Sun of righteousness that sent him, with healing in his wings, and new [56] light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raising out of darksome barrennesse a delicious, and fragrant Spring of saving knowledge, and good workes. Can a man thus imployd,⁴⁷ find himselfe discontented, or dishonour'd for want of admittance to have a pragmaticall voyce at Sessions, and Jayle deliveries? or because hee may

⁴⁵ The Modest Confuter (1642, pp. 38–39; misnumbered 39–38) points out that, although God could provide all things for clergymen, as the world is made, they must have sustenance and so should receive support for their services. He cites Bacon, *Certaine Considerations* (1640), who said that (sig. F, p. [37]) "There is not sufficient living and maintenance in many parishes to maintaine a *Preacher*."

⁴⁶ Cf. Proverbs 30:15.

⁴⁷ The Modest Confuter answers (1642, p. 40), "Yes marry, what else?" And he adds, "Yet not so much that he loves the honours or means that accompany them, as that he would not have his countrey made guilty of so shamefull a depriving him of them."

not as a Judge sit out the wrangling noyse of litigious Courts to shreeve⁴⁸ the purses of unconfessing and unmortify'd sinners, and not their soules, or be discourag'd though men call him not Lord, when as the due performance of his office would gaine him even from Lords and Princes, the voluntary title of Father? would he tugge for a Barony to sit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wisdom, and sound doctrine which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher, and perswader of the Parliament? and in all wise apprehensions the perswasive power in man to win others to goodnesse by instruction is greater, and more divine, then the compulsive power to restraine men from being evill by terrour of the Law; and therefore Christ left *Moses* to be the Law-giver, but himselfe came downe amongst us to bee a teacher, with which office his heavenly wisdom was so well pleas'd, as that he was angry with those that would have put a piece of temporall judicature into his hands, disclaiming that he had any commission from above for such matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, sends not for those drossy spirits that need the lure, and whistle of earthly preferment, like those animals that fetch, and carry for a morsell, no. She can find such as therefore study her precepts, because she teaches to despise preferment. And let not those wretched Fathers thinke they shall impoverish the Church of willing, and able supply, though they keep back their sordid sperm begotten in the lustinesse of their avarice, and turne them to their [57] malting-kils,⁴⁹ rather let them take heed what lessons they instill into that lump of flesh which they are the cause of, lest, thinking to offer him as a present to God, they dish him out for the Devill. Let the novice learne first to renounce the world, and so give himselfe to God, and not therefore give himselfe to God, that hee may close the better with the World, like that false Shepheard *Palinode* in the Eclogue of *May*, under whom the Poet lively personates our Prelates, whose whole life is a recantation of their pastorall vow, and whose profession to forsake the World, as they use the matter, boggs them deeper into the world: Those our admired *Spencer* inveighs against, not without some presage of these reforming times.

⁴⁸ Probably in the sense of unburdening. *NED*. The argument is against the desire of the clergy for temporal power rather than spiritual grace.

⁴⁹ Vats for making malt. *NED*.

*The time*⁵⁰ *was once, and may again returne*
(For oft may happen that hath been bejorn)
When Shepheards had none inheritance
Ne of land, nor fee in sufferance,
But what might arise of the bare sheep,
(Were it more or lesse) which they did keep.
Well ywis was it with Shepheards tho.
Nought having, naught feared they to forgoe
For Pan himselfe was their inheritance
And little them served for their maintenance,
The Shepheards God so well them guided,
That of naught they were unprovided
Butter enough, honey, milk, and whay,
And their flock fleeces them to array.
But tract of Time, and long prosperity
(That nurse of vice, this of insolency)
Lulled the Shepheards in such security
That not content with loyall obeysance
Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
And match themselves with mighty potentates
Lovers of Lordships, and troublers of States. [58]
Tho gan Shepheards Swaines to looke aloft
And leave to live hard, and learne to lig soft.
Tho under colour of Shepheards some while
There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile
That often devoured their owne Sheep,
And often the Shepheard that did them keepe,
This was the first source of shepheards sorrow
That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this wee may conjecture, how little wee neede feare that the unguilding of our Prelates will prove the woodening of our Priests. In the meane while, let no man carry in his head either such narrow, or such evill eyes, as not to looke upon the Churches of *Belgia* and *Helvetia*, and that envied city *Geneva*: where in the Christian world doth learning more flourish than in these places? Not among your beloved

⁵⁰ These lines are quoted accurately from the May Eclogue of the "Shepherd's Calendar," ll. 103-31.

Jesuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the Prelates into the number, and instance in what kinde of learning you please. And how in *England* all noble sciences attending upon the traine of Christian doctrine, may flourish more than ever; and how the able professors of every Art may with ample stipends be honestly provided; And finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the Prelates, the courses are so many and so easie, that I shall passe them over.

[SECTION 14]

Remon. It is God that makes the Bishop, the King that gives the Bishopricke, What can you say to this? ¹

Ans. What you shall not long stay for: we say it is God that makes a Bishop, and the Devill that makes him take a prelatieall Bishoprick; as for the Kings gift, regall bounty ² may be excusable in giving, where the Bishops covetousnesse is damnable in taking.

Remon. Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earnestly wish'd themselves in our condition.³ [59]

Ans. I cannot blame them, they were not onely eminent, but supereminent Divines, and for stomach much like to *Pompey* the great, that could indure no equall.⁴

Remon. The Babylonian note sounds well in your ears,⁵ Downe with it, downe with it even to the ground.⁶

Ans. You mistake the matter, it was the Edomitish note,⁷ but change it, and if you be an Angel, cry with the Angell, It is falne, it is falne.

¹ (M) *Sect. 14. P. 129.*

² The Modest Confuter says (1642, p. 40) of "regall bounty" that the present time "scarce allows it *pardonable*."

³ (M) *P. 137.*

⁴ The reference is to Gnaeus Pompeius, the triumvir (106–48 B.C.). Cf. Plutarch, "Pompey," *Lives*. Plutarch makes much of Pompey's frequent political blunders, some of which took the form of magnificent displays calculated to arouse envy.

⁵ (M) *P. 139.*

⁶ Psalms 137:1. This is the translation of Coverdale and is to be found in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) (*The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI* [2d ed., London, 1883], p. 207). Hall takes his word "Babylonian" from the first line of the psalm: "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept."

⁷ Milton takes his word "Edomitish" from Psalm 137:7, *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) (*First Prayer-Book*, p. 207): "Remember the children of Edom, O Lord, in the day of Jerusalem; how they said, Down with it, down with it, even to the ground."

Remon. But the God of Heav'n will, we hope, vindicate his owne Ordinance so long perpetuated to his Church.

Ans. Goe rather to your God of this world, and see if he can vindicate your Lordships, your temporall and spirituall tyrannies, and all your pelfe: for the God of heav'n is already come downe to vindicate his owne Ordinance from your so long perpetuated usurpation.

[SECTION 15]

Remon. If yet you can blush.¹

Ans. This is a more Edomitish conceit than the former, and must be silenc'd with a counter quip of the same countrey. So often and so unsavourily has it been repeated, that the Reader may well cry, Downe with it, downe with it for shame. A man would thinke you had eaten over liberally of *Esau's* red porrage, and from thence dreame continually of blushing; or, perhaps, to heighten your fancy in writing, are wont to sit in your Doctors scarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red suffusion, begets a continuall thought of blushing. That you thus persecute ingenuous men over all your booke, with this one over-tir'd rubricall² conceit still of blushing; but if you have no mercy upon them, yet spare your selfe, lest you bejade³ the good galloway,⁴ your owne opiniaster⁵ wit, and make the very conceit it selfe blush with spur-galling.⁶

[SECTION 16]

Remon. The scandalls of our inferiour Ministers I desir'd to have had lesse publique.¹

Ans. And what your superiour Archbishop or Bi-[60]shops? O forbid to have it told in *Gath!*² say you. O dauber! and therefore remove not impieties from Israel. *Constantine*³ might have done more

¹ (M) *Sect.* 15. *Pag* 141.

² Of course this is a gibe at the rubrics in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

³ Tirè out. *NED*.

⁴ "One of a small but strong breed of horses peculiar to Galloway (Scotland)" *NED*.

⁵ Both obstinate and opinionated at once. *NED*.

⁶ Galling with a spur. *NED*.

¹ (M) *Sect.* 16. *P.* 148.

² Milton quotes this from Hall's reference, *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 37.

³ *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 37; *An Answer* (1641), p. 68; *Defence* (1641), pp. 148-49; *Vindication* (1641), pp. 198-99. The source seems to be Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, v, 18-24.

justly to have punish'd those Clergicall faults which he could not conceale, than to leave them unpunish'd, that they might remaine conceal'd: better had it beene for him that the heathen had heard the fame of his justice, than of his wilfull connivence and partiality; and so the name of God and his truth had been lesse blasphem'd among his enemies, and the Clergie amended, which daily by this impunitie grew worse and worse. But, O to publish it in the streetes of *Ascalon*! ⁴ Sure some colonie of Puritans have taken *Ascalon* from the *Turke* ⁵ lately, that the Remonstrant is so afraid of *Ascalon*. The Papists we know condole yee, and neither *Constantinople*, nor your neighbors of *Marocco* trouble you. What other *Ascalon* can you allude to?

Remon. What a death ⁶ it is to thinke of the sport and advantage these watchfull enemies, these opposite spectators will be sure to make of our sinne and shame? ⁷

Answ. This is but to fling and struggle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remon. No one Clergie in the whole Christian world yeelds so many eminent schollers, learned preachers, grave, holy and accomplish'd Divines as this Church of *England* doth at this day.⁸

Answ. Ha, ha, ha.

Remon. And long, and ever may it thus flourish.

Answ. O pestilent imprecation! flourish as it does at this day in the Prelates?

Remon. But oh forbid to have it told in *Gath*!

Answ. Forbid him rather, Sacred Parliament, to violate the sense of Scripture, and turne that which is spoken of the afflictions of the Church under her pagan enemies to a pargetted ⁹ concealment of those prelatical crying sins; for from these is profanenesse gone forth into all the land; they have hid their eyes from the Sabbaths of the Lord; [61] they have fed themselves, and not their flocks, with force and cruelty have they ruled over Gods people: They have fed his

⁴ II Samuel 1.20. Milton also quotes this from *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 37.

⁵ The implication here seems to be that if Ascalon were in the hands of heathens, the Remonstrant would be less afraid of it.

⁶ Milton here and in the next three quotations from Hall again goes back to *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), pp. 37–38, but it is to be observed that he carefully notes his change of text in his margin.

⁷ (M) *Remonstrance*. Pag. 37.

⁸ (M) *Remonstrance*. Pag. 38.

⁹ Covered with a fair appearance. *NED*.

sheep (contrary to that which Saint *Peter* writes) ¹⁰ not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre, not as examples to the flock, but as being Lords over Gods heritage; and yet this Dauber would daub still with his untempered Morter: But hearken what God sayes by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, ¹¹ Say unto them that daub this wall with untempered Morter, that it shall fall, there shall be an overflowing shower, and yee O great hailstones shall fall, and a stormy wind shall rend it, and I will say unto you, the wall is no more, neither they that daubt it. ¹²

Remon. Whether of us shall give a better account of our charity ¹³ to the God of peace, I appeale? ¹⁴

Ans. Your charity is much to your fellow offenders, but nothing to the numberlesse soules that have beene lost by their false feeding; use not therefore so sillily the name of Charity as most commonly you doe, and the peacefull attribute of God to a preposterous end.

[SECTION 17]

Remon. In the next Section, like ill bred sons you spit in the face of your Mother the Church of *England*.¹

Ans. What should we doe or say to this *Remonstrant*? that by his idle, and shallow reasonings seemes to have been conversant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Bishopricks. Wee acknowledge, and beleewe the Catholick reformed Church, and if any man be dispos'd to use a trope or figure, as Saint *Paul* once did in calling her the common Mother ² of us all, let him doe as his owne rethorick shall perswade him. If therefore we must needs have a mother, and if the Catholick Church onely be, and must be she, let all Genealogie tell us if it can, what we must call the Church of *England*, unlesse we shall make every English Protestant a kind of poetickall *Bacchus*,³ to have two Mothers: but marke Readers, the crafty scope

¹⁰ (M) *Pet.* 1.5. (See I Peter 2-3.)

¹¹ (M) *Ezek.* 13.

¹² These lines are freely condensed from Ezekiel 13.11, 15.

¹³ Cf. "Lycidas." Here again is the usual concern with charity as an index to truth. See above, pp. 665, n. 3; 672, n. 35.

¹⁴ (M) *P.* 149.

¹ (M) *Sect.* 17.

² Cf. Galatians 4:26.

³ According to one story, Bacchus was the son of Zeus by Semele, and according to another the son of Zeus by Demeter or Io or Dione or Arge. Still other girls have been suspected! See *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. William Smith (2 vols., London, 1880), I, 1046.

of these Pre-[62]lates, they endeavour to impresse deeply into weak, and superstitious fancies the awfull notion of a mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicate obedience to whatsoever they shall decree, or think fit. And if we come to aske a reason of ought from our deare mother, she's invisible, under the lock and key of the Prelates her spirituall adulterers, they onely are the inter-nuntio's or the go-betweens of this trim devis'd mummary: whatsoever they say she sayes, must be a deadly sin of disobedience not to beleeve. So that we who by Gods speciall grace have shak'n off the servitude of a great male Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope, should now, if we be not betimes aware of these wily teachers, sink under the slavery of a Female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-Iland mother, and while we think to be obedient sonnes, should make ourselves rather the Bastards, or the Centaurs of their spirituall fornications.

Remon. Take heed of the Ravens of the vally.⁴

Answ. The Ravens wee are to take heede on are your selves, that would peck out the eyes of all knowing Christians.

Remon. Sit you merry Brethren.

Answ. So we shall when the furies of Prelaticall consciences will not give them leave to doe so.

[SECTION 18]

*Remon.*¹ Whether they would not jeopard their eares rather, &c.²

Answ. A punishment that awaites the merits of your bold accomplices for the lopping, and stigmatizing of so many free borne Christians.

Remon. Whether the professed slovenlinesse in Gods service, &c.³

Answ. We have heard of *Aaron* and his linnen Amice,⁴ but those dayes are past; and for your Priest under the Gospell that thinks him-

⁴ Proverbs 30·17.

¹ The quarto has "Queries." This word Milton uses by mistake instead of the usual "Remon." He derived it from Hall's reference to "Your Quæres" (*Defence*, 1641, p. 156), which in its turn refers to "Queries about Episcopacy" (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 75). The emendation from "Queries" to "Remon." is clearly desirable.

² (M) *Sect.* 18. *P.* 160.

³ (M) *P.* 161.

⁴ Several references are made in the Bible to the linen garments of Aaron. See especially Leviticus 16:4.

selfe the purer, or the cleanlier in his office for his new washt Surplesse, we esteem him [63] for sanctitie little better than *Apollonius Thyanaeus* in his white frocke,⁵ or the Priest of *Isis* in his lawne sleeves,⁶ and they may all for holinesse lie together in the suds.

Remon. Whether it were not most lawfull and just to punish your presumption and disobedience.

Ans. The punishing of that which you call our presumption and disobedience lies not now within the execution of your fangs, the mercifull God above and our just Parliament will deliver us from your *Ephesian* beasts,⁷ your cruell *Nimrods*,⁸ with whom we shall be ever fearelesse to encounter.

Remon. God give you wisdome to see the truth, and grace to follow it.

Ans. I wish the like to all those that resist not the holy Ghost, for of such God commands *Jeremie*, saying, Pray not thou⁹ for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make intercession to me; for I will not hear thee; and of such Saint *John* saith, He that bids¹⁰ them God speed, is partaker of their evill deeds.

⁵ Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, VIII, v and xix, tr. F. C. Conybeare (2 vols, New York and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1912), II, 307, 381. Apollonius uses common sense and reason to decide upon the garb which should be worn while worshipping. Cf. also *Treatise of Eusebius*, chap. 22 (Loeb, II, 537).

⁶ Plutarch's account of the *Isis* story in the *Morals* allegorizes the legend in such a fashion as to derive ethical lessons. Cf. Milton's use of the same myth in *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 29. Here in *Animadversions* Milton ties together the words "purer," "cleanlier," "new-washt," and the allusions to the rituals involving Aaron's amice and to the garments worn by Apollonius and the worshippers of *Isis* in pagan rituals, in such a way as to reinforce his argument. Explicitly, Milton states that the reference to Aaron carries no more weight than a reference to a pagan ritual for the reason that the New Testament has superseded both the Old Testament and the partial truths of pagan beliefs. Milton puns on the idea of cleanliness and purity in his use of the word "suds": (1) suds in the sense of a cleansing agent for white garments; (2) "to lie in the suds," meaning to be "in difficulties, in embarrassment or perplexity." *NED*.

⁷ I Corinthians 15:32.

⁸ Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord Genesis 10:8-9.

⁹ King James Version (Jeremiah 7.16): "Therefore pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make intercession to me: for I will not hear thee."

¹⁰ King James Version (II John 11): "For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds."

*To the Postscript.*¹

Remon. A goodly Pasquin borrow'd ² for a great part out of *Sions* plea,³ or the breviatē ⁴ consisting of a rhapsody of histories.

Answ. How wittily you tell us what your wonted course is upon the like occasion: the collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique authors in this kinde, as any in a Bishops library; and the collector of it ⁵ sayes moreover, that if the like occasion come againe, hee shall lesse need the help of breviates, or historicall rhapsodies, than your reverence to eek out your sermonings shall need re-paire to *Postills*, or *Polianthea's*.⁶

Remon. They were Bishops you say, true, but they were Popish Bishops.⁷

Answ. Since you would bind us to your jurisdiction by their Canon-law, since you would inforce upon us the old riffe-raffe of *Sarum*,⁸ and other monasticall reliques, [64] since you live upon their unjust purchases, alleage their authorities, boast of their succession, walke in

¹ Milton is here referring to the heading that precedes Hall's comments on *A Postscript*, which concludes *An Answer* (1641, pp. 85-94 of that tract, below, p. 961). The reader of *Animadversions* at once feels an increased tension when he comes to this final section of the work. The manner and asperity of Milton's "Answers" here constitute part of the evidence on which many scholars have based their belief that Milton himself wrote *A Postscript* to *An Answer*. On this question, see Masson, II, 238, 260-62; above, p. 79; and below, p. 961. For text of *A Postscript*, see below, pp. 966-75.

² The margins of *A Postscript* are so filled with references to histories of the times that Hall felt this part of *An Answer* had no originality to it. In *A Postscript* Milton shows how bitterly he took this insinuation against his learning.

³ Alexander Leighton wrote *An Appeal to the Parliament; Or, Sion's Plea against the Prelacie* (1628). See introduction, above, p. 36.

⁴ In spite of the fact that it is not capitalized, Masson, II, 260, understood this to refer to William Prynne, *A Breviate of the Prelates Intolerable Usurpations, Both upon the Kings Prerogative Royall, and the Subjects Liberties*. The third edition of this work, according to the *Short Title Catalogue* of Pollard and Redgrave (London, 1926), appeared in 1637.

⁵ Surely this is Milton speaking of himself. See above, "To the Postscript," n. 1.

⁶ Postils are commentaries on scripture. Polyanthea, "A collection of the 'flowers' of poetry or other literature . . . an anthology" *NED*. Cf. John Selden, "Preface," *Historie of Tithes* (1618) (quoted in *NED*): "What were patcht up out of Postils, Polyantheas, common place books."

⁷ (M) P. 164.

⁸ The ecclesiastical name of Salisbury. Sarum Use was "the order of divine service used in the diocese of Salisbury from the 11th century to the Reformation." *NED*.

their steps, their pride, their titles, their covetousnesse, their persecuting of Gods people, since you disclaime their actions, and build their sepulchres, it is most just, that all their faults should be imputed to yee, and their iniquities visited upon yee.

Remon. Could yee see no Colleges, no Hospitals built? ⁹

Answ. At that *priméro* ¹⁰ of piety the Pope and Cardinals are the better gamesters, and will cogge a Die ¹¹ into heav'n before you.

Remon. No Churches re-edified?

Answ. Yes, more Churches then soules.

Remon. No learned volumes writ?

Answ. So did the miscreant Bishop of *Spalatto* ¹² write learned volumes against the Pope, and run to *Rome* when he had done, yee write them in your closets, and unwrite them in your Courts, hot Volumists and cold Bishops: a swashbuckler against the Pope,¹³ and a dormouse against the Devil, while the whole Diocesse be sown with tares, and none to resist the enemy but such as let him in at the posterne a rare superintendent at *Rome* and a cipher at home. Hypocrites, the Gospell faithfully preach'd to the poore, the desolate parishes visited and duely fed, loyterers throwne out, wolves driven from the fold, had beene a better confutation of the Pope and Masse, than whole Hecatontomes ¹⁴ of controversies, and all this careering with speare in rest and thundering upon the steele cap of *Baronius* or *Bellarmino*.¹⁵

Remon. No seduced persons reclaim'd?

Answ. More reclaimed persons seduc'd.

Remon. No hospitality kept?

Answ. Bacchanalia's good store in every Bishops family, and good gleeking.¹⁶

⁹ (M) P. 166.

¹⁰ "A gambling card-game, very fashionable from about 1530 to about 1640." *NED*.

¹¹ To cheat at dice. *NED*

¹² Marco Antonia De Dominis (1566–1624), who changed from Roman Catholicism to Anglicanism and back to Roman Catholicism again. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, V, 113–14.

¹³ Possibly Milton is here making fun of Hall, who had so often attacked the Pope in his writings, as, for instance, in *The Peace of Rome* (1609).

¹⁴ Collections of a hundred volumes. *NED*.

¹⁵ Two famous Roman Catholic apologists Cesare Baronius (1538–1607) wrote *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), and Robert Francis Romulus Bellarmine (1542–1621) wrote, among other things, *Disputationes . . . de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus Hujus Temporis Haereticos* (1586–89).

¹⁶ Tricking, circumventing. *NED*.

Remon. No great offenders punish'd?

Answ. The trophies of your high Commission are renown'd. [65]

Remon. No good offices done for the publike?

Answ. Yes, the good office of reducing monarchie to tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the King.

Remon. No care of the peace of the Church?

Answ. No, nor of the land, witness the two armies ¹⁷ in the North that now lies plunder'd, and over-run by a liturgie.

Remon. No diligence in preaching?

Answ. Scarce any preaching at all.

Remon. No holinesse in living?

Answ. No.

Remon. Truly brethren I can say no more; but that the fault is in your eyes.

Answ. If you can say no more than this, you were a proper Remonstrant to stand up for the whole tribe.

Remon. Wipe them, and looke better.

Answ. Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light.

Remon. Yea, I beseech God to open them rather that they may see good.

Answ. If you meane good Prelates, let be your prayer, aske not impossibilities.

Remon. As for that proverb, the Bishops foot hath been in it,¹⁸ it were more fit for a *Scurra* in *Trivio*,¹⁹ or som Ribald upon an Alebench.

Answ. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

Remon. I doubt not²⁰ but they will say, the Bishops foot hath

¹⁷ Doubtless the two English armies in the second bishops' war. See Gardiner, IX, 192-93.

¹⁸ See above, p. 672, n. 34.

¹⁹ A dandy, or a gallant, in trifles.

²⁰ *Defence* reads (1641, p. 163): "But surely, Brethren, if whatsoever is spoiled, they say, *The Bishops foot hath been in it*; I doubt not but they will say, *The Bishops foote hath been in your Book*, for I am sure it is quite spoiled by this just confutation. After your own pottage (for your Proverb, *sapit ollam*) you tell us of *Boner's* broth; I should have too much wondred at this conclusion, but that I hear it is the fashion in some Countries, to send in their Keal in the last service; and this, it seems, is the manner amongst our *Smectymnuans*." For the proverb, "The Bishop's foot has been in it," see *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, V, 49, and 333-34.

been in your booke, for I am sure it is quite spoil'd by this just confutation; for your proverb,²¹ *Sapit Ollam*.²²

Ans. Spoyld quoth ye? indeed it is so spoyld, as a good song is spoyld by a lewd singer, or as the saying is, God sends meat,²³ but the Cooks worke their wills; in that sense we grant your Bishops foot may have spoyld it, and made it *Sapere ollam*, if not *Sapere aulam*, which is the same in old Latin, and perhaps in plaine English. For certaine your confutation hath atchiev'd nothing a-[66]gainst it, and left nothing upon it, but a foule taste of your skillet foot, and a more perfect and distinguishable odour of your socks, then of your night-cap. And how the Bishop should confute a book with his foot, unlesse his braines were dropt into his great toe, I cannot meet with any man that can resolve me, onely they tell me that certainly such a confutation must needs be goutie. So much for the Bishops foot.

Remon. You tell us of *Bonnors* broth,²⁴ it is the fashion in some countries to send in their Keal²⁵ in the last service, and this it seemes, is the manner amongst our Smectimnuans.

Ans. Your latter service at the high Altar you mean; but soft Sir, the feast was but begun, the broth was your owne, you have been inviting the Land to it this foure-score yeares, and so long we have been your slaves to serve it up for you, much against our wils, we know you have the Beefe to it, ready in your Kitchens, we are sure it was almost sod before this Parliament begun; what direction you have given since to your Cooks to set it by in the Pantry till some fitter

²¹ "Sapit Ollam" means "it smells, or tastes, of the pot." Since "aula" is the Latin word for hall, and since "aula" is also, as Milton says, an old spelling of "olla" (see Robertus Stephanus, *Thesauri Linguae Latinae* [4 vols., Lugduni, 1573], III, 301), Milton plays on the two possible meanings of "aula" in order to make a pun on Hall's name and to say, "in plaine English," that bishop Hall has "spoyled" *An Answer*, as a result of which it stinks of Hall.

²² (M) *P.* 167.

²³ An adaptation of the old proverb, "God sends meat and the Devil sends Cooks" Stevenson, *Home Book of Proverbs* (1948), p. 419.

²⁴ Edward Bonner (1500?-1569) was Bishop of London during the Marian persecutions. By his orders countless Church of England men and women were burned at the stake. Hence, Bonner's broth was the blood of the martyrs, whom both the Smectymnuans and Hall revered. Yet the Smectymnuans were willing to cast the acts of this papist bishop in Hall's teeth without caring to distinguish between the bad deeds of a persecutor and any other Episcopal acts. For an account of Bonner, see *DNB*.

²⁵ "A tub or vat for holding liquor." *NED*.

time, we know not, and therefore your deare jest is lost; this broth was but your first service: Alas Sir, why doe you delude your guests? Why doe not those goodly Flanks and Briskets march up in your stately chargers? doubtlesse, if need be, the Pope that owes you for mollifying the matter so well with him, and making him a true Church, will furnish you with all the fat Oxen of *Italy*.

Remon. Learned, and worthy Doctor *Moulin* ²⁶ shall tell them.

Answ. *Moulin* sayes in his booke of the calling of Pastors, that because Bishops were the reformers of the English Church, therefore they were left remaining: This argument is but of small force to keepe you in your Cathedrals. For first it may be deny'd that Bishops were our first Reformers, for *Wickliffe* was before them, and [67] his egregious labours are not to be neglected, besides our Bishops were in this worke but the disciples of Priests, and began the reformation before they were Bishops: But what though *Luther* and other Monks were the reformers of other places; does it follow therefore that Monks ought to continue? No, though *Luther* had taught so: and lastly, *Moulin's* argument directly makes against you, for if there be nothing in it, but this, Bishops were left remaining because they were the reformers of the Church, by as good a consequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, because they have been the most certaine de-formers and ruiners of the Church. Thus you see how little it avails you to take Sanctuary among those Churches which in the generall scope of your actions formerly you have disregarded, and despis'd, however your faire words would now smooth it over otherwise.

Remon. Our Bishops some whereof being crown'd with Martyr-dome, subscrib'd the Gospell with their blood.²⁷

Answ. You boast much of Martyrs to uphold your Episcopacy, but if you would call to minde what *Eusebius* in his 5. l.²⁸ recites from *Apolinarius* of *Hierapolis*, you should then heare it esteem'd no other

²⁶ In his margin opposite this sentence in *Defence* (1641, p. 163) Hall refers to "P. Moulin. Epist. 3. ad Episcop. Winton. &c" This letter by Peter Moulin is in *Reverendi in Christo Patris . . . Wintoniensis* (1629), pp. 178-85.

²⁷ (M) P. 168. (The words here taken by Milton from *The Defence* Hall had quoted in a literal translation from Moulin's letter cited in note 26, above. L. Andrewes, *Works*, IX, 194. Although Hall makes it entirely clear that he is quoting Moulin, Milton, by his manner of citing the Remonstrant, distorts the meaning in order to discredit Hall.)

²⁸ In Eusebius, however, Apolinarius is shown to inveigh against those who falsely claimed to be martyrs but were still living and were noted for robbery and other shameful acts. Milton apparently did not remember this passage accurately.

then an old hereticall argument, to prove a position true, because some that held it were martyrs: this was that which gave boldnesse to the *Marcionists*,²⁹ and *Cataphryges* ³⁰ to avouch their impious heresies for pious doctrine, because they could reckon many Martyrs of their sect, and when they were confuted in other points, this was ever their last and stoutest plea.

Remon. In the mean time I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Answ. We shall beseech the same God to give you a more profitable, and pertinent humiliation, then yet you know, and a lesse mistaken charitableness, with that peace which you have hitherto so perversely misaffected.

FINIS. [68]

²⁹ Adherents of the "sect founded in Rome in the 2nd century by Marcion of Sinope," who "accepted as sacred books ten of St. Paul's epistles and a garbled form of the gospel of Luke, and regarded the creation of the material world and the revelation of the Old Testament as the work of a finite and imperfect God, whose authority is abrogated by the manifestation of the supreme God in Jesus Christ. He discouraged marriage, and inculcated the most rigorous asceticism." *NED.*

³⁰ Adherents of a "heretical sect in the 2nd century who followed the errors of Montanist; so called because they originated in Phrygia." *NED.*

THE REASON OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT

January or February, 1642

PREFACE AND NOTES BY RALPH A. HAUG

The Reason of Church-Government is the longest, and to a later age the most memorable, of the five pamphlets Milton wrote in 1641-1642 against the Anglican bishops. Fourth in the series, it was the first to which he put his name, and it is possible that he signed it because he felt that here, at length, he had written something that might live. There are several reasons why *The Reason of Church-Government* is of vital illumination to Milton scholars and to any student of the developing human spirit.

First, Milton for the first time gives a number of interesting facts about himself, some of which he later amplified in *Second Defence* (1654) and in other tracts. Their value to biographers and critics is substantial; in them we trace for the first time Milton's sense of his place among the artists and thinkers of his time.

Second, he gives an outline of his poetic theory, and suggests an ambitious poetic plan of life. There is nothing startling or new in his doctrine: What is unusual is that a poet should, in a time before acute self-consciousness in poets was expected, set down so clearly the principles that will guide him, and suggest three of the nobler genres of poetry he is considering.

Third, Milton gives a picture of his mind at the outset of the career in which he was to serve the public until the Restoration. We see him at a time when he still had a naïve faith in men and their professed ideas, when he, a liberal unsoured by experience, believed that all that was necessary completely to reform man was to change certain systems of governing him. His life at Cambridge and Horton, and in Italy, had been intellectual and theoretical rather than practical; it was inevitable that he should tend to believe in principles rather than to consider the men who must put life into them, that he should, in short, advocate a Presbyterian church system which, on paper, seemed to bring the perfections of the Apostolic age up to date. The picture is not, perhaps,

entirely a pleasant one, but it is essential to an understanding of Milton's intellectual growth.

The church question young Milton so vehemently argued is no longer of interest; few students of Milton's prose care whether churches are governed by presbyters or bishops. But we are interested in the honest mind which could advocate a system that turned out the opposite of what he hoped, because we know that the same brave honesty could condemn the system he had supported when it proved that the new presbyter was, if anything, worse than the old priest.

There are other reasons why after three hundred years it is still worth while to look into Milton's pamphlet. Some of the prose is the best he ever wrote. He shows us some of the ways he used his already great learning. He reveals, in his contempt for learned grubbing, his love for true learning and his hatred of pedantry. And he shows that he is rapidly acquiring the trick of controversy with which he later scourged Salmasius, Morus, and other enemies of Oliver Cromwell's commonwealth of the saints.

II

There is no external evidence as to when in 1641 or 1642 Milton composed *The Reason of Church-Government*. No scrap of contemporary mention has come to light,¹ and Milton, when he alluded to the pamphlet in *Second Defence* (1654), did not trouble even to name the year in which he attacked the bishops. George Thomason did not date his copy. There is, however, no little internal evidence, and the problem even of the month in which Milton finished his writing is not beyond all conjecture.

The title page is dated 1641, and it has been generally accepted that the pamphlet appeared in January or February.² Milton mentions six events of 1641, two of which are of particular interest.³ Near the beginning of the pamphlet (below, p. 770) there is a reference to the "guilty carriage" of the bishops which, it is likely, refers to their impeachment by Parliament on August 4. In his last mention of 1641 happenings,

¹ Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* (1940), p. 70.

² That is, according to the Julian calendar, used in England until 1752, in which the new year was March 25. By the Gregorian calendar, of course, the pamphlet was published in 1642.

³ The others. a reference to Hall's *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance* (registered April 12) and to his *A Short Answer* (registered July 28); a joke about bishop Williams' calling Adam the first bishop (Williams spoke about November 1); and a discussion of massacres in Ireland, of which Milton could not have known until after November 15.

Milton rejoices that the bishops are in prison after "their insolence broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immur'd their haughty looks within strong wals."⁴ This is the arrest and imprisonment of thirteen bishops on charges of treason (December 30, 1641). The following week was one of the most tense in English peacetime history, when Charles (January 5, 1642) broke into the House of Commons and attempted to arrest the five members;⁵ but Milton makes no reference to this crucial incident. From these facts, that in August the bishops were guilty but evidently free, but on December 31 in prison, it is plausible to date the pamphlet as having been started after August 4, 1641, and finished on or before January 1, 1642.

III

Milton wrote his pamphlet as an answer to another published in 1641 entitled *Certain Briefe Treatises, Written by Diverse Learned Men, Concerning the Ancient and Moderne Government of the Church* (Oxford, 1641). The pamphlet is a compilation, perhaps assembled by archbishop Ussher himself, containing tracts by Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, James Ussher, Martin Bucer, Edward Brerewood, John Rainolds, Francis Mason, and John Dury. All the authors save Ussher and Dury were dead.⁶

The attack is centered on the essays of Andrewes and Ussher. Andrewes' contention is that church government by bishops logically grew from the reign of Aaron and his sons in the Old Testament and from the twelve Apostles in the New; Ussher argues the same point in greater detail, arguing also that the "seven stars" of Revelation 3:1 refer to seven bishops, of whom Timothy, bishop of Ephesus, was the first. Brerewood's paper, which essays to prove the "Patriarchiall Government of the ancient church," is dismissed in a single good-humored sentence; the others are ignored.

The Reason of Church-Government has none of the savagery of *Animadversions* and *An Apology*. In the third and fifth of his Episcopal tracts Milton had been harsh: he had ordered the bishops to "wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light," he had jeered at the odor of Episcopal socks, and he had thrown back the charge that his attacker was well acquainted with the bordellos. Against Ussher he is subdued, almost gentle. There is respect, perhaps liking, when he says: "B. *Andrews* of late yeares, and in these times the Primat of *Armagh* for their learn-

⁴ See below, p. 860.

⁵ See above, p. 167.

⁶ Ussher was in Oxford for some time in 1640. Elrington, *Life of . . . Ussher*, in *Whole Works* (1848), I, 207.

ing are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this opinion."⁷

Several reasons for this comparative mildness might be suggested. Andrewes was dead, and Ussher was an old man, with a European reputation for integrity and learning. Moreover, Ussher was not particularly high church in his doctrines; his compromise of the summer of 1641 was notably tolerant. Perhaps most important, Milton wanted an answer, and thought moderation the best way of getting it. Thirteen years later he wrote, "I stood ready should they thereafter make reply."⁸ But Ussher never replied. Even more striking than his treatment of the bishops is Milton's slight use of their book. Only in chapters III and V of Book I is there any sustained attack. *Certain Brieft Treatises* is never mentioned by name or descriptive title; the closest identification is in chapter V, where Andrewes' essay is spoken of as "a little treatise lately printed among others of like sort at *Oxford*."⁹ Five chapters of Book I, the two prefaces, and the whole of Book II would have been the same had the Oxford tract never appeared.

IV

Neither did Milton make extended use of the learning which had occupied his life. *Of Reformation* had developed a history of Episcopal tyranny in England, necessitating research and citation of authority. *Reason of Church-Government*, on the other hand, is an appeal to reason and the Bible; there is very little history in it, and references to authorities are rare. Further, he aimed at the general reader, not the expert; he had nothing but contempt for the "marginal stuffing" of the Episcopal writers who, he believed, based their conclusions on grubbing research, not on thought. Hence he referred mainly to well-known writers like Plato, Anselm, Hooker, Jerome, Josephus, and the like. In the preface to Book II allusions to pure literature are frequent, but in the body of the argument there are only two, the *Iliad* and Ovid. It seems evident that Milton had the susceptibilities of the poetry-hating London citizens in mind, for allusions to pagan or Popish literature would only weaken an argument with them.¹⁰

Very different is Milton's use of the Bible. Nearly two hundred Scriptural references have been noted, but there are undoubtedly more because the verbal mannerisms, thought patterns, and language of the

⁷ See below, pp. 762-3.

⁸ *Second Defence* (1654), p. 66.

⁹ See below, p. 768.

¹⁰ Milton would have remembered the London Petition (December 11, 1640) which complained of "the swarming of lascivious, idle and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets, Play-bookes and Ballads . . . in disgrace of religion."

Authorized Version had sunk so deeply into his mind that it is difficult to say where the Bible leaves off and Milton begins. A random sample, containing no definite Biblical quotation, and more Stoic in tone than Christian, will illustrate: "But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of Gods image [I Corinthians 11:7] upon him, and for the price of his redemption [I Corinthians 6:20], which he thinks is visibly markt upon his forehead [Revelation 14:1], accounts himselfe both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth then to deject and defile [Daniel 1:8], with such a debasement and such a pollution as sin is, himselfe so highly ransom'd [Matthew 20:28] and enobl'd."¹¹ There is not one direct quotation; possibly Milton had none of these citations clearly in mind; the language of the Bible simply was part of his thinking.

Although this thinking in Bible diction is implicit throughout the pamphlet, Milton used the Bible in other ways. There are frequent memory citations, often slightly changed, telescoped, or interpolated. Frequently, of course, he wrote with his Bible open before him, naming chapter and verse and quoting exactly. Occasionally he even parodied a Biblical passage, as when he adjures the prelates: "Cling fast to your Pontificall Sees, bate not, quit yourselves like Barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty Courts and votes in Parliament."¹² Evidently Milton here has in mind St. Paul's ringing peroration to the Corinthians: "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong" (I Corinthians 16:23).

V

In form *The Reason of Church-Government* combines the patterns of the classical oration and the Puritan sermon.

Cicero allowed seven sections for an oration: exordium, narratio, propositio, partitio, confirmatio, reprehensio, and peroratio, with an eighth, a digression, allowable before the peroration.¹³ All these divisions are discernible in Milton's pamphlet.

According, to Wilson, the exordium should be brief and plain.¹⁴ Milton makes it so:

¹¹ See below, p. 842.

¹² See below, p. 793.

¹³ *De Oratore*, tr Edward W. Sutton (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1946), I, 61-63. Cf. also Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* ed. George H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p. 7. See above, p. 217.

¹⁴ Wilson, ed. Mair (1909), p. 7.

that England shortly is to belong . . . to the faithfull feeding and disciplining of that ministeriall order, which the blessed Apostles constituted . . . ; and this I shall assay to prove can be no other, then that of Presbyters and Deacons.¹⁵

The narratio is stated in the first sentence of chapter I: "The first and greatest reason of church-government . . . is because we finde it so ordain'd . . . by God in the Scriptures."¹⁶ This seems also to include the propositio, which by definition is to be pithy and to contain the substance of the matter. The partitio, confirmatio, and reprehensio are not single sections but are presented in several series because of the length (some thirty thousand words) which is much greater than that of the average oration. Thus in Book I, chapter III, the partitio proves that church government is not a mixture of the Mosaic and Christian dispensations; the confirmatio cites Scripture and appeals to reason; and the reprehensio attacks the arguments of Ussher and Andrewes. The digression, which Cicero considered best near the end, comes at the middle. It contains ideas on literary and critical topics, is only vaguely related to the rest of the essay, and Milton must have known it was much too long by classical standards. The peroratio, heightened in style and rhetoric, occupies the entire conclusion.

Characteristics of the Puritan sermon Milton's readers would recognize readily are the plain, sometimes homely style of speech, the imagery drawn from common life or the Bible, and the clear organization into divisions and subdivisions, headings and subheadings.

VI

Most of the antiprelatical parts of *The Reason of Church-Government* are interesting now only for the picture they give of Milton's mind at the outset of his career as publicist and polemicist, many years before the completion of the great poems. The preface to Book II, however, is perhaps the most quoted passage in the prose because in it he announces himself as a serious national poet, mentions the types of poetry he will write, and lays down at least the outlines of a poetic creed. Four points are worth considering: what he said; why this long digression is included in a pamphlet against the bishops; the meaning of the passage discussing epic, tragedy and odes; and the critical principles involved.

Milton tells of his promising juvenile work and the praise of his poems by Italian friends. This praise, and his own ambition, made him de-

¹⁵ See below, p. 749.

¹⁶ See below, p. 750.

terminated to write "to Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country"; henceforth he will write in English. The forms a poet with his high aspiration may choose are epic, tragedy, and odes or hymns, all of which are sanctioned by models in the Bible. The ability to write in these noble forms is the inspired gift of God, given only to a few. His own poetic fruition, however, must wait until his studies are completed and the times settle—until then he must be taken on trust.

Diekhoff has shown that the personal digressions in the prose, like those in *Paradise Lost*, are part of the ethical proof, wherein the writer "can assure the good will of his audience and demonstrate his own fitness to speak."¹⁷ The preface, however, is much too long merely for ethical proof. It seems certain that in writing at such length, and, for the first time, signing his words, Milton wished to tell the public that a new poet was about to arise, even though he was not yet ready for his inspired task. His plans in 1641 could not foresee the years of toil for the commonwealth; rather, with a great poem probably not far in the future, there was a need to inform the public what it could expect, and soon.

In the most quoted passage in the preface Milton discusses the three nobler forms of poetry. "The mind," he says, "has liberty to propose to herself" epic poems like those of Homer or Tasso; tragedies ("Dramatick constitutions") like those "wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* reign"; or odes. Was Milton simply musing about poetic forms, or was he diffidently but seriously proposing to write an epic, a tragedy, and some hymns?

Scholarly opinion differs. Some hold that there was a "kind of inevitability"¹⁸ in his future writings: having promised so much, he could do nothing else but write a long epic, a short epic, and a tragedy (but no odes). Others believe that it was no statement of a literary program, that "he may have had in mind an epic, a drama, or an ode" or perhaps no poems at all, and that the real significance of the passage is in "the light it throws on a Christian poet's attitude toward his art."¹⁹

The explanation the annotations to this edition will bring out is that Milton, wishing to announce himself a poet, could have mentioned no other forms. These three, particularly the epic and tragedy, were the only forms a serious Renaissance poet could choose—all others were beneath him. A poet burning with ambition to be "an interpreter & relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens" could

¹⁷ John S. Diekhoff, "The Function of the Prologues in *Paradise Lost*," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 698.

¹⁸ James H. Hanford, "Samson Agonistes and Milton in Old Age," *University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature*, I (1925), 167.

¹⁹ William R. Parker, "Milton's Early Literary Program," *MP*, XXXIII (1935), 53.

choose only these three, and, if he were to be specific at all, had to promise them and no others because there was, literally, nothing else to promise.

The supreme value of the preface is the light it throws on a poet's thought about his art at a time when his apprenticeship was nearly finished, his great work, so he thought, about to begin. The following are the critical principles about which Milton was thinking:

A. Hard work ("labour and intent study") is a necessary adjunct to inspiration.

B. Poetry should glorify God and country.

C. Poetry must be in the language of the poet's country if it is to be truly national.

D. Poetry is the inspired gift of God, but inspiration must be supported by good character and learning.

E. Poetry has various good effects:

1. It inculcates virtue (the function of the epic).

2. It allays the passions (the catharsis of tragedy).

3. It celebrates the greatness of God and his saints (the function of hymns).

4. It can prevent national backsliding (a characteristically Miltonic function).

F. Poetry should teach, delight, and *move*.

G. Poetry is rightfully used as a "pleasant medicine" for those who will otherwise avoid virtuous documents.

H. Decorum is a most important principle, and should always be observed.

VII

Only one edition of *The Reason of Church-Government* appeared in Milton's lifetime. Since Milton's death, beginning with Toland, it has appeared in some ten collections, with few annotations except in Hughes' *Prose Selections* (1947). In 1944-1946 the present editor completed an annotated edition of *Church-Government* as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of William R. Parker at Ohio State University. The present edition is a continuation of this field of concentration.

The text is based on a copy of *Church-Government* in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Case C731.58. It is referred to in the Textual Guide below (p. 1041) as "A." Collation: 4^o, π^1 A-H⁴, I¹ [\$3 (-C3, H3, I3), signed], 33 leaves, pp. [2] 1-65 [1]. Contents: $\pi 1$: title page²⁰ (verso

²⁰ The printer's device is No 420a in Ronald B McKerrow, *Devices* (1913), p. 157. Apparently the device was a wooden block in two pieces; McKerrow lists

blank). Al-IIv: text. The present text has been collated with microfilms, photostats, or originals of the following copies: "B," New York Public Library *KC 1641; "C," McAlpin Collection 1642/tm65/A; "D," University of Illinois Library X821M64/N36/1641; "E," Harvard University Library *EC65/M6427/641r; "F," Yale University Library Ij/M642/641p; "G," J. Pierpont Morgan Library 16431; "H," McGill University Library *CP/M64r; "I," Columbia University Library B823M64/V53; "J," Thomason Collection E137(9).²¹

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two others, 420b and 420c, with different centers. The letters "E. G." stand for Edward Griffin the younger, who conducted a shop at Eliots Court, Little Old Bailey, St. Sepulchre's Parish. See Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary* (1907), p. 86. John Rothwell, the younger, was a London bookseller at the Sun in St. Paul's churchyard who "dealt almost wholly in theological works." Plomer, *A Dictionary*, p. 157. The old St. Paul's, both in and around the cathedral, was a popular quarter of London for booksellers; in the forties of the century between eighty and a hundred had shops clustered around the cathedral.

²¹ The editor wishes to thank the Graduate School of Ohio State University for providing microfilms or photostats of copies at the following libraries and universities: Illinois, Union Theological Seminary, Columbia, Harvard, Yale, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, and McGill.

THE
REASON
OF

Church-governement

Urg'd against

PRELACY

By Mr. *John Milton.*

In two Books.



LONDON,
Printed by E. G. for *John Rothwell*, and are to be sold
at the Sunne in *Pauls Church-yard.* 1641.

The Reason of Church-government Urg'd against Prelaty.

THE PREFACE.

IN THE publishing of humane lawes, which for the most part aime not beyond the good of civill society, to set them barely forth to the people without reason or Preface, like a physicall prescript,¹ or only with threatnings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgement of *Plato* ² was thought to be done neither generously nor wisely. His advice was, seeing that persuasion certainly is a more winning, and more manlike way to keepe men in obedience then feare, that to such lawes as were of principall moment, there should be us'd as an induction, some well temper'd discourse, shewing how good, how gainfull, how happy it must needs be to live according to honesty and justice, which being utter'd with those native colours and graces of speech, as true eloquence the daughter of vertue can best bestow upon her mothers praises, would so incite, and in a manner, charme the multitude into the love of that which is really good as to imbrace it ever after, not of custome and awe, which most men do, but of choice and purpose, with true and constant delight. But this practice we may learn, from a better & more ancient authority, then any heathen

¹ That is, a medical prescription.

² Cf. *Plato, Laws*, IV, 718: "I should wish the citizens to be as readily persuaded to virtue as possible, this will surely be the aim of the legislator in all his laws." *Laws*, IX, 859: "We should consider whether the laws of states ought not to have the character of loving and wise parents, rather than of tyrants and masters, who command and threaten." *The Dialogues of Plato*, tr. Benjamin Jowett (5 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), V, 101, 241.

writer hath to give us, and indeed being a point of so high wisdom & worth, how could it be but we should find it in that book, within whose sacred context all wisdom is infolded? *Moses* therefore the only Lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God,³ knowing how vaine it was to write lawes to men whose hearts were not first season'd with the knowledge of God and of his workes, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his lawes; which *Josephus*⁴ right well hath noted. That the nation of the Jewes, reading therein the universall goodnesse of God to all creatures in the Creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of *Abraham*⁵ their ancestor, from [1] whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be mov'd to obey sincerely by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then in the administration of civill justice, and under the obscurity of Ceremoniall rites, such care was had by the wisest of the heathen, and by *Moses* among the Jewes, to instruct them at least in a generall reason of that government to which their subjection was requir'd, how much more ought the members of the Church under the Gospell seeke to informe their understanding in the reason of that government which the Church claimes to have over them: especially for that the church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections⁶ of the mind where the seat of reason⁷ is; having power to

³ Exodus 3 4, 4:17 (the burning bush), 19 (talking with God on Mt. Sinai). Calvin comments on Moses as greatest of the prophets: "Moses was placed in a position of supremacy, so as to be superior to all the prophets. . . . Two signs of his excellency are . . . his familiar acquaintance with God, and the glory of his miracles . . . By this prerogative Moses was distinguished from the other prophets, that God spake to him face to face." John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses*, ed. Charles W. Bingham (4 vols, Edinburgh, 1885), IV, 409.

⁴ Flavius Josephus (37?-98?), Jewish historian. His writings include *Jewish Antiquities* and *History of the Jewish War*. The passage in Milton's mind is the preface of the former, tr. Thackeray (7 vols, New York: Loeb Library, 1930, p. 11). "Such, then, being the lesson which Moses desired to instill into his fellow-citizens, he did not, when framing his laws, begin with contracts and mutual rights of man, as others have done, no, he led their thoughts up to God and the construction of the world; he convinced them that of all God's works upon earth we men are the fairest."

⁵ See Genesis 12.1-3.

⁶ By affections Milton means the more noble emotions: mercy, kindness, justice, and the like, as opposed to the passions.

⁷ The seat of reason, in the old psychology, is in the mid-part of the brain; the imagination is in front, the memory behind. See P. Ansell Robin, *The Old Psychology in English Literature* (London, 1911), p. 54.

examine our spirituall knowledge, and to demand from us in Gods behalfe a service intirely reasonable. But because about the manner and order of this government, whether it ought to be Presbyteriall,⁸ or Prelaticall,⁹ such endlesse question, or rather uproare¹⁰ is arisen in this land, as may be justly term'd, what the feaver is to the Physitians, the eternall reproach of our Divines; whilst other profound Clerks of late greatly,¹¹ as they conceive, to the advancement of Prelaty, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian proconsular Asia¹² to make good the prime metropolis of Ephesus,¹³ as if some of our Prelates in all haste meant to change their soile,¹⁴ and become neighbours to the

⁸ A system of church government in which each congregation is governed by its ministers and elders (laymen elected to share with the minister the government of the church); they are part of, and subordinate to, the presbytery (a court consisting of all ministers from a district and an accompanying elder from each congregation), the presbytery to the synod, and the synod to the general assembly. All elders are equal; those who govern are elected; and all have rights of attendance or representation at synods and general assemblies.

⁹ The ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholic Church followed, with modifications, in England. The head of the church was the archbishop of Canterbury, but his powers were not as great as those of the Pope. Twenty-six bishops governed dioceses in 1641. The church authority was, at least in theory, from the top down; the service was ritualistic; and to the casual (or hostile) observer, there seemed little difference between the "high" Anglican church service and the Roman. See above, p. 16.

¹⁰ The numbers in the pamphlet warfare were increasing steadily. Thomason lists ninety for December, 1641; two hundred for January, 1642, and 160 for February. Smectymnus complained in *A Vindication* (1641): "We cannot but confesse, that the crowding in of many little Pamphlets into the Presse hath for many weeks detained this Book, to the great grief of the Authors." See above, pp. 180-92.

¹¹ This oblique reference is to *Certain Briefe Treatises (CBT)* (Oxford, 1641). For extended discussion, see preface above, p. 738, and introduction, p. 192. Milton does not announce what book he is attacking (and even then he does not name it) until Chapter V.

¹² The reference is to archbishop James Ussher's essay, "A Geographickall and Historicall Disquisition, Touching on the *Lydian* or *Proconsular Asia*, and the *Seven* Metropolitickall Churches Contained Therein," in *CBT*. The vast learning of Ussher is well shown in this little paper, wherein he draws upon scores of ancient and medieval church writers to settle the boundaries of proconsular Asia, the eastern part of modern Asia Minor.

¹³ *CBT*, p. 92: "Of the seven Churches in Asia, spoken of in the book of the Revelation, *Ephesus* alone in the dayes of *Constantine* had the Metropolitickall dignity left unto it." Metropolis ("mother city") meant the seat of a bishop or archbishop who had the oversight of the bishops of a province.

¹⁴ Ussher had written a paper of objective research, meticulously documented, on an obscure point in early church history. The tone is neither for nor against the Catholic Church; Ussher presented the facts only.

English Bishop of Chalcedon;¹⁵ and whilst good *Breerwood*¹⁶ as busily bestirres himselfe in our vulgar tongue to divide precisely the three Patriarchats, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and whether to any of these England doth belong,¹⁷ I shall in the meane while not cease to hope through the mercy and grace of Christ, the head and husband of his Church,¹⁸ that England shortly is to belong, neither to See Patriarchall, nor See Prelaticall,¹⁹ but to the faithfull feeding and disciplining of that ministeriall order, which the blessed Apostles constituted throughout the Churches: and this I shall assay to prove can be no other, then that of Presbyters and Deacons. And if any man incline to thinke I undertake a taske too difficult for my yeares, I trust through the supreme inlightning assistance farre otherwise; for my yeares, be they few or many, what imports it? so they bring reason, let that be lookt on: and for the task, from hence that the question in hand is so needfull to be known at this time chiefly by every meaner capacity,²⁰ and containes in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reacht out to us by the Gospell, I conclude the

¹⁵ Richard Smith (1566–1655), titular bishop of Chalcedon, was the subject of two royal proclamations, December 11, 1628, and March 24, 1629, charging him with treason for preaching, reading mass, and functioning as a Catholic bishop. Chalcedon was a city in ancient Bithynia, in Asia Minor, and was in Milton's time in the hands of the Turks.

¹⁶ Edward Brerewood (1565–1613) was the first professor of astronomy at Gresham College, a mathematician, and an antiquary. In *CBT* his contribution was "*A Declaration of the Patriarchall Government of the Ancient Church*," an attempt to discover whether, at the time of the Nicene Council (325), every church was subject to the three patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch.

¹⁷ *CBT*, pp. 97–101. Brerewood limits the patriarchates only incidentally in proving his thesis that the three did not divide all the ancient churches among themselves; they ruled only Rome, Egypt, and Asia Minor.

¹⁸ Ephesians 5:23; II Corinthians 11:2.

¹⁹ A patriarchal see was that territory governed by a patriarch, a word deriving from the Hebrew idea of a father of a tribe. After the division of the Roman Empire into civil dioceses by Diocletian (*ca.* 295), the church began, after the Nicene Council (325), to follow that system of organization, each diocese having its own bishop. Gradually the more important cities, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, assumed authority over the others, creating themselves into patriarchates with jurisdiction over the metropolitan bishops of a certain area. A prelatical see was one governed by a resident bishop, or by a vicar apostolic to whom jurisdiction over a certain territory had been granted. Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, (above, n. 15), was vicar apostolic of England from 1625 to 1629.

²⁰ This struggle, as never before in England, was the people's battle; apprentices were leaders of the Puritan tumults in London, and many of the 15,000 signers of the London Petition (December 11, 1640) were uneducated citizens. See above, p. 63.

task must be easie. God having to this end ordain'd his Gospell to be the revelation of his power and wisdom in Christ Jesus. And [2] this is one depth of his wisdom, that he could so plainly reveale so great a measure of it to the grosse distorted apprehension of decay'd mankinde.²¹ Let others therefore dread and shun the Scriptures for their darknesse, I shall wish I may deserve to be reckon'd among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearnesse. And this seemes to be the cause why in those places of holy writ, wherein is treated of Church-government, the reasons thereof are not formally, and profestly set downe, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of Christian profession, they easily imply themselves, which thing further to explaine, having now prefac'd enough, I shall no longer deferre.

CHAP. I.

That Church-gouvernement is prescrib'd in the Gospell, and that to say otherwise is unsound.

THE first and greatest reason of Church-government, we may securely with the assent of many ¹ on the adverse part, affirme to be, because we finde it so ordain'd and set out to us by the appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be Presbyteriall, or Prelaticall, it cannot be brought to the scanning,² untill I have said what is meet to some who do not think it for the ease of their inconsequent opinions, to grant that Church discipline is platform'd in the Bible,³ but that it is left to the discretion of men. To this conceit ⁴ of theirs I answer, that it is both unsound and un-

²¹ Milton here refers not to the common Renaissance belief in the decay of nature, which he had opposed in his academic verses, "Naturam Non Pati Senium," but rather to mankind since the fall.

¹ Milton might well have said "all," for the first argument of writers on church government is that their system is deduced from the Bible.

² Close investigation or consideration; critical examination or discussion. *NED*.

³ None of Milton's Episcopal opponents denied that church discipline (the practical administration of church government) was platformed (to plan, sketch, draw up a scheme of, *NED*) in the scripture. The argument was whether the offices of bishops and metropolitans developed naturally from the simple church government of the New Testament, or whether the whole Episcopal system was foreign to the intent of the apostles.

⁴ "Personal opinion, judgment, or estimation" *NED*. With this Milton has blended a part of the sense "fanciful opinion."

true. For there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, then is discipline.⁵ What need I instance? He that hath read with judgement, of Nations and Common-wealths, of Cities and Camps of peace and warre, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civill societies, all the moments⁶ and turnings of humane occasions are mov'd to and fro as upon the axle of discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortall things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durst with more confidence (the honour of divine providence ever sav'd) ascribe either to the vigor, or the slacknesse of discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life [3] civill or sacred that can be above discipline, but she is that which with her musicall cords⁷ preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect armies of *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*,⁸ and *Scipio*⁹ in the Roman stories, the excellence of military skill was esteem'd, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submitting to the edicts of their commander. And certainly discipline is not only the removall of disorder, but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of vertue, whereby she is not only seene in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walkes, but also makes the

⁵ Milton defines "discipline" in *Of Reformation* as "the execution and applying of Doctrine home." See above, p. 526. He uses the word primarily in its Latin meaning, with a military connotation. In addition he is thinking of it as the complement of doctrine. doctrine the attribute of the teacher, and discipline the property of the disciple. Finally, he employs it in the Presbyterian sense. here it is specifically that instrument of the church whose primary purpose is the reformation of the offending member. The scriptural basis is in Matthew 18:15-17.

⁶ This is the only citation in *NED* of this sense of the word of "motion or movement." Milton uses the word in its Latin sense: *momentum* (*movere*, "to move").

⁷ The power of music is a Pythagorean notion Harmonia is the daughter of Aphrodite and Ares, the median between effeminacy and hardness which Plato points out as the perfect soul in *Republic*, III, 410. Later he says, in speaking of the just man: "And when he has bound together the three principles within him, which may be compared to the higher, lower, and middle notes on the scale, and the intermediate intervals—when he has bound all these together, and is no longer many, but has become one entirely temperate and perfectly adjusted nature, then he proceeds to act." *Republic*, IV, 443.

⁸ The need for discipline is expressed by Xenophon in a speech in the *Anabasis*, III, ii, 29-33, tr. Carleton L. Brownson (New York and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1932), pp. 451-53, where it is pointed out that the enemy attacks only when discipline is lacking. Cyrus's love of discipline is shown in his drilling his army in Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, II, i, 20-25, tr. Walter Miller (New York and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1914), p. 145.

⁹ Scipio Africanus Major (237-185 B.C.), Roman consul who ended the second Punic War (202 B.C.) in victory over Carthage at Zama.

harmony of her voice ¹⁰ audible to mortall eares. Yea the Angels themselves, in whom no disorder is fear'd, as the Apostle that saw them ¹¹ in his rapture describes, are distinguisht and quaterniōd ¹² into their celestiall Princedomes, ¹³ and Satrapies, ¹⁴ according as God himselfe hath writ his imperiall decrees through the great provinces of heav'n. The state also of the blessed in Paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden surveying reed ¹⁵ marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of new Jerusalem. Yet is it not to be conceiv'd that those eternall effluences ¹⁶ of sanctity and love in the glorified Saints should by this meanes be confin'd and cloy'd with repetition of that which is prescrib'd, but that our happiness may orbe ¹⁷ it selfe into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kinde of eccentricall equation ¹⁸ be as it were an invariable Planet of joy and felicity, how much lesse can we believe

¹⁰ Milton returns to the musical figure, with an allusion to the unheard music of the spheres.

¹¹ Revelation 7 1: "I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth." The clause is meant to refer to that which follows, not to "in whom no disorder is fear'd."

¹² Literally, arranged in fours

¹³ The word brings to mind the line "Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers" of *Paradise Lost*, in which Milton names five of the nine hierarchies of heaven. The nine are divided into three groups: (1) seraphim, cherubim, thrones; (2) dominations, virtues, powers; (3) principalities, archangels, angels. See Ephesians 1:21; Colossians 1:16; Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVII, 98-126. One seriously questions, however, Harris Fletcher's statement (*Milton's Rabbinical Readings* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930], p. 216): "The hierarchial arrangement of Angels Milton fully accepted . . . His two prose discussions of Angels, the one in the *Reason of Church Government* . . . clearly follow and take into account the same system." Nine angels in threes cannot be "quaterniōd." Probably Milton had in mind either the four angels of Revelation 7 or "the four spirits of the heavens" of Zechariah 6:5. In this series of pamphlets Milton would be very careful not to fall into any verbal slips. Compare his derision, in *Animadversions*, of Hall's "light froth that would sink." Had he meant angels marshaled by threes, he would surely have said so.

¹⁴ "The dignity of a Satrap." *NED* A satrap was a governor of a province under the ancient Persian monarchy; here, a subordinate but gorgeous ruler.

¹⁵ Revelation 21:10-17.

¹⁶ A flowing out. *NED*.

¹⁷ "Orbe" is "to cause to move in an orbit," and "vagancies" "wandering or strolling." *NED*. Milton's meaning is evidently that a thousand ways of glory and delight will all move in the same sphere.

¹⁸ An eccentric equation is the difference between the mean and the true anomaly of a heavenly body. In the old astronomy it was made to account for changes in the orbital velocity of the sun and moon by a displacement of the earth, to a corresponding extent, from the center of the circles they were assumed to describe. The planets were seven: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and

that God would leave his fraile and feeble, though not lesse beloved Church here below to the perpetuall stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our darke voyage without the card and compasse¹⁹ of Discipline. Which is so hard to be of mans making, that we may see even in the guidance of a civill state to worldly happinesse, it is not for every learned, or every wise man, though many of them consult in common, to invent or frame a discipline, but if it be at all the worke of man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himselfe,²⁰ and himselfe in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence²¹ must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things, and span in his thoughts all the various effects that passion or complexion can worke in mans nature; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with gaine, and his heart in all vertues heroick. So far is it from the kenne of these wretched projectors²² of ours that bescraull their Pamflets every day with new formes of government for our Church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly [4] inspir'd as *Moses*, or were such men as with authority enough might give it out to be so, as *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*,²³ because they wisely forethought that men would never quietly submit

Saturn. The correction assumed by the eccentric equation would produce the concept of an invariable planet. "Invariable planet" is an oxymoron; "planet" means "wanderer"

¹⁹ The mariner's card of Milton's day was circular, indicating thirty-two points by diamond- and lozenge-shaped figures, North then, as now, being indicated by the fleur-de-lis. To the underside of this card was affixed the magnetized needle, kept usable by a lodestone. For a valuable discussion of mariners' instruments in the sixteenth century, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea, a Life of Christopher Columbus* (2 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, 1942), I, 240-63.

²⁰ As Tillyard points out (*Milton*, p. 136), this is a portrait of "the ideal Renaissance statesman." This is the man spoken of in *Of Education* (1644, p. 3) who would "perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the officers both private and publike of peace and war"

²¹ Compare these with the similar civic virtues of p. 819 below, n. 132. Plato listed the "divine goods" as wisdom, temperance, justice, and courage in *Laws*, I, 631.

²² Milton exaggerates. New proposals for church government were not appearing daily during September-December, 1641. Was Milton thinking of such a Puritan rebel as Elizabeth Chidley, whose *Justification of Independant Churches* appeared in October?

²³ Minos, in Greek mythology, was the son of Europa and Zeus, a lawgiver and lover of justice. Lycurgus was a Spartan lawgiver of the ninth century B.C., who codified the laws and fixed the classes into civil workers, soldiers, and slaves. Numa was the legendary founder of many Roman institutions, the supposed follower of Romulus in kingship. Plato mentions the first two as inspired legislators in *Laws*, I, 632. See Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 57, n. 16.

to such a discipline as had not more of Gods hand in it then mans. To come within the narrownesse of houshold government,²⁴ observation will shew us many deepe²⁵ counsellors of state and judges to demean themselves incorruptly in the settl'd course of affaires, and many worthy Preachers upright in their lives, powerfull in their audience; but look upon either of these men where they are left to their own disciplining at home, and you shall soone perceive for all their single knowledge and uprightness, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family; not only in what may concerne the vertuous and decent²⁶ composure of their minds in their severall places, but that which is of a lower and easier performance, the right possessing of the outward vessell, their body, in health or sicknesse, rest or labour, diet, or abstinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the soule, and usefull to the Common-wealth: which if men were but as good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor their Horses and Hawks,²⁷ it could not be so grosse in most housholds. If then it appear so hard and so little knowne, how to governe a house well, which is thought of so easie discharge, and for every mans undertaking, what skill of man, what wisdom, what parts, can be sufficient to give lawes & ordinances to the elect houshold of God? If we could imagine that he had left it at randome without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant so presumptuous that durst dispose and guide the living arke²⁸ of the holy Ghost, though he should finde it wandring in the field of *Bethshemesh*, without the conscious warrant of some high calling. But no profane insolence can paralell that which our Prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageously, and shatter the holy arke of the

²⁴ Cf. I Timothy 3:5: "For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?"

²⁵ Honest, sincere. *NED*.

²⁶ Used in the Latin sense of fitting or suitable.

²⁷ Cf. Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, ed. W. Aldis Wright (Cambridge, 1904), p. 103: "And it is putie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men, to finde out rather a cunnyng man for their horse, then a cunnyng man for their children."

²⁸ The church is identified with the ark of the covenant, a chest in which the ancient Jews kept the two stones on which were graven the Ten Commandments. In this passage Milton is thinking of various passages in I Samuel 6 and II Samuel 6. In the latter account the ark is moved by David on a new cart. "Uzzah put forth his hand . . . and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it." Because, according to the law (Numbers 3:31), only the Levites could carry the ark, God smote Uzzah for his arrogant and presumptuous error. In I Samuel 6:14 the ark is brought by the Philistines to the field in Bethshemesh.

Church, not born upon their shoulders with pains and labour in the word, but drawne with rude oxen their officials, and their owne brute inventions. Let them make shewes of reforming while they will, so long as the Church is mounted upon the Prelaticall Cart, and not as it ought betweene the hands of the Ministers, it will but shake and totter, and he that sets to his hand though with a good intent to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawfull waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatall to him as it was to *Uzza*. Certainly if God be the father of his family the Church, wherein could he expresse that name more, then in training it up under his owne all-wise and dear Oeconomy,²⁹ not turning it loose to the havock of [5] strangers and wolves³⁰ that would ask no better plea then this to doe in the Church of Christ, what ever humour, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to. Againe, if Christ be the Churches husband³¹ expecting her to be presented before him a pure unspotted virgin; in what could he shew his tender love to her more, then in prescribing his owne wayes which he best knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty with much greater care doubtlesse then the Persian King could appoint for his Queene *Esther*,³² those maiden dietings & set prescriptions of baths, & odors, which may render her at last the more amiable to his eye. For of any age or sex, most unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertaine and arbitrary education. Yea though she be well instructed, yet is she still under a more strait tuition, especially if betroth'd.³³ In like manner the Church bearing the same resemblance, it were not reason to think she should be left destitute of that care which is as necessary, and proper to her, as instruction. For publick preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit³⁴ working as best seemes to his secret will, but discipline is the practick work of

²⁹ Latin *oeconomia*, household management

³⁰ One of Milton's favorite names for the bishops In "Lycidas" they are (l. 128) "the grim wolf with privy paw"; in *Of Reformation* (above, p. 614) they are "importunate *Wolves*, that wait and thinke long till they devour thy tender *Flock*" The figure appeared often in Milton's later works. The source, probably, is Acts 20.29: "Grievous wolves [shall] enter in among you, not sparing the flock."

³¹ II Corinthians 11:2. "I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ."

³² The king was Ahasuerus. The purifications covered a year, "six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odors." Esther 2:12.

³³ Milton is thinking of the Old Testament laws concerning betrothed virgins. Cf Exodus 21:8, 22:16; Leviticus 19.20; Deuteronomy 20.7, 22 23, 29.

³⁴ In I Corinthians 12 St. Paul enumerates "diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit."

preaching directed and apply'd as is most requisite to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of souls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the Physitians ³⁵ in London should get into the severall Pulpits of the City, and assembling all the diseased in every parish should begin a learned Lecture of Pleurisies, Palsies, Lethargies,³⁶ to which perhaps none there present were inclin'd, and so without so much as feeling one puls, or giving the least order to any skilfull Apothecary, should dismisse 'em from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, some expiring, with this only charge to look well to themselves, and do as they heare. Of what excellence and necessity then Church-discipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to mans invention who would be every foot turning it to sinister ends, how properly also it is the worke of God as father, and of Christ as Husband of the Church; we have by thus much heard.

CHAP. II.

That Church government is set downe in holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue.

AS THEREFORE it is unsound to say that God hath not appointed any set government in his Church, so is it untrue. Of the time [6] of the Law there can be no doubt; for to let passe the first institution of Priests and Levites,¹ which is too cleare to be insisted upon, which the Temple came to be built, which in plaine judgement could breed no essentiall change either in religion, or in the Priestly government; yet God to shew how little he could endure that men should be tampring and contriving in his worship, though in things of lesse regard, gave to *David* ² for *Solomon* not only a pattern and modell

³⁵ Milton thinks again of Plato's *Laws*, IV, 720. Here he has in mind the slave doctors, who "never talk to their patients individually" and give orders like tyrants.

³⁶ Pleurisy is inflammation of the lining of the pleura; palsy is paralysis; lethargy is "a disorder characterized by morbid drowsiness or prolonged and unnatural sleep." *NED*.

¹ The Jewish priesthood, as a definite body, dated from the appointment of Aaron and his sons as priests of Jehovah at the time of the Exodus. Exodus 40.13-16.

² I Chronicles 28.4-5. Milton freely abridges I Chronicles 28.11-13 in speaking of "when the temple came to be built."

of the Temple, but a direction for the courses of the Priests and Levites, and for all the worke of their service. At the returne ³ from the Captivity things were only restor'd after the ordinance of *Moses* and *David*; or if the least alteration be to be found, they had with them inspired men, Prophets, ⁴ and it were not sober to say they did ought of moment without divine intimation. In the Prophetie of *Ezekiel* ⁵ from the 40 Chapt. onward, after the destruction of the Temple, God by his Prophet seeking to weane the hearts of the Jewes from their old law to expect a new and more perfect reformation under Christ, sets out before their eyes the stately fabrick & constitution of his Church, with al the ecclesiasticall functions appertaining; indeed the description is as sorted best to the apprehension of those times, typicall ⁶ and shadowie, but in such manner as never yet came to passe, nor never must literally, unlesse we mean to annihilat the Gospel. ⁷ But so exquisit and lively the description is in portraying the new state of the Church, and especially in those points where government seemes to be most active, ⁸ that both Jewes and Gentiles might have good cause to be assur'd, that God when ever he meant to reforme his Church, never intended to leave the government thereof delineated here in such curious ⁹ architecture, to be patch't afterwards, and varnish't over with the devices and imbellishings of mans imagination. Did God take such delight in measuring out the pillars, arches, and doores of a materiall Temple, was he so punctuall and circumspect in lavers, ¹⁰ altars, and sacrifices soone after to be abrogated, lest any of these should have beene made contrary to his minde? is not a farre more perfect worke more agreeable to his perfection in the most perfect state of the Church militant, the new alliance of God to man? should not he rather now by his owne prescribed discipline

³ Ezra 3:10; 6:18

⁴ The etymology of "prophet" is "one who speaks forth." The prophet was one to whom the Lord had spoken. Ezekiel 37.12: "Therefore prophesy and say . . . Thus saith the Lord God." The prophets Milton refers to here are Haggai and Zechariah. Ezra 6 14.

⁵ Ezekiel 40-48. This is a long apocalyptic vision

⁶ That is, symbolic and emblematic.

⁷ Because the vision contains rules for priests, sacrifices, the twelve tribes, ceremonies, and the like, all of which the Gospel abrogated.

⁸ Chapters 42-48 of Ezekiel are devoted largely to intricate points of church government.

⁹ Careful, meticulous construction.

¹⁰ Vessels wherein burnt sacrifices were washed

have cast his line and levell ¹¹ upon the soule of man which is his rationall temple,¹² and by the divine square and compasse thereof forme and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of vertues and graces,¹³ the sooner to edifie and accomplish that immortall stature of Christs body which is his Church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportion- [7] ons. And that this indeed God hath done for us in the Gospel we shall see with open eyes, not under a vaille.¹⁴ We may passe over the history of the Acts and other places, turning only to those Epistles of *S. Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*: ¹⁵ where the spirituall eye may discern more goodly and gracefully erected then all the magnificence of Temple or Tabernacle, such a heavenly structure of evangelick discipline so diffusive of knowledge and charity to the prosperous increase and growth of the Church, that it cannot be wonder'd if that elegant and artfull symmetry of the promised new temple in *Ezechiel*, and all those sumptuous things under the Law were made to signifie the inward beauty and splendor of the Christian Church thus govern'd. And whether this be commanded let it now be judg'd. *S. Paul* after his preface ¹⁶ to the first of *Timothy* which hee concludes in the 17 Verse with Amen, enters upon the subject of his Epistle which is to establish the Church-government with a command.¹⁷ This charge I commit to thee son *Timothy*: according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them might'st war a good warfare. Which is plain enough thus expounded. This charge I commit to thee wherein I now go about to instruct thee how thou shalt set up Church-discipline, that thou might'st warre a good warfare, bearing thy selfe constantly ¹⁸ and faithfully in the Ministry, which in the 1 to the

¹¹ The builders' tools used in assuring level surfaces. The square and compass are common measuring instruments.

¹² Milton regarded the soul not only as the spiritual part of man, but also as the principle of thought and action. He has much to say of the soul in the early tracts: it is "the very shape of *God* himselfe" (above, p. 520); he retains the old contest between body and soul (above, p. 522), it is taught by the senses (below, p. 836). He is not strict in differentiating the two concepts

¹³ An individual virtue or excellence, divine in its origin. *NED*.

¹⁴ An echo of I Corinthians 13.12; "Now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face." Cf. also II Corinthians 3.14.

¹⁵ The two so-called pastoral epistles, dealing largely with the duties of a pastor.

¹⁶ I Timothy 1.17.

¹⁷ I Timothy 1.18. Milton quotes exactly.

¹⁸ Steadily, faithfully, with loyal attachment. *NED*

Corinthians ¹⁹ is also call'd a warfare: and so after a kinde of Parenthesis concerning *Hymenæus* ²⁰ he returnes to his command though under the milde word of exhorting, Cap. 2. v. 1. I exhort ²¹ therefore. As if he had interrupted his former command by the occasionall mention of Hymeneus. More beneath ²² in the 14 V. of the 3 C. when he hath deliver'd the duties of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons not once naming any other order in the Church, he thus addes. These things write I unto thee hoping to come unto thee shortly (such necessity it seems there was) but if I tarry long, that thou mai'st know how thou ought'st to behave thy selfe in the house of God. From this place it may be justly ask't, whether *Timothy* by this here written might know what was to be knowne concerning the orders of Church-governours or no? If he might, then in such a cleere text as this may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did *S Paul* write insufficiently, and moreover said not true, for he saith here he might know, and I perswade my selfe he did know ere this was written, but that the Apostle had more regard to the instruction of us, then to the informing of him. In the fifth Chap.²³ after some other Church precepts concerning discipline, mark what [8] a dreadfull command followes, Verse 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things, and as if all were not yet sure enough, he closes up ²⁴ the Epistle with an adjuring charge thus. I give thee charge in the sight of God who quickneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, that thou keepe this commandement: that is the whole commandement concerning discipline, being the maine purpose of the Epistle: although *Hooker* ²⁵ would faine have this denouncement referr'd to the particular precept going before, because the word Commandement is in the singular number, not re-

¹⁹ The reference is, rather, II Corinthians 10.4: "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal."

²⁰ This obscure figure is called (II Timothy 2:16-18) a speaker of "profane and vain babblings" who had said "the resurrection is past already."

²¹ Milton is thinking of "exhort" in its Latin sense "to encourage" when he calls it a "milde word."

²² I Timothy 3:14-15. The words in parentheses are Milton's interpolation.

²³ I Timothy 5.21 Milton quotes exactly.

²⁴ Milton omits a nonrestrictive clause. I Timothy 5:13-14.

²⁵ "The very words themselves doe restraints themselves unto some one speciall commandment among many." *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, III, xi, 11 (1611, p 117).

membring that even in the first Chapt. of this Epistle, the word Commandement is us'd in a plurall sense, *Vers.* 5. Now the end of the Commandement is charity. And what more frequent then in like manner to say the Law of *Moses*. So that either to restrain the significance too much, or too much to enlarg it would make the adjuration either not so waightly, or not so pertinent. And thus we find here that the rules of Church-discipline are not only commanded, but hedg'd about with such a terrible impalement²⁶ of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the least of them, must hazard the wounding of his conscience even to death. Yet all this notwithstanding we shall finde them broken wellnigh all by the faire pretenders even of the next ages. No lesse to the contempt of him whom they fain to be the archfounder of prelaty *S. Peter*,²⁷ who by what he writes in the 5 Chap. of his first Epistle²⁸ should seeme to be farre another man then tradition reports him: there he commits to the Presbyters only full authority both of feeding the flock; and Episcopating: and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God,²⁹ which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repell the ventrous boldnesse of innovation that ensu'd, changing the decrees of God that is immutable, as if they had been breath'd by man. Neverthelesse when Christ by those visions of *S. John*³⁰ foreshewes the reformation of his Church, he bids him take his Reed,³¹ and meet it out againe after the first patterne, for he prescribes him no other. Arise, said the Angell, and measure the Temple of God and the Altar, and them that worship therein. What is there in the world can measure men³² but discipline? Our word ruling imports no lesse. Doctrine

²⁶ An impalement is an enclosing fence or palisade *NED*. The meaning here seems merged with the torture of impalement, wherein a pointed stake is thrust through the body.

²⁷ "The essential fact is that Peter died at Rome, this constitutes the historical foundation of the claim of the Bishops of Rome to the Apostolic Primacy of Peter." J. P. Kirsch in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 748.

²⁸ I Peter 5 2-3. "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock."

²⁹ I Peter 5:6.

³⁰ The visions are, of course, the Revelation

³¹ Revelation 11.1-2. "And there was given me a reed like unto a rod; and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles."

³² The (obsolete) sense of "regulate, moderate, restrain" is meant here. "Meas-

indeed is the measure, or at least the reason of the measure, tis true, but unlesse the measure be apply'd to that which it is to measure, how can it actually doe its proper worke. Whether therefore discipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that per-[9]son, we all agree that doctrine must be such only as is commanded; or whether it be something really differing from doctrine, yet was it only of Gods appointment, as being the most adequat measure of the Church and her children, which is here the office of a great Evangelist and the reed given him from heaven. But that part of the Temple which is not thus measur'd, so farre is it from being in Gods tuition or delight, that in the following verse he rejects it, however in shew and visibility it may seeme a part of his Church, yet in as much as it lyes thus unmeasur'd he leaves it to be traml'd by the Gentiles, that is to be polluted with idolatrous and Gentilish rites and ceremonies. And that the principall reformation here foretold is already come to passe as well in discipline as in doctrine the state of our neighbour Churches ³³ afford us to behold. Thus through all the periods and changes of the Church it hath beene prov'd that God hath still reserv'd to himselfe the right of enacting Church-government.

CHAP. III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospell to hold that Church-government is to be pattern'd by the Law, as B. Andrews and the Primat of Armagh maintaine.

WE MAY returne now from this interposing difficulty thus remov'd,¹ to affirme, that since Church-government is so strictly commanded in Gods Word, the first and greatest reason why we should submit thereto, is because God hath so commanded. But whether of these two, Prelaty or Presbytery can prove it selfe to be supported by this first and greatest reason, must be the

ure" is used in the rare sense of "a standard by which something is determined or regulated." *NED* Milton's "reason of the measure" means the theory underlying the standard set by doctrine. The meaning of the next clause is that church discipline must be applied to church doctrine, or it will remain theory only.

³³ The Presbyterian discipline of the church in Scotland, which had eliminated "Gentilish rites and ceremonies."

¹ That church government is not patterned directly on scripture, the subject of Chapter II.

next dispute. Wherein this position is to be first layd down as granted; that I may not follow a chase rather than an argument, that one of these two, and none other ² is of Gods ordaining, and if it be, that ordinance must be evident in the Gospell. For the imperfect and obscure institution of the Law, which the Apostles themselves ³ doubt ⁴ not oft-times to vilifie, cannot give rules to the compleat and glorious ministration of the Gospell, which lookes on the Law, as on a childe, not as on a tutor.⁵ And that the Prelates have no sure foundation in the Gospell, their own guiltinesse doth manifest: they would not else run questing up as high as *Adam* to fetch their originall, as tis said one of them lately did in publick.⁶ To [10] which assertion, had I heard it, because I see they are so insatiable ⁷ of antiquity, I should have gladly assented, and confest them yet more ancient. For *Lucifer* before *Adam* was the first prelat Angel,⁸ and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather *Adam*, as we all know, for aspiring above their orders,⁹ were miserably degraded. But others better advis'd ¹⁰ are content to receive their beginning from *Aaron* and his sons,¹¹ among

² Not, in this argument, as unfair a dilemma as it sounds, since Milton could accept only the second, his opponents only the first. Milton's answer would have been different a few years later: "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ Large."

³ Cf. Romans 8:1-5; Galatians 5:18; I Corinthians 9:21.

⁴ Hesitate, scruple.

⁵ Galatians 4:1-5.

⁶ Based on a remark in the House of Lords by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. The authority is "Two Speeches of the Right Honourable *William*, Lord Viscount *Say and Seal* . . . upon the Bill against the Bishops," in *The Diurnall Occurrences or Dayly Proceedings of Both Houses, in This Great and Happy Parliament* (1641), p. 415: "I Shall not need to begin as high as *Adam*, in Answer to what hath been drawn down from thence by a Bishop concerning this question." Marginal note. "The Bishop of *Lincoln*." The statement occurs among the events of the week of November 1-8, 1641.

⁷ So eager to follow ancient precedent.

⁸ Milton has in mind Isaiah 14:12: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning." This and the following verse, "For thou has said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God," are the basis for Milton's jest.

⁹ In *Paradise Lost*, I, 36-37, it was Satan's "Pride Had cast him out from Heav'n." For an informative discussion of "Hierarchy," see Clive S. Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 72-80.

¹⁰ This is, of course, a reference to *Certain Briefe Treatises*, though the argument from Aaron and his sons was common. This reference again must have puzzled at least some of Milton's readers.

¹¹ See below, p. 766, n. 2.

whom *B. Andrews*¹² of late yeares, and in these times the Primat of *Armagh*¹³ for their learning are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this opinion. The Primat in his discourse about the originall of Episcopacy¹⁴ newly revis'd¹⁵ begins thus. The ground of Episcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern prescribed by God in the old Testament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the Apostles.¹⁶ Herein I must entreat to be excus'd of the desire I have to be satisfi'd, how for example the ground of Episcop. is fetch't partly from the example the old Testament, by whom next, and by whose authority. Secondly, how the Church-government under the Gospell can be rightly call'd an imitation of that in the old Testament?¹⁷ for that the Gospell is the end and fulfilling of the Law,¹⁸ our liberty also from the bondage of the Law I plainly reade.¹⁹ How then the ripe age of the Gospell should be put to schoole againe, and learn to governe her selfe from the infancy of the Law,²⁰ the stronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be lesson'd by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of those principles which either art or inspiration hath written. If any thing done by the Apostles may be drawne howsoever to a likenesse

¹² Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), Bishop of Winchester. See editor's preface, p. 738.

¹³ James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbishop of Armagh (North Ireland) and primate of all Ireland. See editor's preface, p. 738. Both Andrewes and Ussher were among the most learned of their time.

¹⁴ The third tract in *CBT*: "*The Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans.*"

¹⁵ This earlier work, *The Judgement of Doctor Rainoldes Touching the Originall of Episcopacy*, had been entered in *Stationers' Registers*, May 21, 1641.

¹⁶ *CBT*, pp. 51–52. "The ground of *Episcopacy* is fetched partly from the patterne prescribed by God in the *Old Testament*: and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the *Apostles* and confirmed by *Christ* himselfe in the time of the *New*."

¹⁷ Milton announces the heads under which he will attack the main thesis put forward by Ussher.

¹⁸ An echo of Romans 10:4: "For Christ is the end of the law" Cf. *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxvii: "It appears therefore as well from the evidence of Scripture as from the arguments above adduced, that the whole of the Mosaic law is abolished by the gospel. It is to be observed, however, that the sum and essence of the law is not hereby abrogated; its purpose being attained in that love of God and our neighbour, which is born of the Spirit through faith." See also Kelley, *This Great Argument*, pp. 61 ff.

¹⁹ Galatians 5.1, 13.

²⁰ Because the Gospel is matured and fulfilled, beside which the old law is a mere infant. Milton again echoes Galatians 4.1–5.

of something Mosaicall, if it cannot be prov'd that it was done of purpose in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little availle the matter. The whole Judaick law is either politicall, and to take pattern by that, no Christian nation ever thought it selfe oblig'd in conscience; or morall, which containes in it the observation of whatsoever is substantially, and perpetually true and good, either in religion, or course of life.²¹ That which is thus morall, besides what we fetch from those unwritten lawes and Ideas which nature hath ingraven in us,²² the Gospell, as stands with her dignity most, lectures to us from her own authentick hand-writing, and command, not copies out from the borrow'd manuscript of a subservient scrowl,²³ by way of imitating. As well might she be said in her Sacrament of water to imitate the baptisme of *John*.²⁴ What though she retain excommunication²⁵ us'd in the Synagogue, retain the morality of the [11] Sabbath,²⁶ she does not therefore imitate the law her underling, but perfect her.²⁷ All that was morally deliver'd from the law to the Gospell in the office of the

²¹ The Jewish people were a nation as well as a congregation, the government under the law being originally theocratic, and the judicial precepts those ordained by God himself. Thomas Aquinas had considered the law and classified its precepts as moral, ceremonial, and judicial, though Augustine had used but two distinctions, moral and ceremonial *Summa Theologica*, ques. 99, art. 4, tr. by the Dominican Fathers (22 vols., London: Burns, Oates & Washburn, 1920-42), VIII, 105-07.

²² This is an allusion to Milton's belief in the innate virtue of humanity, based, as Denis Saurat says, "on the goodness of the normal being made of divine matter and on the presence in the elect of the Divine Intelligence." *Milton: Man and Thinker* (New York, 1925), p. 198. On Milton's concept of Christian liberty, see Douglas Bush's illuminating commentary in *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century*, pp. 375-80.

²³ "Scrowl," for "scroll". a roll of parchment, usually with writing upon it *NED*.

²⁴ An allusion to Acts 1.5: "For John [the Baptist] truly baptised with water; but ye shall be baptised with the Holy Ghost." To Calvin there was no difference in the baptisms: "For the diverse hands wherewith it is ministred, make not the baptisme divers: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same baptisme." John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, IV, xv, 7; tr. Thomas Norton (1582), f. 437.

²⁵ The word does not occur in the Bible. An example of "casting out" from the synagogue does occur in John 9:34. Cf. also John 9:22, 16:2.

²⁶ That is, rules for the observation of the Sabbath, as in the Fourth Commandment, Exodus 31 12-18, and numerous other places in the Old Testament. Rules for Sabbath observance increased until by the Christian era they were a burden. Milton's old tutor Thomas Young had published *Dies Dominica* (1639; McAlpin, I, 541) on the subject.

²⁷ Hebrews 7:19: "For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did"

Priests and Levites, was that there should be a ministry set a part to teach and discipline the Church, both which duties ²⁸ the Apostles thought good to commit to the Presbyters. And if any distinction of honour were to be made among them, they directed it should be to those not that only rule well, but especially to those that labour in the word and doctrine.²⁹ By which we are taught that laborious teaching is the most honourable Prelaty that one Minister can have above another in the Gospell: if therefore the superiority of Bishopship be grounded on the Priesthood as a part of the morall law, it cannot be said to be an imitation; for it were ridiculous that morality should imitate morality, which ever was the same thing. This very word of patterning or imitating ³⁰ excludes Episcopacy from the solid and grave Ethical law, and betraies it to be a meere childe of ceremony, or likelier some misbegotten thing, that having pluckt the gay feathers of her obsolet bravery to hide her own deformed barenesse, now vaunts and glories in her stolne plumes. In the meane while what danger there is against the very life of the Gospell to make in any thing the typical law her pattern, and how impossible in that which touches the Priestly government, I shall use such light as I have receav'd, to lay open. It cannot be unknowne by what expressions the holy Apostle S. *Paul* spares not to explaine to us the nature and condition of the law, calling those ordinances which were the chiefe and essentiall offices of the Priests, the elements and rudiments of the world both weake and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promise,³¹ the heirs of liberty and grace under such a kinde of government as is profest to be but an imitation of that ministry which engender'd to bondage the sons of *Agar*,³² how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birth-right and immunity which Christ hath purchas'd for us with his blood.

²⁸ These are named in Colossians 1 28, 3.16. The duties are given to elders in I Peter 5:1-5

²⁹ (M) I Tim 5. (Milton's marginal reference is I Timothy 5.17: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine")

³⁰ Ussher's words "patterne" and "imitation." See above, p. 763, n 16

³¹ Milton makes use of several expressions in Galatians 4, where St. Paul expostulates against those who would "turn again to the weak and beggarly elements" of the law

³² Galatians 4:22-31 explains that Agar is a symbol of the old law "which gendereth to bondage." Agar (Hagar) was the bondwoman of Abraham, the mother of Ishmael.

For the ministration of the law consisting of carnall ³³ things, drew to it such a ministry as consisted of carnall respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a ministry establish't in the Gospell, as is founded upon the points and termes of superiority, and nests it selfe in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a religion as runnes back againe to the old pompe and glory of the flesh. For doubtlesse there is a certaine attraction and magnetick force betwixt the religion and the ministeriall forme thereof. If the religion be pure, spirituall, simple, and [12] lowly, as the Gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner if the forme of the Ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honour, temporall jurisdiction, we see it with our eyes it will turne the inward power and purity of the Gospel into the outward carnality of the law; evaporating and exhaling the internall worship into empty conformities, and gay shewes. And what remains then but that wee should runne into as dangerous and deadly apostacy as our lamented neighbours the Papists, who by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the ceremonial law, fel into that irrecoverable superstition, as must needs make void the cov'nant of salvation to them that persist in this blindnesse.

CHAP. IV.

That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.

THAT which was promis'd next, is to declare the impossibility of grounding Evangelick government in the imitation of the Jewish Priesthood: which will be done by considering both the quality of the persons, and the office it selfe.¹ *Aaron* and his sonnes² were the Princes of their Tribe before they were sanctified to the Priesthood: that personall eminence which they held above the other *Levites*, they receav'd not only from their office, but partly

³³ Used in the Biblical sense of "worldly."

¹ Milton's first argument was that the Gospel, being a complete covenant in itself, need not seek to imitate the ceremonial law which is the subject of the preceding chapter. Here he shows that not only is it unworthy but it is impossible to imitate the priesthood of the old law.

² Aaron's sons were Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. Exodus 6:23. The first two were destroyed because they "offered strange fires before the Lord." Leviticus 10.1 See *CBT*, pp. 11–12, for Andrewes' analysis.

brought it into their office: and so from that time forward the Priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the Levites, as our Bishops, but were borne inheritors of the dignity.³ Therefore unlesse we shall choose our Prelats only out of the Nobility, and let them runne in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of Lording over their brethren in regard of their persons ⁴ altogether unlike. As for the office which was a representation of Christs own person more immediately in the high Priest,⁵ & of his whole priestly office in all the other; ⁶ to the performance of which the Levits were but as servitors & Deacons, it was necessary there should [13] be a distinction of dignity betweene two functions of so great ods. But there being no such difference among our Ministers, unlesse it be in reference to the Deacons,⁷ it is impossible to found a Prelaty upon the imitation of this Priesthood. For wherein, or in what worke is the office of a Prelat excellent above that of a Pastor? ⁸ in ordination you'l say; but flatly against Scripture, for there we know *Timothy* receav'd ordination by the hands of the Presbytery,⁹ notwithstanding all the vaine delusions that are us'd to evade that testimony, and maintaine an unwarrantable usurpation. But wherefore should ordination be a cause of setting up a superiour degree in the Church? is not that whereby Christ became our Saviour a higher and greater worke, then that whereby he did ordaine messengers to preach and publish him our Saviour? Every Minister sustains the person of Christ in his highest work of communicating to us the mysteries of our salvation,¹⁰ and hath the power of binding and absolving,¹¹ how should he need a higher dignity to

³ Exodus 27:21, where the priesthood of Aaron and his sons "shall be a statute for ever unto their generations."

⁴ Personally, i.e., by birth (being born of no special group), the prelates are unlike the sons of Aaron

⁵ Hebrews 3:1: "Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus Christ."

⁶ That is, all the other priests

⁷ St. Paul is most indefinite as to the office of deacon (*διάκονος*, "a servant or minster"); in Milton's time the office was minor. The deacon supposedly distributed alms and was, as he notes, a servitor.

⁸ In the Presbyterian system there was no precedence of one clergyman over another.

⁹ I Timothy 4:14. "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery"

¹⁰ II Corinthians 8:23: "They are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ."

¹¹ Engaging by vow or promise, and releasing therefrom.

represent or execute that which is an inferior work in Christ? why should the performance of ordination which is a lower office exalt a Prelat, and not the seldome discharge of a higher and more noble office which is preaching & administring much rather depresse him? ¹² Verily neither the nature, nor the example of ordination doth any way require an imparity betweene the ordainer and the ordained. For what more naturall then every like to produce his like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire, and in examples of highest opinion the ordainer is inferior to the ordained; for the Pope is not made by the precedent Pope, but by Cardinals,¹³ who ordain and consecrate to a higher and greater office then their own.

CHAP. V.

To the Arguments of B. Andrews and the Primat.

IT FOLLOWS here to attend to certaine objections in a little treatise lately printed among others of like sort at *Oxford*,¹ and in the title said to be out of the rude draughts of Bishop *Andrews*.² And surely they bee rude draughts indeed, in so much that it is marvell to think what his friends ³ meant to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so much bruited for learning. In the 12 and 23 pages ⁴ he seemes most notoriously inconstant to himselfe; for in

¹² That the prelates rarely preached was almost invariably a part of the complaint against them. Thus the citizens of Kent complained in a petition of January 12, 1641: "They do suspend, punish, and deprive many godly, religious, and painful Ministers, upon slight or no Grounds: whilst in the mean time, few of them do preach the Word of God themselves, and that but seldom. But they do restrain the painful Preaching of Others." Rushworth, IV, 135 Smectymnuus remarked (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 77). "It was a *Nonpreaching Bishop*, that said of a *preaching Bishop*, *He was a preaching Coxcomb*." Bishop Hall retorted (*Defence*, 1641, p. 144). "I challenge you to shew any unpreaching Bishop in the Church of *England* this day? it is your slander, this, not their just Epithete "

¹³ From 1179 (the date of the decretal of Pope Alexander III at the Third Lateran Council) the election of the Pope has been the chief privilege of the College of Cardinals.

¹ This is as close as Milton ever comes to actually indicating the book (*CBT*) he is attacking.

² On the title page, "Out Of the rude Draughts of LANCELOT ANDREWES, late Bishop of *Winchester*."

³ One "friend" may have been Ussher; see editor's preface, above, p. 738.

⁴ *CBT*, p. 12. "This is here worth the noting, that albeit it bee granted that *Aaron* was the type of *Christ*, and so we forbear to take any argument from him.

the former place he tels us he forbears to take [14] any argument of Prelaty from *Aaron*, as being the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirming, that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his figure in the high Priest ceaseth, is the shift of an Anabaptist; ⁵ and stiffly argues that Christ being as well King as Priest, was as well fore-resembled by the Kings then, as by the high Priest. So that if his comming take away the one type, it must also the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well worth that the land should pay six thousand pound a yeare ⁶ for, in a Bishoprick, although I reade of no Sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither *Hippias* nor *Protagoras*, nor any whom the Socratick schoole famously refuted with out hire.⁷ Here we have the type of the King sow'd to the typet ⁸ of the Bishop, suttly to cast a jealousie ⁹ upon the Crowne, as if the right of Kings, like *Meleager* ¹⁰

yet *Eleazar* (who was no type, nor ever so deemed by any writer) will serve sufficiently to shew such *superiority* as is pleaded for; that is, a personall jurisdiction in one man." The pertinent sections to which Milton alludes are (pp. 22-23) "The *High Priest* was a *figure of Christ*: who being now come in the flesh, the figure ceaseth. . . . This is the *Anabaptists* only shift . . . *Christ*, being as well *King as Priest*, was as well fore-resembled by the *Kings* then, as by the *High Priest*. So that if his comming take away the one Type, it must also the other."

⁵ Because the Anabaptists (a heretical sect originating in Germany in the early sixteenth century) denied that any authority, civil or religious, should stand between the individual and God. Hence there was no longer any need for priestly mediation.

⁶ In 1696 Gregory King, in *Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England*, ed. George E. Barnett, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1936), p. 31, estimated the average individual income of the twenty-six English bishops at £1300. In fifty-five years values probably appreciated; at all events, averages are meaningless when applied to individuals. Some sees, such as Lincoln, Winchester, and the two archbishoprics, were much more valuable than poorer ones, such as Bangor and Bristol. Milton's round figure is probably an exaggeration, but for some dioceses (Andrewes had been bishop of Winchester) probably not a great one.

⁷ Milton has in mind Plato's *Protagoras*, where it is remarked of the Sophist (310 E): "If you give him money . . . he will make you as wise as he is himself." The Sophists, paid teachers of virtue, were "refuted without hire" by Socrates. *Hippias* and *Protagoras*, both sophists, took part in *Protagoras*.

⁸ A pun. "Type" is the symbolic idea, "typet" is "a long narrow cloth, attached to the hood or sleeve" of ecclesiastical garments. *NED*.

⁹ Suspicion; apprehension of evil. *NED*.

¹⁰ *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 451-56: "There is a billet of wood which, when the daughter of Thestius lay in childbirth, the three sisters threw upon the fire and, spinning the threads of life with firm-pressed thumb, they sang: 'An equal span of life we give to thee and to this wood, O babe new born.'" Tr. F. J. Miller, *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1939), I, 439.

in the Metamorphosis, were no longer liv'd then the firebrand of Prelaty.¹¹ But more likely the Prelats fearing (for their own guilty carriage protests they doe feare) ¹² that their faire dayes ¹³ cannot long hold, practize by possessing the King with this most false doctrine, to ingage his power for them, as in his owne quarrell, that when they fall they may fall in a generall ruine,¹⁴ just as cruell *Tyberius* ¹⁵ would wish,

When I dye, let the earth be roul'd in flames ¹⁶

But where, O Bishop, doth the purpose of the law set forth Christ to us as a King? That which never was intended in the Law, can never be abolish't as part thereof. When the Law was made, there was no King ¹⁷: if before the law, or under the law God by a speciall type ¹⁸ in any King would foreshadow the future kingdome of Christ, which is not yet visibly come, what was that to the law? The whole ceremoniall law,¹⁹ and types can be in no law else, comprehends nothing

¹¹ Milton's charge, that the bishops are plotting to drag down the monarchy with themselves, is obvious but oblique; the conditional is kept to the end "as cruell *Tyberius* would wish"

¹² For an example of the guilty carriage of the bishops, see editor's preface, p 737.

¹³ See editor's preface, p. 738. The "faire dayes" for the bishops had surely ended by the time of their imprisonment on December 31, 1641.

¹⁴ Hall had said in *A Defence* (1641, p. 152): "I aske whether it were any other then K. James himselfe of blessed memory that said, *No Bishop, no King*; and if it were he, whether that wise King did not meane to prejudice his own authoritie?"

¹⁵ The cruelty of Tiberius is insisted upon by Tacitus, who dwells upon his disregard for human life and suffering when his own interests were at stake. Cf. T. S. Jerome, "The Tacitean Tiberius," *CP*, VII (1912), 265-92

¹⁶ Milton could have seen this in Dio, *Roman History*, LVIII, xxiii, 4; or Suetonius, *Nero*, XXXVIII. In a different form it appears in Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, III, xix, 64. Ben Jonson quotes the line in *Sejanus*, III, 330. J. C. Rolfe, the translator of the Loeb *Suetonius* (2 vols., London, 1920), II, 154, attributes the line to a lost play of Euripides, *Bellerophon*. In Suetonius the line appears: ἐμοῦ θρόντος γαῖα μεχθήτω πυρί.

¹⁷ The law, Milton believed, was revealed to Moses and was completed by the time of Saul, the first king of the Jews.

¹⁸ Here, a person in the Old Testament who prefigures Christ in the New; David was frequently so regarded. Hence the word "types" signifies the old law which prefigures the atonement of Christ, since much of the law had as its end the appeasement of God.

¹⁹ Cf. Calvin, *Institution of Christian Religion*, IV, xx, 15; tr. Norton (1582), f. 502. "The ceremoniall law was the schooling of the Jewes, wherewith it pleased the Lord to exercise the certaine childhood of that people"

but the propitiatory office of Christs Priesthood, which being in substance accomlisht, both law and Priesthood fades away of it selfe, and passes into aire like a transitory vision, and the right of Kings neither stands by any type ²⁰ nor falls. We acknowledge that the civill magistrate weares an aurtority of Gods giving,²¹ and ought to be obey'd as his vicegerent. But to make a King a type, we say is an abusive and unskilfull speech, and of a morall solidity makes it seeme a ceremoniall shadow. Therefore your typical chaine of King and Priest must unlink. But is not the type of Priest taken away by Christs comming? no saith this famous Protestant Bishop of Winchester; ²² it is not, and he that saith it is, is an Anabaptist. What think ye Readers, do ye not understand him? What can be gather'd hence but that the Prelat would still sacri-[15]fice? conceave him readers, he would missificate.²³ Their altars indeed were in a fair forwardnesse; ²⁴ and by such arguments as these they were setting up the molten Calfe ²⁵ of their Masse againe, and of their great Hierarch the Pope. For if the type of Priest be not taken away, then neither of the high Priest, it were a strange beheading; and high Priest more then one there cannot be, and that one can be no lesse then a Pope. And this doubtlesse was the bent of his career,²⁶ though never so covertly. Yea but there was

²⁰ The "type" is not significant after the event it prefigures has come to pass.

²¹ Cf. the Westminster *Confession of Faith* (1647), XXIII, i; (London, 1717), p. 104: "God the Supreme Lord and King of all the World hath Ordained Civil Magistrates to be under him over the People, for his own Glory, and the publick Good." Calvin stressed obedience to magistrates in his *Institution of Christian Religion*, IV, xx, 23 (1582), f. 504v.: "Neither let any man here deceive himselfe . . . the Magistrate can not be resisted, but that GOD himselfe must also be resisted."

²² The passage is quoted above, n. 4.

²³ That is, say mass, because sacrifice was a chief function of the Jewish priesthood, and the mass is a sacrifice.

²⁴ The subject of a bitter and persistent argument of the time, met with in almost every anti-Episcopal writing, was the holy table, its position in the church, and the interpretation of its function. The high church faction placed it along the east wall of the church, covered it with a richly decorated cloth, and required communicants to kneel at it when receiving. All this outraged the Presbyterians, who claimed it made the table a Roman altar, sacred in itself, whereas they regarded it as no more than a church convenience. See above, p. 547, n. 109.

²⁵ Exodus 32.4. The idol built by the Israelites while Moses was on Mt. Sinai. The mass is here called idolatry.

²⁶ To Milton the Roman church was anti-Christ; to Andrewes and high church divines generally it was a true church, though fallen into error "Career" means the direction the bishop was going, that is, toward Roman Catholicism.

something else ²⁷ in the high Priest besides the figure, as is plain by *S. Pauls* acknowledging him. Tis true that in the 17 of *Deut.* whence this authority arises to the Priest in matters too hard for the secular judges,²⁸ as must needs be many in the occasions of those times involv'd so with ceremoniall niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to enquire at the mouth of the Priests, who besides the Magistrates their colleagues had the Oracle of Urim ²⁹ to consult with. And whether the high Priest *Ananias* ³⁰ had not incroach't beyond the limits of his Priestly authority, or whether us'd it rightly, was no time then for *S. Paul* to contest about. But if this instance be able to assert any right of jurisdiction to the Clergy, it must impart it in common to all Ministers, since it were a great folly to seeke for counsell in a hard intricat scruple from a Dunce ³¹ Prelat, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned Minister, whom God hath gifted with the judgement of Urim more amply oft-times then all the Prelates together; and now in the Gospell hath granted the privilege of this oraculous Ephod ³² alike to all his Ministers. The reason therefore of imparity in the Priests, being now as is aforesaid, really annull'd both in their person, and in their representative office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place Levitically bequeath'd, must descend upon the Ministers of the

²⁷ Cf. *Andrewes* in *CBT*, p. 23: "There was in the *King* somewhat else beside the representation: the like is and may bee truely said of the *High Priest*. And that some such thing there was, it is plaine by *S. Paul*, who yeilded his obedience to the *High Priest*." Paul's acknowledgment is Acts 23:5.

²⁸ Deuteronomy 17 8-12, where the Jews are commanded to go to the priests and Levites in matters "too hard for thee in judgment"

²⁹ Usually Urim and Thummim. Cf. *Paradise Regained*, III, 14. These were certain miraculous objects worn on the breast of the high priest by which the will of Jehovah was declared.

³⁰ Not Ananias the liar (Acts 5.1-5) or Ananias who baptized Paul (Acts 9.10-18), but the high priest who commanded (Acts 23:2) "them that stood by him [Paul] to smite him on the mouth."

³¹ Not a blockhead, but "a subtle sophistical reasoner." *NED*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *NED* shows, "Duns" (from John Duns Scotus) could variously mean a follower of the Subtle Doctor, or one of his books. Almost always the word, capitalized, is used in a mocking or condemnatory sense.

³² The ephod was the upper garment worn by Jewish priests, a richly jeweled one by high priests, plain linen by inferiors, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes. Exodus 28:6-14. Ephods are not mentioned in the New Testament; Milton here refers to the gift of all ministers: "[God] who also hath made us able ministers of the new testament." II Corinthians 3:6.

Gospell equally, as it findes them in all other points equall. Well then he is finally content to let *Aaron* go.³³ *Eleazar* will serve his turne, as being a superior of superiors, and yet no type of Christ in *Aarons* life time.³⁴ O thou that would'st winde into any figment,³⁵ or phantasme to save thy Miter! ³⁶ Yet all this will not fadge,³⁷ though it be cunningly interpolisht by some second hand ³⁸ with crooks ³⁹ & emendations; Heare then; the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entring yearly into the Holy of holies and such like, rested upon the High Priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour: but to resemble his whole satisfactory office all the lineage of *Aaron* was no more then sufficient.⁴⁰ And all, or any of the Priests consider'd separately without relation to the [16] highest, are but as a livelesse trunk and signifie nothing. And this shewes the excellence of Christs sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfill'd that which many hunderds of Priests many times repeating had enough ⁴¹ to foreshew. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumstances of a carnall service, which might afford many priorities.⁴² And this I take to be the summe of what the Bishop hath laid together to make plea for Prelaty by imitation of the Law. Though indeed, if it may stand, it will inferre Popedome all as well. Many

³³ CBT, p. 23 (Andrewes). "There is no necessity we should presse *Aaron*."

³⁴ Eleazar was Aaron's son and took his father's place by divine command when Aaron died. Cf. CBT, p. 23: "*Eleazar* being *Princeps Principum*, that is, having a *Superiour* authoritie over the *Superiours* of the Levits [in Aarons life time] was never by any [in this point] reputed a *Type* of *Christ*." The brackets are in the text, explained in the table of contents as material that "*hath been added, to supply the imperfection of the written copy.*"

³⁵ The obsolete meaning is something molded or fashioned, an image, a product of invention.

³⁶ See above, p. 521.

³⁷ Will not fit in with, serve the purpose.

³⁸ Cf. editor's preface, above, p. 738. The surmise here is that this "second hand" may be that of Ussher.

³⁹ The modern name is "braces."

⁴⁰ Milton mocks the point of view of the bishops. Obviously, all the priests in the world could not "resemble his whole satisfactory office."

⁴¹ The irony is continued. Milton means, evidently, more than enough.

⁴² There would be many duties, in a priesthood which touched on every phase of daily life, in which one priest would take precedence over another. These "priorities" to Milton were artificial, based on social standing, which should be meaningless in the clergy.

other any distinct formality of Ecclesiasticall orders may be inferr'd. This rather will appeare to be the lawfull and unconstrain'd sense of the text, that God in taking of them for Priests and Levites, will not esteeme them unworthy though Gentiles,⁵² to undergoe any function in the Church, but will make of them a full and perfect ministry,⁵³ as was that of the Priests [17] and Levites in their kinde. And Bishop *Andrews* himselfe to end the controversie, sends us a candid exposition of this quoted verse from the 24 page of his said book,⁵⁴ plainly deciding that God by those legall names there of Priests and Levites means our Presbyters, and Deacons, for which either ingenuous confession, or slip of his pen we give him thanks, and withall to him that brought these treatises into one volume, who setting the contradictions of two learned men so neere together, did not foresee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of *S. Paul*⁵⁵ to prove a likenesse betweene the Ministers of the Old and New Testament, having tri'd their sinewes I judge they may passe without harme doing to our cause. We may remember then that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the Gospell, which asser-tion as being for the plainnesse thereof a matter of eye sight, rather then of disquisition I voluntarily omitt, not forgetting to specifie this note againe, that the earnest desire which the Prelates have to build their Hierarchy upon the sandy bottome of the law,⁵⁶ gives us to see abundantly the little assurance which they finde to reare up their high roofs by the authority of the Gospell, repulst as it were from the writings of the Apostles, and driven to take sanctuary among the Jewes. Hence that open confession of the Primat before mention'd. Episcopacy is fetcht partly from the patterne of the Old Testament, & partly from the New as an imitation of the Old,⁵⁷ though nothing can

⁵² The promise of Isaiah 66.21 was made expressly to the Gentiles; in the nineteenth verse is written: "They shall declare my glory among the Gentiles"

⁵³ Milton means that if a Gentile could become a priest of Israel, then its hierarchy could not have excluded any sincere believer from the right to "undergoe any function"

⁵⁴ In *CBT*, p. 24: "That *God* himselfe saith of the *Christian Church* under the *Gentiles*; that *he will take* of the *Gentiles*, and make them *Priests* and *Levites* to himselfe. (*Esai* 66. 21.) there calling our *Presbyters* and *Deacons* by those *Legall* names."

⁵⁵ *Ussher* quotes I Timothy 3:2, Titus 1 9, Hebrews 4:14, and I Corinthians 9:13-14 on pp. 52-53 of *CBT*.

⁵⁶ A reference to the parable of the house built on the sands, Matthew 7:26-27.

⁵⁷ Cf. above, p. 763, n. 16 *Ussher's* exact statement (*CBT*, pp. 51-52): "The ground of *Episcopacy* is fetched partly from the patterne prescribed by God in the *Old Testament*: and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the *Apostles* and confirmed by *Christ* himselfe in the time of the *New*."

be more rotten in Divinity then such a position as this, and is all one as to say Episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of mans own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the patterne of the law then what the Apostles had already fetcht, if they fetcht any thing at all, as hath beene prov'd they did not. So was *Jeroboams* ⁵⁸ Episcopacy partly from the patterne of the law, and partly from the patterne of his owne carnality; a parti-colour'd and a parti-member'd Episcopacy, and what can this be lesse then a monstrous? Others therefore among the Prelats ⁵⁹ perhaps not so well able to brook, or rather to justifie this foule relapsing to the old law, have condescended at last to a plaine confessing that both the names and offices of Bishops and Presbyters at first were the same, and in the Scriptures no where distinguish'd. This grants the remonstrant ⁶⁰ in the fift Section of his defence,⁶¹ and in the Preface to his last short answer.⁶² But what need respect be had whether he grant or grant it not, when as through all antiquity, and even in the loftiest times of Prelaty we finde it gran-[18]ted.⁶³ *Jerome* ⁶⁴ the learned'st of the

⁵⁸ Jeroboam was king of Israel (the northern kingdom) after the division following the death of Solomon. He was not properly a priest, but "he became one of the priests of the high places" I Kings 13:33. He set up idols, ousted the priests and Levites, and worshiped strange gods. See I Kings 12 ff.

⁵⁹ The reference is to Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter. That bishops and presbyters were originally undifferentiated was granted by the supporters of prelacy in *CBT*. Thus Bucer, *CBT*, p. 46. "The *Presbyters* and *Bishops* office and charge was one and the same."

⁶⁰ The Remonstrant is Hall. This is Milton's only direct reference to the Smectymnuan controversy (above, p. 654) in this pamphlet, although both his *Animadversions* of the previous summer and *An Apology* of the following spring deal with it exclusively.

⁶¹ Cf. *A Defence* (April 12, 1641), p. 47. "In originall authority of Scripture, *Bishops* and *Presbyters* went originally for the same . . . [this] is in expresse termes granted by us . . . that there was at first a plaine Identity in their denomination."

⁶² In *A Short Answer*, registered July 28, 1641, Hall writes (sig. A2v). "The clear nominall distinction of the three Orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, *Deacons*, I professed to prove onely out of the writings of those, who were the next successors to the *Apostles*."

⁶³ Milton here takes up the favorite weapon of his opponents, citations from antiquity, which he has attacked particularly in the first book of *Of Reformation*. Since here he uses it himself, he does not show his usual contempt for "that undigested heap, and frie of Authors, which they call Antiquity" (above, p. 626).

⁶⁴ St. Jerome (331?-420), chief translator of the Vulgate, voluminous writer on nearly all subjects of Christian theology. Milton here refers to Jerome's letter to Evangelus (*Fathers, N. and P. N.*, 2, VI, 288-89). Jerome here elaborates this

Fathers hides not his opinion, that custome only, which the Proverbe calls a tyrant,⁶⁵ was the maker of Prelaty; before his audacious workmanship the Churches were rul'd in common by the Presbyters, and such a certaine truth this was esteem'd, that it became a decree among the Papall Canons compild by *Gratian*,⁶⁶ *Anselme*⁶⁷ also of Canturbury, who to uphold the points of his Prelatisme made himselfe a traytor to his country, yet commenting the Epistles to *Titus* and the *Philippians*⁶⁸ acknowledges from the cleernesse of the text, what *Jerome* and the Church Rubrick⁶⁹ hath before acknowledg'd. He little dreamt then that the weeding-hook of reformation would after two ages⁷⁰ pluck up his glorious poppy from insulting over the good corne.⁷¹ Though since some of our Brittish Prelates seeing themselves prest to produce Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Testament will not help them, to frame of their own heads as it were with wax a kinde

idea that presbyters and bishops were originally the same, quoting several of the passages from Timothy and Titus that Milton used. See introduction, above, p. 54.

⁶⁵ The Latin proverb is "Usus est tyrannus." No source is known.

⁶⁶ This point is made in Distinctiones 93 and 95 in "Decreti Pars Prima" of Decretum Gratiani in Migne, *Latma*, CLXXXVII, 434-35. Had Milton been unaware of Gratian's concession before, he could have seen it mentioned in notes by Smectymnuus, *An Answer* (1641), p. 38, or in *CBT* (Mason), p. 146. Cf. also Sir Edward Dering, *A Collection of Speeches* (1642), p. 35. "*Gratian*, the canonist, doth allow the Laity to be present, especially in such Councils as do treat of faith."

⁶⁷ St. Anselm (1033-1109), metaphysician and archbishop of Canterbury, 1103 to his death. Milton's hatred of bishops and Catholics led him to this unfair statement. Anselm's great struggle, while archbishop, had been against investiture of bishops and abbots by laymen (the king in particular) when this practice had been forbidden by the Pope. Although William II and Henry I harassed him and appropriated his revenue, he was not considered a traitor.

⁶⁸ Hughes's note (*Prose Selections*, p. 78) explains how Milton could have written this, when no work on these epistles by Anselm is known: "Dom Anselm Strittmatter suggests that Milton refers here to the *Commentary* of Herveus Burgidolensis (1080-1150?), which was published by Anselm of Canterbury at Cologne in 1533 and 1612, at Paris in 1533 and 1549, and at Venice in 1547. In his commentary on Titus, Herveus says that 'a bishop and a presbyter are the same,' and in general his discussion confirms the passage of Jerome to which Milton refers."

⁶⁹ The rubric is the "directions in service books which show how, when, and where the various parts of the liturgy should be performed." *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, ed. Samuel M. Jackson (13 vols., New York, 1908-14), X, 107.

⁷⁰ Anselm died in 1109. The Reformation may be said to have begun with Luther's theses, October, 1517. This use (i.e., an age equals 200 years) is not recorded in *NED*.

⁷¹ The parable of the tares and wheat. Matthew 13 24-30.

of Mimick Bishop limm'd out to the life of a dead Priesthood.⁷² Or else they would straine us out a certaine figurative Prelat, by wringing the collective allegory of those seven Angels into seven single Rochets.⁷³ Howsoever since it thus appeares that custome was the creator of Prelaty ⁷⁴ being lesse ancient then the government of Presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of Bishops through so many ages: and if against their tedious muster of citations, Sees, and successions,⁷⁵ it be reply'd that wagers and Church antiquities, such as are repugnant to the plaine dictat of Scripture are both alike the arguments of fooles,⁷⁶ they have their answer. We rather are to cite all those ages to an arraignment before the word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how presuming they durst alter that divine institution of Presbyters, which the Apostles who were no various and inconstant men surely had set up in the Churches, and why they choose to live by custome and catalogue, or as *S. Paul* saith by sight and visibility, rather then by faith? ⁷⁷ But first I conclude from their owne mouthes that Gods command in Scripture, which doubtlesse ought to be the first and greatest reason of Church-government, is wanting to Prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Christ to determine that the want of this reason is

⁷² *CBT* (Ussher), p. 62: "For other [than bishops] sure they could not be; if all of them were cast into one mould"

⁷³ *CBT* (Ussher), p. 65: "*The Angels of the seven Churches* were no other, but such as in the next age after the Apostles were by the Fathers tearmed *Bishops*" On p. 62 Ussher had cited Eusebius, Ignatius, Polycarp, Tertullian, and others in defense of this statement. Mason, p. 133, supported the idea: "Moreover the calling of *Bishops* is approved by the mouth of *Christ* himselfe, when he adorned the *seven Prelates* of the seven Churches, with the honourable title of *Starres* and *Angells*." Hall (*Humble Remonstrance*, 1640, p. 23) interpreted "angel" as "bishop"; in *An Answer* Smectymnuus declared the word referred to the body of the church taken collectively (1641, p. 52). Peloni Almon, in *A Compendious Discourse* (1641), p. [4], uses this argument of the angels to prove Episcopacy.

⁷⁴ Cf. *CBT* (Ussher), p. 56: "There had been a continued succession of *seven and twentie Bishops*; all of them ordained in *Ephesus*"

⁷⁵ Is Milton hissing the bishops, as he did the "Trinculo's, Buffons, and Bawds" at the Cambridge academic plays (below, p. 887)? Most of Ussher's tract is filled with just these "citations, sees, and successions."

⁷⁶ Both are fools' arguments, because neither proves anything. The idea is evidently proverbial, though it appears in no proverb collection. Cf. Butler, *Hudibras* (1664), II, i, 297-98:

I've heard old cunning stagers
Say fools for arguments use wagers.

⁷⁷ II Corinthians 5.7. "For we walk by faith, not by sight."

of it selfe sufficient to confute all other pretences that may be brought in favour of it. [19]

CHAP. VI.

That Prelaty was not set up for prevention of Schisme, as is pretended, or if it were, that it performes not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.

YET because it hath the outside of a specious reason, & specious things we know are aptest to worke with humane lightnesse and frailty, even against the solidest truth, that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the examining for the love of infirmer Christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them that for the prevention of growing schisme the Bishop was heav'd above the Presbyter.¹ And must tradition then ever thus to the worlds end be the perpetuall canker-worme to eat out Gods Commandements? are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of *Solon*, or *Lycurgus*² shall prove durably good to many ages, his in 40³ yeares shall be found defective, ill contriv'd, and for needfull causes to be alter'd? Our Saviour and his Apostles did not only foresee, but foretell and forewarne us to looke for schisme.⁴ Is it a thing to be imagin'd of Gods wisdom, or at least of Apostolick prudence to set up such a government in the tendernesse of the Church, as should incline, or not be more able then any other to oppose it selfe to schisme? it was well knowne what a bold lurker schisme was even in the houshold of Christ⁵ betweene his owne Disciples and those of *John* the Baptist about fasting: and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of

¹ Cf. Andrewes (*CBT*, p. 32) · "The occasion which caused the *Apostles* to appoint *Bishops*, [besides the patterne in the time of the Law,] seemeth to have been *schismes*." Also Mason (*CBT*, p. 147): "*This advancing was made for a remedy against schisme*"

² Solon was archon of Athens ca 594 B.C. He instigated many reforms in the Athenian system of law For Lycurgus see above, p 753 Of him Herodotus says, "He changed all the laws of the country and was careful that none should transgress his ordinances" *Herodotus*, tr. A. D. Godley (4 vols., New York and London: Loeb Classical Library, 1928), I. 77.

³ In the apostolic age, until the deaths of the apostles.

⁴ Cf. Luke 12 51-53, Romans 16.17-19, II John 1:5-15.

⁵ Matthew 9.14-17, Mark 2:18-22, Luke 5.33-35.

schisme had almost drown'd the proclaiming of the Gospell; ⁶ yet we reade not in Scripture that any thought was had of making Prelates, no not in those places where dissention was most rife.⁷ If Prelaty had beene then esteem'd a remedy against schisme, where was it more needfull then in that great variance among the Corinthians which *S. Paul* so labour'd to reconcile? ⁸ and whose eye could have found the fittest remedy sooner then his? and what could have made the remedy more available, then to have us'd it speedily? and lastly what could have beene more necessary then to have written it for our instruction? yet we see he neither commended it to us, nor us'd it himselfe. For the same division remaining there, or else bur-[20]sting forth againe more then 20 yeares after *S. Pauls* death,⁹ wee finde in *Clements* Epistle ¹⁰ of venerable authority written to the yet factious *Corinthians*,¹¹ that they were still govern'd by Presbyters.¹² And the same of other Churches out of *Hermas*,¹³ and divers other the scholers

⁶ Cf. Acts 5.9-23; 11:1-18.

⁷ Milton repeats the argument of Smectymnuus in *An Answer* (1641, p. 29). "First, because we reade in the Apostles dayes there were Divisions, *Rom.* 16.17. and Schismes, 1 *Cor.* 3.3 & 11.18 yet the Apostle was not directed by the holy Ghost to ordaine Bishops for the taking away of those Divisions."

⁸ I Corinthians 1:10-11; 3:3; 11:18.

⁹ "The persecution of Nero was in 64 A.D., and Paul may have fallen a victim to it" *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (cited hereafter as *ERE*), IX, 692.

¹⁰ The two epistles of St. Clement Romanus (d. ca. 106), held to have been the third bishop of Rome, had been rediscovered in 1633 and published at Oxford. They were important documents in the Smectymnuan controversy, because Clement makes use of the word *πρεσβύτερος*. See *Apostolic Fathers*, tr. Kirsopp Lake, (2 vols., London and New York, Loeb Classical Library, 1945), I, 1 Clement, xlv, 5. The statement of Clement here is: "Let the flock of Christ live in terms of peace with the presbyters set over it."

¹¹ The first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, chap. 1: "That shameful and detestable sedition . . . which a few rash and self-confident persons have kindled to such a pitch of frenzy, that your venerable and illustrious name, worthy to be universally loved, has suffered grievous injury." *Fathers*, A. N., XXV, 229.

¹² These were elder members of the congregation; in the period to which Milton is here referring they had a variety of functions. I Timothy, 5:1, Acts 11:30, II John 1:1. They seem no different from bishops in Acts 20:17, 28; Titus 1:5, 7. They were laymen, but the distinction between laity and clergy did not practically exist. Paul was a tentmaker and practiced his trade.

¹³ *The Pastor of Hermas* (ca. 148 A.D.) was a very highly esteemed early Christian pietistic work. See *Fathers*, A. N., II, 1-58. In the second part (the commands) there are several allusions to church government which indicate a loose sort of democracy, certainly not the rule of bishops.

of the Apostles ¹⁴ by the late industry of the learned *Salmasius* ¹⁵ appears. Neither yet did this worthy *Clement S. Pauls* disciple, though writing to them to lay aside schisme, in the least word advise them to change the Presbyteriall government into Prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave, or permitted this insurrection of Episcopacy, it is to be fear'd he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a King.¹⁶ With so good a will doth he use to alter his own chosen government once establish'd. For marke whether this rare device of mans braine thus preferr'd before the ordinance of God, had better successe then fleshly wisdom not counseling with God is wont to have. So farre was it from removing schisme, that if schisme parted the congregations before, now it rent and mangl'd, now it rag'd.¹⁷ Heresie begat heresie with a certain monstrous haste of pregnancy in her birth, at once borne and bringing forth.¹⁸ Contentions before brotherly were now hostile. Men went to choose their Bishop as they went to a pitcht field, and the day of his election was like the sacking of a City, sometimes ended with the blood of thousands.¹⁹ Nor this among

¹⁴ That is, those presumed to have been personally taught by the Twelve.

¹⁵ Claude de Saumaise (1588–1653), French classical scholar. He was professor at the Hague during the exile there (in 1649) of Charles II and was commissioned by the king to defend his father and attack the English regicide government. His *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* (Leyden, 1649) was answered by Milton's *A Defence of the English People* (1651). The book Milton refers to here is *De Episcopus et Presbyteris, contra D. Petavium Loiolitam Dissertatio Prima* (Leyden, 1641; NYPL). Salmasius refers to Hermas on pp. 250–53 in particular, and to Clement on p. 249. Throughout he quotes Scripture and the church fathers to prove that presbyters and bishops were originally the same. At this time Milton considered Salmasius a great Protestant divine on the right side of the anti-Episcopal controversy; this is his only respectful reference to his later antagonist.

¹⁶ I Samuel 6.

¹⁷ A large part of the writings of the early fathers was against heretics. James T Shotwell, in *The See of Peter* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), *passim*, cites Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Ambrose, Philaster of Brescia, Epiphanius of Cyprus, Augustine of Hippo, Theodoret, among others, in fulminations against the heretical beliefs that arose, particularly against the Gnostics, the Montanists, and the Arians. The *Church History* of Eusebius, which Milton cites below, is filled with scores of major heresies which rent the early church.

¹⁸ The sense is: Heresy begat heresy so swiftly that the heresy which was being born gave birth at once to others.

¹⁹ Milton exaggerates. Eusebius is the best authority on the early church, and his records of scores of changes of bishops rarely mention serious troubles, never "the blood of thousands."

hereticks only, but men of the same belief, yea confessors,²⁰ and that with such odious ambition, that *Eusebius*²¹ in his eighth book testifies he abhorred to write.²² And the reason is not obscure, for the poore dignity or rather burden of a Parochial Presbyter could not ingage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but Prelaty was a power of that extent, and sway, that if her election were popular,²³ it was seldome not²⁴ the cause of some faction or broil in the Church. But if her dignity came by favour of some Prince, she was from that time his creature, and obnoxious²⁵ to comply with his ends in state were they right or wrong. So that in stead of finding Prelaty an impeacher of Schisme or faction, the more I search, the more I grow into all perswasion to think rather that faction and she as with a spousall ring are wedded together, never to be divorc't. But here let every one behold the just, and dreadfull judgement of God meeting with the audacious pride of man that durst offer to mend the ordinances of heaven. God out of the strife²⁶ of men brought forth by his Apostles to the Church that beneficent and ever distributing offices of Deacons, the stewards and Ministers of holy almes, [21] man out of the pretended care of peace & unity being caught in the snare of his impious boldnesse to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himselfe upon the Church that irreconcilable schisme of perdition and Apostasy, the Roman Antichrist: for that the exaltation of the Pope arose out of the reason of Prelaty it cannot be deny'd.²⁷ And as I noted before that the patterne of the High Priest pleaded for in the Gospel (for take away the head Priest the rest are but a carcasse) sets up with

²⁰ In ecclesiastical language, those who persevere in the faith in spite of persecutions and torture.

²¹ Eusebius' great work was a series of connected treatises dealing with the history and philosophy of Christianity. Not all are preserved, but those which remain are the most authoritative sources for the early Christian church.

²² *Church History*, VIII, i, 7; ii, 4.

²³ That is, by the people. Cf. Eusebius, *Church History*, VI, xxix, 3: "When the brethren were all assembled for the purpose of appointing him who should succeed to the episcopate."

²⁴ Frequently.

²⁵ Answerable to or amenable to (legal).

²⁶ Cf. Acts 6:1-6. The "strife" was a "murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews." Thereupon, seven men "of honest report" were chosen to administer charity.

²⁷ See Shotwell, *The See of Peter*, pp. 239-40, for a demonstration of the rapid rise of the position of bishops, and pp. 211 ff. for the rise of the bishopric of the Roman Apostolic Church.

better reason a Pope, then an Archbishop,²⁸ for if Prelaty must still rise and rise till it come to a Primat, why should it stay there? when as the catholick government is not to follow the division of kingdomes,²⁹ the temple best representing the universall Church, and the High Priest the universall head; so I observe here, that if to quiet schisme there must be one head of Prelaty in a land or Monarchy rising from a Provinciaall to a nationall Primacy, there may upon better grounds of repressing schisme be set up one catholick head over the catholick Church. For the peace and good of the Church is not terminated in the schismelesse estate of one or two kingdomes, but should be provided for by the joynt consultation of all reformed Christendome: that all controversie may end in the finall pronounce or canon of one Arch-primat, or Protestant Pope.³⁰ Although by this meanes for ought I see, all the diameters of schisme may as well meet and be knit up in the center of one grand falshood. Now let all impartiall men arbitrate what goodly inference these two maine reasons of the Prelats have, that by a naturall league of consequence³¹ make more for the Pope then for themselves. Yea to say more home are the very wombe for a new subantichrist to breed in; if it be not rather the old force and power of the same man of sin counterfeiting protestant. It was not the prevention of schisme, but it was schisme it selfe, and the hatefull thirst of Lording in the Church³² that first bestow'd a being upon Prelaty; this was the true cause, but the pretence is stil the same. The Prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mawls³³ of schisme. Forsooth if they be put downe, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow; we shall be all Brownists,³⁴ Familists,³⁵

²⁸ One of the commonest arguments against the bishops. See Sir Edward Dering, *A Collection of Speeches* (1642), pp. 14–15, where the argument is the same.

²⁹ The church is not to be limited by national boundaries.

³⁰ That is, if all churches joined together, under prelaty, it would inevitably produce a Protestant pope. Such a "joint consultation" without a pope was the great ambition of John Dury's life.

³¹ That is, an inevitable result.

³² I Peter 5.3: "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock."

³³ Heavy hammers used in driving wedges.

³⁴ The Brownists were the followers of Robert Browne (1550?–1633?). Later the sect developed into the Congregationalists or Independents. Their principles were that all believers were independent of the state in religion and that congregations should be self-governing, with elected officials who were to be only pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The Brownists were the most numerous Independent sect; many of them lived in Holland and emigrated to America.

Anabaptists.³⁶ For the word Puritan seemes to be quasht,³⁷ and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists.³⁸ And thus doe they raise an evill report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for, like those faithlesse spies,³⁹ whose carcasses shall perish in the wilderness of their owne confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Doe they [22] keep away schisme? if to bring a num and chil stupidity of soul,⁴⁰ an unactive blindness of minde upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all, if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts,⁴¹ be to keep away schisme, they keep away schisme in-

³⁶ The "Family of Love" sect. Familists had appeared in England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and the sect was having a rebirth in the forties of the seventeenth. Their religious principles were antinomian; their religious ideas mystical and idealistic.

³⁸ The main tenet of this sect, from which has developed the Baptist denomination, was adult baptism by immersion. It advocated no connection between church and state, and no hierarchical church government. Cf. Bishop John Williams, quoted by John Hacket in *Scrims Reserata* (1693), Part II, p. 166: "Every one puts his Hand to Christ's Plough, that neither know Seed, Soil, nor Season. . . . their Disciples are *Anabaptists, Familists, Brownists.*"

³⁷ Quashed because other terms, less familiar and therefore more heretical sounding, made better name-calling. Milton always speaks of the Puritans sympathetically; in *Of Reformation* (see above, p. 540) he traces the word back to the age of Elizabeth. By this time, too, the word was beginning to lose some of its connotation of straight-laced hypocrisy. But cf. below, p. 788. "His best Disciples . . . were call'd Lollards and Hussites, are now by you term'd Puritans, and Brownists." See introduction, pp. 20-21, 72-73.

³⁸ Because, apparently, of fashions in words. "Puritan" is only a little older than "Brownist" (*NED* cites uses of the former from about 1564, of the latter from 1583) See above, p. 540, n. 84.

³⁹ Numbers 13, 14. These were the spies who gave false testimony about the promised land and were slain by a plague.

⁴⁰ Tillyard's comment is worthy of note here (*Milton*, p. 136): "The passage is prophetic of *Paradise Lost* . . . A 'numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind' were the besetting sins of Adam and Eve at the time of their fall."

⁴¹ The Court of High Commission. Instituted by Henry VII to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the court was continued and enlarged under succeeding rulers. It was particularly useful to Stuart absolutism: Laud used it as a main weapon in the enforcement of his policy of "thorough." It had jurisdiction over matrimonial offences, church irregularities (simony, plurality, and the like), but its potentially most powerful jurisdiction was over nonconformity, heresy, and schism. It became a tool for Laud's persecutions of those who did not read the *Book of Sports* (1633), take the "Etc." oath, and the like; hence its unpopularity. The Long Parliament abolished it July 5, 1641.

deed; and by this kind of discipline ⁴² all *Italy* and *Spaine* is as purely and politickly kept from schisme as *England* hath beene by them. With as good a plea might the dead palsie ⁴³ boast to a man, tis I that free you from stitches and paines, and the troublesome feeling of cold & heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The Winter might as well vaunt it selfe against the Spring, I destroy all noysome and rank weeds, I keepe downe all pestilent vapours. Yes and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent & hidebound frost; but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitfull bosome of the earth thus over-girded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the Sunne shall scatter the mists, and the manuring ⁴⁴ hand of the Tiller shall root up all that burdens the soile without thank to your bondage. But farre worse then any frozen captivity is the bondage of Prelates, for that other, if it keep down any thing which is good, within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill, but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keepe downe the lesser ill, and let out the greatest. Be asham'd at last to tell the Parlament ye curbe Schismatics,⁴⁵ when as they know ye cherish and side with Papists,⁴⁶ and are now as it were one party with them, and tis said they helpe to petition for ye.⁴⁷ Can we believe that your government strains in good

⁴² The inquisition. Cf Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, *A Discourse Opening the Nature of That Episcopacie* (2d ed., 1642), p. 91: "The Spaniard indeed by his cruell *Inquisition*, hath inclined his Subjects to a kinde of *Unity*."

⁴³ Complete bodily paralysis.

⁴⁴ Cultivating or weed-pulling hand.

⁴⁵ William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles* (1658; NYPL), pp. 363-70, contains a digest of Ussher, "Direction to the Parliamtent Concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal Government," as well as an "abbreviated" version of the 1641 pamphlet. In the first he says of the bishops, "that the removing of them . . . will breed an Infinite confusion"; in a "Thesis" to the latter "which was added by another," "the necessity of Episcopal Prelacy, for preservation of concord, and preventing of Schism" is insisted upon. This idea was a commonplace, however, with the bishops. Cf Laud's speech in the Star Chamber, June 16, 1637 (Rushworth, III, appendix, 116-17).

⁴⁶ One of the commonest complaints. Complaints 10 and 11 of the London Petition (December 11, 1640) stated (Rushworth, IV, 94): "The publishing and venting of Popish, *Arminian*, and other dangerous Books and Tenets; as namely, *That the Church of Rome is a true church*. . . . The Growth of Popery and Increase of Papists, Priests, and Jesuits . . . the frequent venting of Crucifixes and Popish Pictures."

⁴⁷ In April, 1639, Sir Kenelm Digby and Walter Montague, leading Catholics,

earnest at the petty gnats of schisme, when as we see it makes nothing to swallow the Camel heresie of *Rome*,⁴⁸ but that indeed your throats are of the right Pharisaical straine.⁴⁹ Where are those schismaticks with whom the Prelats hold such hot skirmish? shew us your acts, those glorious annals which your Courts of loathed memory lately deceas'd⁵⁰ have left us? those schismaticks I doubt me wil be found the most of them such as whose only schisme was to have spoke the truth against your high abominations and cruelties in the Church;⁵¹ this is the schisme ye hate most, the removall of your criminous⁵² Hierarchy. A politick government of yours, and of a pleasant conceit, set up to remove those as a pretended schisme, that would remove you as a palpable heresie in government. If the schisme would pardon ye that, she might go jagg'd in as many cuts and slashes as⁵³ she pleas'd for you. As for the rending of the Church, we have ma-[23]ny reasons to thinke it is not that which ye labour to prevent so much as the rending of your pontificall sleeves⁵⁴: that schisme would be the sorest schisme to you, that would be Brownisme and Anabaptisme⁵⁵ indeed. If we go downe, say you, as if *Adrians* wall were broke,⁵⁶ a

supported the bishops in a letter to other English Catholics, urging them to contribute to the unpopular war against the Scots. Rushworth, III, 160-61. Rushworth also prints a letter (p. 161) of the same month from "The Assembly of Papists in *London*, to the *Popish* Clergy and others in every Shire," urging the same support.

⁴⁸ Matthew 23. 24.

⁴⁹ That is, stressing outward conformity to the ceremonies of ritual without the spirit of piety.

⁵⁰ Milton refers to the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, abolished July 5, 1641. Gardiner, *Documents*, pp. 106, 112.

⁵¹ It is unlikely that Milton had any particular schismatics in mind, unless, indeed, the courts to which he refers include the Star Chamber. Perhaps his reference is intentionally vague, in order to bring to his readers' minds the mutilated, fined, and imprisoned Puritan martyrs, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had been triumphantly released from prison more than a year before.

⁵² "Guilty of crime." *NED*. The word is usually applied, as here, to erring members of the clergy.

⁵³ Throughout this passage of Renaissance rhetoric Milton has played with the classical meaning of "schism," Greek *σχίσμα*, Latin *schisma*, "a rent or tear." Throughout the passage he retains the concept while varying the images.

⁵⁴ The wide sleeves of lawn worn by the bishops; here, by synecdoche, made to stand for the whole dignity of prelacy. Thomason, I, 53, lists *A Rent in the Lawne Sleeves*; or *Episcopacy Eclipsed by Parliament* (December, 1641). See above, p. 612.

⁵⁵ These two in particular, because their doctrine was most uncompromisingly opposed to prelacy or to ecclesiastical superiority in any form.

⁵⁶ Hadrian's wall, an ancient Roman barrier built about 122 A.D. from the Tyne

flood of sects will rush in.⁵⁷ What sects? What are their opinions? give us the Inventory⁵⁸; it will appeare both by your former prosecutions and your present instances, that they are only such to speake of as are offended with your lawlesse government, your ceremonies, your Liturgy, an extract of the Masse book translated.⁵⁹ But that they should be contemners of publick prayer, and Churches us'd without superstition,⁶⁰ I trust God will manifest it ere long to be as false a slander, as your former slanders against the Scots.⁶¹ Noise it till ye be hoarse; that a rabble of Sects will come in, it will be answer'd ye, no rabble sir

to Solway Firth to defend the northern frontier of Britain. It was from the north that the sects would come. Cf Lord Digby's speech of February 9, 1641, on the London Petition (Rushworth, IV, 171): "Methought the Comet [the petition] had a terrible Tail with it, Sir, and pointed to the North."

⁵⁷ Cf Brooke, *A Discourse* (1641), p. 87: "Schismes and Heresies will breake in as armed men" Sanderson, in his *A Compleat History* (1658), shows the opinions of the orthodox concerning the Scots (p. 309): "We began [in 1640] to be great Practitioners in the School of *Revoltng*, in *Tumults* and *Insurrections*, following the *Rules* of our *Neighbour Brethren* in their *pretences* of *Liberty*, and as it is truly brought into parallel with the *Scots* former *proceedings* in their *Discipline of Reformation*."

⁵⁸ Inventories of sects and their beliefs were popular in the seventeenth century. Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 75-83, gives examples in which Milton himself was named as a "Divorcer." A good sample is Sanderson's precise inventory (*A Compleat History*, 1658, pp. 149-51), including. "1. *The Perfectist* . . . 2. *The Factious & Sermonist* . . . 3. *The Separatist* . . . 4. *The Anabaptist* . . . 5. *The Brownist* . . . 6. *Loves familist* . . . 7. *The Precisian* . . . 8. *The Sabbatarian* . . . 9. *The Antidisciplinarian* . . . 10. *The Presuming Predestinarians*."

⁵⁹ Milton was to be more definite in *Eikonoklastes* (Chapter XVI, 1649, p. 148): "For the matter contain'd in that Book we need no better witness then King Edward the sixth, who to the Cornish Rebels confesses it was no other then the old Mass-Book don into English, all but some few words that were expung'd." Milton is attacking the second (1552) prayer book, with a few changes made in 1603. A good part of the ritual of communion, for example, came directly from the Roman Missal. the first Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity; several of the collects proper; the "Gloria in Excelsis," and three of the last six collects. Cf. *ERE*, X, 205-09, and Rushworth, II, 396.

⁶⁰ That is, true worship of God.

⁶¹ Among the slanderers of the Scots, named and refuted by George Gillespie in *A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies Obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (1637), are John Burgess (1563-1635); Thomas Morton (1564-1659), bishop successively of Chester, Lichfield, and Durham, who advocated forcing upon Scotland the surplice, the sign of the cross, and kneeling at the sacraments; John Sprint (d. 1623); bishop Andrewes; Richard Hooker; John Spottiswood (1565-1637), archbishop of St. Andrews; and others. In general, the kirk objected to all ceremonies and the prelates which Laud would have forced upon it, and were called un-Christian and disloyal for their objections.

Priest,⁶² but a unanimous multitude of good Protestants will then joyne to the Church, which now because of you stand separated.⁶³ This will be the dreadfull consequence of your removall. As for those terrible names of Sectaries and Schismaticks which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments which is ever thin, and weakly stor'd, after the first brunt⁶⁴ is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lyes your best archery. And whom ye could not move by sophisticall arguing, them you thinke to confute by scandalous misnaming.⁶⁵ Thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good christianity under two or three vile and hatefull terms. But if we could easily indure and dissolve your doubtiest reasons in argument, we shall more easily beare the worst of your unreasonablenesse in calumny and false report. Especially being foretold by Christ, that if he our Master were by your predecessors call'd Samaritan and Belzebub,⁶⁶ we must not think it strange if his best Disciples in the reformation, as at first by those of your tribe they were call'd Lollards⁶⁷ and Hussites,⁶⁸ so now by you be term'd Puritans, and Brownists. But my hope is that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggl'd thus out of their faith and religion by a mist of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the Scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aspersion of a disgracefull name into the things themselves: knowing that the Primitive Christians in their times were accounted such as are now call'd Familists and Adamites,⁶⁹ or worse. And many on the

⁶² The title was given to a priest or any holder of a bachelor's degree.

⁶³ A further demonstration that, to Milton, the church itself was in no way changed, but that prelaty had corrupted its purity.

⁶⁴ The first assault of a battle.

⁶⁵ The names Adamite, Familist, Brownist, Anabaptist, etc., were used, like the names Communist, appeaser, etc., three hundred years later, for propaganda by name-calling. Milton himself well knew its value.

⁶⁶ Matthew 10:25.

⁶⁷ Followers of John Wycliffe, so called after 1380. The name was first used of a charitable society of Brabant. There was no system of Lollardy, their tenets being individual interpretation of the Bible and much Scripture reading. They wished to simplify the Catholic ritual and opposed a state church.

⁶⁸ Followers of John Huss (1374-1415), who was burned at Prague. After his execution his followers organized into two groups. the conservatives, who would leave the church organization intact; and the radicals, who denied any law but the Bible in religion and any right of the clergy to mediate between God and man.

⁶⁹ The name of a sect in Bohemia and another in the Netherlands. The latter

Prelatich side like the Church of *Sardis* ⁷⁰ have a name [24] to live, and yet are dead; to be Protestants, and are indeed Papists in most of their principles. Thus perswaded, this your old fallacy wee shall soone unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent schisme, and who are your schismatics. But what if ye prevent, and hinder all good means of preventing schisme? that way which the Apostles us'd, was to call a councell; from which by any thing that can be learnt from the fifteenth of the *Acts*,⁷¹ no faithfull Christian was debarr'd, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of such a councell as this every parochiall Consistory ⁷² is a right homogeneous and constituting part being in it selfe as it were a little Synod, and towards a generall assembly moving upon her own basis in an even and firme progression, as those smaller squares in battell unite in one great cube, the main phalanx,⁷³ an embleme ⁷⁴ of truth and stedfastnesse. Whereas on the other side Prelaty ascending by a graduall monarchy from Bishop to Arch-bishop, from thence to Primat, and from thence, for there can be no reason yeilded neither in nature, nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it should not be a

baptized only adults, naked, as a sign of purity and simplicity. They and the Familists were the objects of much obscene humor, most of it undeserved.

⁷⁰ Revelation 3:1. "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." Sardis was one of the churches of Asia to which John wrote the Apocalypse.

⁷¹ Acts 15.6. "And the apostles and elders came together."

⁷² The kirk session of the Presbyterian Church. In this sentence Milton envisions a church government of three steps. the parish council, evidently made up of ministers and elders; the "little" synod of a considerable area (he has, apparently, omitted the Presbytery entirely); and the general assembly, which he calls below, p 791, "generall Presbyteries." He cannot have been ignorant that Ussher himself was, in midsummer of 1641, advocating some such government for the church. Ussher's system included (1) a parish council, consisting of "*the Rector or Incumbent Pastor*, together with the Churchwardens and Sidesmen"; (2) a monthly council of all rectors and pastors; (3) a diocesan synod; (4) provincial synods; and (5) national triennial synods. Sanderson, *A Compleat History* (1658), pp. 425-26.

⁷³ The phalanx, in which columns of troops move into a great square, was Milton's, and his age's, favorite battle formation. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I, 550; IV, 979; VI, 399.

⁷⁴ No example of an emblem in this form has been observed; it is likely that Milton had no specific emblem in mind. Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery* (2 vols., London: Warburg Institute, 1939), I, 206, finds "traces of an acquaintance with emblems" in Milton but does not cite this. See also Theodore Banks' illuminating study, *Milton's Imagery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 71-92.

Lordly ascendent ⁷⁵ in the horoscope of the Church, from Primate to Patriarch, and so to Pope. I say Prelaty thus ascending in a continuall pyramid upon pretence to perfect the Churches unity, if notwithstanding it be found most needfull, yea the utmost helpe to dearn ⁷⁶ up the rents of schisme by calling a councell, what does it but teach us that Prelaty is of no force to effect this work which she boasts to be her maister-peice; and that her pyramid aspires and sharpens to ambition, not to perfection, or unity. This we know, that as often as any great schisme disparts the Church, and Synods be proclam'd, the Presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the Bishops, which the Canon law conceals not.⁷⁷ So that Prelaty if she will seek to close up divisions in the Church, must be forc't to dissolve, and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which she affirms to be of such uniting power, when as indeed it is the most dividing, and schismaticall forme that Geometricians know of,⁷⁸ and must be faine to inglobe, or incube her selfe among the Presbyters,⁷⁹ which she hating to do, sends her haughty Prelates from all parts with their forked Miters,⁸⁰ the badge of schisme or the stampe of his cloven foot whom they serve I think, who according to their hierarchies acuminating ⁸¹ still higher and higher in a cone of Prelaty, in stead of healing up the gashes of the Church, as it happens in such pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their sharpe [25] spires for upper place, and precedence, till the councell it selfe prove the greatest schisme of all. And thus they are so farre from hindring dissention, that they have

⁷⁵ The "ascendant" is the first sign of the zodiac in any horoscope, that which is about to rise at any given moment, usually the moment of a person's birth. Computing the ascendant is hence the most important part of the horoscope. Milton's use (cited in *NED*) is meaningless in astrology, which restricts the meaning of ascendant as above, it does not mean climbing.

⁷⁶ Patch or mend

⁷⁷ Milton contents himself with a half-truth. The laity were permitted to be present at councils to demand justice or to defend themselves, but they were excluded from all debates concerning ecclesiastical affairs. See *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, ed. R. Naz (4 vols., Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1935-49) III, col. 1271.

⁷⁸ In this metaphysical conceit Milton is not in accord with the accepted idea. Sir William Temple, for instance, wrote (*Works*, 2 vols., London, 1814, I, 23): "The Pyramid is of all figures the firmest . . . it grows still so much the firmer, by how much broader the base and sharper the top."

⁷⁹ "The pyramid must change its form into a cube or globe" is Milton's meaning.

⁸⁰ An ornamental headdress with a crown having two points, worn by Anglican bishops.

⁸¹ Rising to a point.

made unprofitable, and even noysome the chiefest remedy we have to keep Christendom at one, which is by councils: and these if wee rightly consider Apostolick example, are nothing else but generall Presbyteries. This seem'd so farre from the Apostles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impair'd, that, as we may gather by those Epistles of *Peter* and *John*, which are likely to be latest written,⁸² when the Church grew to a setling, like those heroick patricians of Rome (if we may use such comparison) hasting to lay downe their dictatorship, they rejoyc't to call themselves and to be as fellow Elders among their brethren.⁸³ Knowing that their high office was but as the scaffolding of the Church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troublesome disfigurement, so soone as the building was finisht. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, such was their small discerning, thought it a poore indignity, that the high rear'd government of the Church should so on a sudden, as it seem'd to them, squat into a Presbytery. Next or rather before councils the timeliest prevention of schisme is to preach the Gospell abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to instruct the youth religiously, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be easiest understood by all men; to all which the proceedings of these men have been on set purpose contrary.⁸⁴ But how O Prelats should you remove schisme, and how should you not remove and oppose all the meanes of removing schism? when Prelaty is a schisme it selfe from the most reformed and most flourishing of our neighbour Churches abroad,⁸⁵ and a sad subject of discord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you alledge is the very disease we groan under; ⁸⁶ and never can be to us a remedy but by removing it selfe. Your predecessors were believ'd to assume this pre-eminence above their brethren only that they might appease dissen-

⁸² Frederic C. Cook in *The Holy Bible* (12 vols, London, 1881), VI, 159, 294-95, dates Peter's epistles at about 63 A.D. and John's as perhaps twenty years later. I and II Peter, therefore, were written at about the same time as the Pauline epistles. Milton is thinking of such exhortations as I Peter 5.3: "Neither be as Lords."

⁸³ The Roman dictatorship was founded in 501 B.C. Livy, II, xviii. The period during which one patrician might hold office was six months only.

⁸⁴ The learned allusions, scraps of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the colors of rhetoric with which such great preachers as Andrewes and Donne ornamented their sermons put the meaning beyond the unlearned majorities in their congregations.

⁸⁵ There was no prelacy in the reformed churches of Geneva, France, or Scotland. It was developing, however, in the German and Scandinavian churches.

⁸⁶ That is, the continuance and increase in the powers of the prelates.

tion. Now God and the Church calls upon you, for the same reason to lay it down, as being to thousands of good men offensive, burdensome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge which unlesse you fowlely usurpt it, the Church gave you, and now claimes it againe, for the reason she first lent it. Discharge the trust committed to you, prevent schisme, and that ye can never do, but by discharging your selves. That government which ye hold, we confesse prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the schisms and grievances of the Church? [26] no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the Church alone, but of the whole kingdome. And if it be still permitted ye to hold, will cause the most sad I know not whether separation be enough to say, but such a wide gulph of distraction in this land as will never close her dismall gap, untill ye be forc't (for of your selvs ye wil never do as that Roman *Curtius*⁸⁷ nobly did) for the Churches peace & your countries, to leap into the midst, and be no more seen. By this we shal know whether yours be that ancient Prelaty which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet & unanimity into the Church, for then you wil not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your Prelaty is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of your selves above your brethren, and all your learned scraping in antiquity even to disturbe the bones of old *Aaron* and his sonnes in their graves, is but to maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you call sacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverent gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice, in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his Church, to law, custome, or nature, ye have resolv'd to set at nought. I could put you in mind what counsell *Clement* a fellow labourer with the Apostles gave to the Presbyters of *Corinth*, whom the people though unjustly sought to remove.⁸⁸ Who among you saith he, is noble minded, who is pittifull, who is charitable, let him say thus, if for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I

⁸⁷ A noble Roman who, in 362 B.C., in response to the prophecy that Rome could be saved only by sacrifice of her dearest treasure, leaped into a chasm which an earthquake had opened in the city. See *Livy*, VII, 6.

⁸⁸ The first epistle of Clement, LXIV (*Fathers*, A N., I, 19): "Who then among you is noble-minded? who compassionate? who full of love? Let him declare, 'If on my account sedition and disagreement and schisms have arisen, I will depart, I will go whithersoever ye desire . . . only let the flock of Christ live on terms of peace with the presbyters set over it.'"

go my wayes, only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the Presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this, saith he, shall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receive him. This was *Clements* counsell to good and holy men that they should depart rather from their just office, then by their stay, to ravle out the seamlessse garment ⁸⁹ of concord in the Church. But I have better counsell to give the Prelats, and farre more acceptable to their eares, this advice in my opinion is fitter for them. Cling fast to your Pontificall Sees, bate not, quit your selves like Barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty Courts and votes in Parliament.⁹⁰ Still tell us that you prevent schisme, though schisme and combustion be the very issue of your bodies, your first born; and set your country a bleeding in a Prelaticall mutiny,⁹¹ to fight for your pompe, and that ill favour'd weed ⁹² of temporall honour that sits dishonourably upon your laick ⁹³ shoulders, that ye may be fat and fleshy, swoln with high thoughts [27] and big with mischievous designes, when God comes to visit upon you all this forescore yeares vexation ⁹⁴ of his Church under your Egyptian tyranny.⁹⁵ For certainly of all those blessed soules which you have persecuted, and those miserable ones which you have lost, the just vengeance does not sleepe.

⁸⁹ Tradition said that the garment of Christ over which the soldiers cast lots was seamless. This garment was interpreted as signifying the singleness of doctrine of the church. Hall uses the image in *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 41.

⁹⁰ Milton is here parodying St. Paul's ringing adjuration in I Corinthians 16.13: "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong."

⁹¹ The "mutiny" to which Milton refers is the two bishops' wars of 1639 and 1640, the "civil war" which, he says in *Second Defence*, caused him to return from his Italian journey. Neither war, however, was very bloody.

⁹² Garment.

⁹³ "Pompe" and "temporall honour" are laic, i.e., of this world, unfitting for true clergymen.

⁹⁴ This dates the pre-eminence of the bishops from the re-establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth in 1558.

⁹⁵ The tyranny suffered by the Jews in Egypt, when "they made their lives bitter with bondage." Exodus 1.14

CHAP. VII.

That those many Sects and Schismes by some suppos'd to be among us, and that rebellion in Ireland,¹ ought not to be a hindrance, but a hastning of reformation.

AS FOR those many Sects and divisions rumor'd abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceave that they are partly the meere fictions and false alarmes of the Prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panick terrors into the hearts of weaker Christians that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the Church for fear of I know not what worse inconveniencies. With the same objected feares and suspicions, we know that suttile Prelat *Gardner* ² sought to divert the first reformation.³ It may suffice us to be taught by *S. Paul* that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are sound hearted.⁴ These are but winds and flaws ⁵ to try the floting vessell of our faith whether it be stanch and sayl well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seene who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose vertue is of an unchangeable graine, and whose of a slight wash.⁶ If God come to trie our constancy we ought not to shrink, or stand the lesse firmly for

¹ The Irish Rebellion broke out on October 23, 1641, but the news did not reach London until about November 1, and it was not until the middle of the month that reports of atrocities roused London to fury. See above, pp.168-70; Rushworth, IV, 398; Sanderson, *A Compleat History* (1658), pp. 443-45.

² Stephen Gardiner (ca. 1483-1555), Bishop of Winchester, was one of Henry VIII's chief tools in arranging and justifying his first divorce. He became Lord High Chancellor in 1553 under Mary and was mainly responsible for the repression of Protestants in her reign. Foxe also calls him a "viper's bird . . . of a high stomach . . . in wit, crafty, and subtle." Foxe, *Acts* (8 vols., London, 1853-70), VII, 585.

³ Milton refers to Gardiner's attempts to eliminate "heresy" in the land. See Foxe, II, 494-95, where Gardiner is against "innovation, or alteration in Religion, or Ceremonies in the Church." His activities are discussed in James A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 108-111, 129-30, 151-52.

⁴ I Corinthians 11:17-20.

⁵ A flaw is a sudden gust or blast of wind. *NED*. The thought is from Ephesians 4:14: "Be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine."

⁶ The first is fast, unfading color, laid on as a dye; the latter is a thin, impermanent layer of color laid on by a brush.

that, but passe on with more stedfast resolution to establish the truth though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side.⁷ Other things men do to the glory of God: but sects and errors it seems God suffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted constancy in the truth. Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which God sends us as an incitement to proceed with more honour and alacrity. For if there were no opposition where were the triall of an unfained goodnesse and magnanimity? ⁸ vertue that wavers is not ver-[28]tue, but vice revolted from it-selfe, and after a while returning.⁹ The actions of just and pious men do not darken in their middle course; but *Solomon* tels us they are as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfet day. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of future sects to overcloud the faire beginnings of purpos't reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the same Wiseman be not upraided to us, that the way of the wicked is as darknesse, they stumble at they know not what.¹⁰ If sects and schismes be turbulent in the unsetl'd estate of a Church, while it lies under the amending hand, it best be-seems our Christian courage to think they are but as the throws and pangs that go before the birth of reformation, and that the work it selfe is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elementall and mixt things, we know they cannot suffer any change of one kind, or quality into another without the struggl of contrarieties.¹¹ And in

⁷ The figure is that of running the gantlet

⁸ "In Aristotle the word (by modern translators rendered 'greatsouledness,' 'highmindedness') expresses the attitude of one who, rightly conscious of his own great merits, is indifferent to praise except from those whose approval is valuable, [and] regards the chances of fortune with equanimity" *NED* Milton uses the word to compass many virtues. For instance, in *Observations on the Articles of Peace* (1649, p. 52) he speaks of "fortitude and Magnanimity."

⁹ An anticipation of the doctrine of *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 12): "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd virtue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat."

¹⁰ Proverbs 4 18, 19.

¹¹ Milton's use of these scientific terms is entirely different from modern usage. "Elementall" meant earth, air, fire, water, and, probably, ether. Metals, for instance, before Robert Boyle's *Sceptical Chemist* (1661), were held to be combinations of mercury and sulphur, hence "mixed." To change to another substance (which involved the "struggle of contrarities" i.e., different substances) the scientist would extract "the qualities represented by the four elements and [would add] to it the elements characteristic of the [second] substance." Dorothy M. Fisk,

things artificiall,¹² seldome any elegance is wrought without a superfluous wast and refuse in the transaction. No Marble statue can be politely¹³ carv'd, no fair edifice built without almost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that even in the spirituall conflict of *S. Pauls* conversion there fell scales from his eyes that were not perceav'd before.¹⁴ No wonder then in the reforming of a Church which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falshood together, if, as it were the splinters and shares¹⁵ of so violent a jousting, there fall from between the shock many fond errors and fanatick opinions, which when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation shall be perfeted, will easily be rid out of the way, or kept so low, as that they shall be only the exercise of our knowledge, not the disturbance, or interruption of our faith. As for that which *Barclay*¹⁶ in his image of minds writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Englishmen in their religion.¹⁷ I deeme it spoken like what hee was, a fugitive Papist traducing the Iland whence he sprung.¹⁸ It may be more judiciously gather'd from hence, that the Englishman of many other nations is¹⁹ least atheisticall, and bears a naturall disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weaknesse and want of better instruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, especially by the meaner sort, turning the bent of his own wits with a scrupulous and ceaselesse care what he might do to informe himselfe

Modern Alchemy (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 11. The idea stems from Heraclitus, whose work *On Nature* expresses the idea that the universe developed from primal fire by the pressure of strife, the clash of opposites.

¹² Opposed to natural, made by constructive skill.

¹³ Smoothly. *NED*.

¹⁴ Acts 9:18.

¹⁵ Parts cut or broken off.

¹⁶ John Barclay (1582–1621) published from 1605 to 1614 *Satyricon*, a four-part satire against Catholicism; the fourth part (1614) is the *Icon Animorum*. He became reconciled to the Catholic Church in 1616 and lived in Rome until his death.

¹⁷ See *The Mirrour of Mindes, or, Barclay's Icon Animorum*, tr. T. M[ay] (1631), pp. 122–23. "They [the English] hold abominable opinions unworthy of men, and are authors of their owne superstition." The idea is elaborated, pp. 118–25.

¹⁸ Barclay was scarcely a fugitive (he was in no danger); he left London in 1616 because he was disappointed at his chance for advancement at the penurious court of James I. He did not "spring" from England; he was born in France, his father a Scot. However, Milton says "Iland."

¹⁹ Milton's patriotism, his belief in the inherent greatness of England and her people, is too big a subject for a note. The following are a few references of similar tenor from his earlier *Of Reformation*, above, pp. 525, 526, 616.

aright of God and his worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes as any other land man into an un-[29]couth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardlinesse²⁰ in the roughcast without breeding, some nation or other may haply be better compos'd to a naturall civility,²¹ and right judgement then he. But if he get the benefit once of a wise and well rectifi'd nurture, which must first come in generall from the godly vigilance of the Church, I suppose that where ever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the English people among the first that shall be prais'd, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation. But thus while some stand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which should mainly hasten them forward, lest schism and error should encrease, we may now thank our selves and our delayes if instead of schism a bloody and inhumane rebellion²² be strook in between our slow movings. Indeed against violent and powerfull opposition there can be no just blame of a lingring dispatch.²³ But this I urge against those that discourse it for a maxim, as if the swift opportunities of establishing, or reforming religion, were to attend upon the fleam²⁴ of state businesse. In state many things at first are crude and hard to digest, which only time and deliberation can supple, and concoct.²⁵ But in religion wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of season, it goes farre otherwise. The doore of grace turnes upon smooth hinges wide opening to send out, but soon shutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation: which unlesse Watchfulnesse and Zeale two quick-sighted and ready-handed Virgins be there in our behalfe to receave,²⁶ we loose: and still the offer we loose,²⁷ the straiter the doore opens,²⁸ and the lesse is offer'd.

²⁰ Other nations may have more "towardliness" (natural aptitude) than the English, but the English are, above all nations, able to take advantage of "nurture" (education).

²¹ Perhaps the Italians, whom he praises for their "sedate and composed magnanimity" in *Second Defence* (1654).

²² Milton does not prophesy rebellion; rather he mentions it as the almost unthinkable alternative to the present state of inaction.

²³ Milton means the opposition is so powerful and violent that, justly, he cannot blame the slow action of the bishop's opponents.

²⁴ The cold and moist humor, producing coldness, dullness, and sluggishness.

²⁵ Digest. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, V, 412.

²⁶ A reference to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, Matthew 25.1-12. The door to the bridegroom's chamber was open to the wise, but the foolish were shut out. Not long after, in the sonnet to an unknown young woman, "Lady, that in the Prime," he was to allude to the parable again.

²⁷ "Lose," often so spelled in the seventeenth century.

²⁸ The narrower the opening.

This is all we get by demurring in Gods service. Tis not rebellion that ought to be the hindrance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cause of that. The Prelats which boast themselves the only bridlers of schisme God knows have been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress heresie and idolatry, that either through their carelesnesse or their craft all this mischief is befall. What can the Irish subject do lesse in Gods just displeasure against us, then revenge upon English bodies the little care that our Prelats have had of their souls.²⁹ Nor hath their negligence been new in that Iland³⁰ but ever notorious in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, as *Camden*³¹ their known friend forbears not to complaine. Yet so little are they toucht with remorse of these their cruelties, for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famisht, that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyall [30] deeds have now bought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted, toward these murderous Irish the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed off-spring of their own connivence, no man takes notice but that they seeme to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion that hath his cause from the misgovernment of the Church, where? but at the Churches reformation, and the removall of that government which persues and warres with all good Christians under the name of schismatics, but maintains and fosters all Papists and Idolaters as tolerable Christians. And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witnesse of God himselfe, that the corrupted estate of the Church is both the cause of tumult, and civill warres, and that to stint them, the peace of the Church must first be setl'd. *Now for a long season*,³² saith *Azariah* to *King Asa*, *Israel hath beene without the true God, and without a*

²⁹ The revolting Irish, of course, wanted nothing to do with the Anglican bishops at all, since they were Catholics, and one of their grievances was the persecution of their church. The Irish Rebellion, here blamed on the bishops, was some seven or eight years later, in *Eikonoklastes* (1649, Chapter XII), laid to the king's charge.

³⁰ "The [Anglican] bishops, among whom there were scarcely three good preachers, seemed . . . more anxious about their revenues than about the saving of souls." Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum*, I, 17.

³¹ William Camden (1551–1623), historian, is best known for his *Britannia* (1586) and *Annales* (1615–27). See above, pp. 365, 421. In the former he complains of "the carelesse negligence of [the] Prelates" (p. 82).

³² II Chronicles 15 3–7, omitting 4.

teaching Priest, and without law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was destroy'd of nation, and City of City, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore, saith he to the reformers of that age, and let not your hands be weake, for your worke shall bee rewarded. And in those Prophets that liv'd in the times of reformation after the Captivity often doth God stirre up the people to consider that while establishment of Church matters was neglected, and put off, there was *no peace to him that went out or came in, for I, saith God, had set all men every one against his neighbour.*³³ But from the very day forward that they went seriously, and effectually about the welfare of the Church, he tels them that they themselves might perceave the sudden change of things into a prosperous and peacefull condition.³⁴ But it will here be said that the reformation is a long work, and the miseries of *Ireland* are urgent of a speedy redresse. They be indeed; and how speedy we are, the poore afflicted remnant of our martyr'd countrymen³⁵ that sit there on the Sea-shore, counting the houres of our delay with their sighs, and the minuts with their falling teares, perhaps with the destilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time cast off, and almost curst the vain hope of our founder'd ships,³⁶ and aids, can best judge how speedy we are to their reliefe.³⁷ But let their succors be hasted,³⁸ as all need and reason is, and let not therefore the re-[31]formation which is the chiefest cause of successe and victory be still procrastinated. They of the captivity in their greatest extremities could find both counsell and hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemies assault.³⁹ And we for our parts a populous and mighty nation⁴⁰ must needs be faine into a strange

³³ (M) Zechariah 8[:10] (Milton's reference is in the margin.)

³⁴ (M) Haggai 2[3-9]. (Milton's reference is in the margin)

³⁵ In 1649, in his *Observations on the Articles of Peace*, Milton puts the number of those massacred by the Irish at 200,000. This and other estimates Milton accepted were gross exaggerations of the number of British actually slain. See above, p 169.

³⁶ Sanderson, *A Compleat History* (1658), p 450, relates that "not long after" November 22, 1641, a "Chester Bark" was run on the sands "at the Skerms" and was rifled by the Irish.

³⁷ Lack of funds had delayed expeditions against the Irish. See Gardiner, X, 173.

³⁸ The first expeditionary force, of 1,100 men, did not land in Ireland until December 31, 1641, Cf. Bagwell, *Ireland*, I, 332.

³⁹ Nehemiah 4:14-18.

⁴⁰ There are no contemporary data on the population of England in 1641. Davies,

plight either of effeminacy, or confusion, if *Ireland* that was once the conquest of one single Earle with his privat forces, and the small assistance of a petty Kernish Prince,⁴¹ should now take up all the wisdome and prowesse of this potent Monarchy to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom if we take but the right course to subdue, that is beginning at the reformation of our Church, their own horrid murders and rapes will so fight against them, that the very sutlers ⁴² and horse boyes of the Campe will be able to rout and chase them without the staining of any Noble sword. To proceed by other method in this enterprize, be our Captains and Commanders never so expert, will be as great an error in the art of warre, as any novice in souldiership ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the feare of sects no nor rebellion can be a fit plea to stay reformation, but rather to push it forward with all possible diligence and speed.

[32]

The Early Stuarts (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 259, estimates it at between four and four and one-half million, mostly rural.

⁴¹ Actually it was the Kernish prince, Dermot MacMurrough, formerly King of Leinster, assisted by the single earl Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who conquered Ireland in 1170 Cf Camden, *Britannia* (1610), tr. Holland, p. 69; Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Irish Historie*, pp 3-25.

⁴² Followers of the army who sell provisions to soldiers.

The Second Book

How happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly call'd, mortall life of man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withall so cumbersome and full of trouble if knowledge yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were as the common saying is, no burden,¹ and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavie advantage overlay upon the spirit. For not to speak of that knowledge that rests in the contemplation of naturall causes and dimensions, which must needs be a lower wisdom,² as the object is low, certain it is that he who hath obtain'd in more then the scantest measure to know any thing distinctly of God, and of his true worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of mans life, what in it selfe evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteem'd, he that hath obtain'd to know this, the only high valuable wisdom indeed, remembring also that God even to a strictnesse³ requires the improvment of these his entrusted gifts,⁴ cannot but sustain a sorer burden of mind, and more pressing then any sup-portable toil, or waight, which the body can labour under; how and in what manner he shall dispose and employ those summes of knowledge and illumination, which God hath sent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravats the burden more, is, that having receiv'd amongst his allotted parcels certain pretious truths of such an orient⁵ lustre as no diamond can equall, which never the lesse he has

¹ Cf. George Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs* (1640): "Knowledge is no burden."

² The doctrine of the lower and higher wisdom is that of *Phaedo*, 69, 96 ff., and *Symposium*, 209 Cf. *Paradise Regained*, IV, 288-90:

he who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs.

³ Cf. the sonnet in the first draft of a "Letter to an Unknown Friend," ll. 9-11:

Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot however mean or high
Toward which time leads on, & the will of heaven

⁴ Still another use of Milton's favorite parable, that of the talents. Matthew 25:14-31.

⁵ Although now these words could properly be used only of pearls, *NED* shows them applicable to diamonds or other jewels in the seventeenth century. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, V, 2. "sow'd the earth with orient pearl"

in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea for nothing to them that will, the great Marchants of this world fearing that this cours would soon discover, and disgrace the fals glitter of their deceitfull wares where-with they abuse the people,⁶ like poor Indians with beads and glasses,⁷ [33] practize by all means how they may suppress the venting of such rarities and such a cheapnes as would undoe them, and turn their trash upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying⁸ the corrupt desires of men in fleshly doctrines, they stirre them up to persecute with hatred and contempt all those that seek to bear themselves uprightly in this their spiritual factory:⁹ which they foreseeing,¹⁰ though they cannot but testify of Truth and the excellence of that heavenly traffick which they bring against what opposition, or danger soever, yet needs must it sit heavily upon their spirits, that being in Gods prime intention and their own, selected heralds of peace,¹¹ and dispensers of treasure inestimable without price to them that have no pence, they finde in the discharge of their commission that they are made the greatest variance and offence, a very sword¹² and fire both in house and City over the whole earth. This is that which the sad Prophet *Jeremiah* laments,¹³ *Wo is me my mother, that thou hast born me a man of strife, and contention.* And although divine inspiration¹⁴ must

⁶ The Anglican bishops, fearing that the real value of truth will ruin the market for their flashy but spurious wares, try to prevent plain and honest speakers from being heard and, by licensing the press, keep books against them from appearing. Cf. the London and Kentish petitions (Rushworth, IV, 93, 135).

⁷ In the seventeenth century Indians were either the people of India or American aborigines. The poor bargaining power of both made the fortunes of many "great Marchants."

⁸ By such ways as buying the approbation of the masses by an open Sunday, etc., the prelates made the opponents of such "fleshly" practices seem Puritans and hypocrites.

⁹ An extension of the "poor Indian" figure above. A factory, here, is an establishment of traders carrying on business in a foreign country

¹⁰ The "they" refers to those who have received "certain pretious truths," not to the prelatical party of the preceding clause.

¹¹ Milton is thinking of the phrase, "Peace, from God our Father," used in St. Paul's epistle.

¹² Matthew 10:34: "I came not to send peace, but a sword."

¹³ Jeremiah 15:10. Milton shortens slightly.

¹⁴ Milton is, of course, an entirely orthodox believer in the divine inspiration of Scripture. It would seem that he believed in plenary inspiration, "according to which the inspiration of the writers extends to all the subjects treated of, so that all their statements are to be received as infallibly true." *NED*. On poetic inspiration, see below, p. 816, n. 107. The inspiration of the prophets is often alluded to; cf. *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxx.

certainly have been sweet to those ancient profets, yet the irksomnesse of that truth which they brought was so unpleasant to them, that every where they call it a burden.¹⁵ Yea that mysterious book of Revelation which the great Evangelist was bid to eat,¹⁶ as it had been some eye-brightning electuary¹⁷ of knowledge, and foresight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly; bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wise Poet *Sophocles*, who in that place of his Tragedy where *Tiresias* is call'd to resolve *K. Edipus* in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more then other men.¹⁸ For surely to every good and peaceable man it must in nature needs be a hatefull thing to be the displeaser, and molester of thousands; much better would it like him doubtlesse to be the messenger of gladnes and contentment, which is his chief intended busines, to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happinesse. But when God commands¹⁹ to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in mans will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent, as *Jeremiah* did, because of the reproach and derision he met with daily, and *all his familiar friends watcht for his halting* to be reveng'd on him for speaking the truth, he would be forc't to confesse as he confest, *his word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay.*²⁰ Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all [34] things that are sharply spoken,²¹ or vehemently written,

¹⁵ The word here means a prophecy of doom. It is used particularly in *Isaiah* at the beginning of prophetic chapters; see the first words of *Isaiah* 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23.

¹⁶ Revelation 10.9, 10 When John was commanded to eat the little book held by the angel, it was "in my mouth sweet as honey," but when it was eaten, "my belly was bitter." Cf. Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 99, n. 112.

¹⁷ A medical conserve or paste, consisting of powder or other ingredient mixed with honey or syrup *NED*. In a letter to Leonard Philaras of September, 1654, Milton dates the beginning of his eye trouble as "ten years since." Was he, even before this, having "sharp pains" in his eyes and using prescriptions for them?

¹⁸ The reference is to *Sophocles*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, ll. 316-17.

¹⁹ Probably when Milton wrote this famous sentence he had in mind *Isaiah* 58:1 or *Jeremiah* 4:19 ff. This spirit of personal rapport with God was the same as that which made men like Burton and Lilburne suffer joyfully for the cause.

²⁰ *Jeremiah* 20:8-10. Milton paraphrases and condenses.

²¹ Milton here gives the intent, if not the exact words, of Lord Digby's speech in Parliament on February 9, 1641, though Digby had extended his meaning to general disruptions and commotions, not merely Presbyterianism. Rushworth, IV, 170-72.

as proceeding out of stomach,²² virulence and ill nature, but to consider rather that if the Prelats have leav to say the worst that can be said, and doe the worst that can be don, while they strive to keep to themselves to their great pleasure and commodity those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow without any gain to himselfe those sharp, but saving words which would be a terror, and a torment in him to keep back. For me I have determin'd²³ to lay up as the best treasure, and solace of a good old age, if God voutsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the Churches good. For if I be either by disposition, or what other cause too inquisitive, or suspitious²⁴ of my self and mine own doings, who can help it? but this I foresee, that should the Church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed, or should she by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithfull men change this her distracted estate into better daies without the lest furtherance or contribution of those few talents²⁵ which God at that present had lent me, I foresee what stories I should heare within my selfe, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. Timorous and ingratefull, the Church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies: and thou bewailst, what matters it for thee or thy bewailing? when time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hadst read, or studied, to utter in her behalfe. Yet ease and leasure²⁶ was given thee for thy retired thoughts out of the sweat of other men.²⁷ Thou hadst the diligence, the

²² Here, anger, malice, or prideful spite. Cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 724. "for stomach much like to Pompey the great, that could endure no equal."

²³ A more limited statement of that other noble demand for free speech in *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 35): "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." Cf. Arthur Barker, *Milton and the Puritan Dilemma* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942), pp. xi-xxiv, and Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, pp. 120-38.

²⁴ Milton's meaning is: if I be too given to examining myself and my own motives. *NED* does not record "suspicious" as "questioning," but this seems Milton's meaning. In his "Letter to an Unknown Friend" second draft, he had also said that "I am something suspicious of myself."

²⁵ Again Matthew 25:14-31.

²⁶ Not such a lazy life is implied here as modern usage would suggest. Ease simply meant freedom from physical labor; leisure, freedom and opportunity for study.

²⁷ That is, his father. Unless we consider possible tuition payments from pupils, Milton up to this time had never earned a penny in his rather expensive life.

parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject²⁸ were to be adorn'd or beautifi'd, but when the cause of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listen'd if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert domb as a beast; from hence forward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. Or else I should have heard on the other eare, slothfull, and ever to be set light by, the Church hath now overcom her late distresses after the unwearied labours of many her true servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldst take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy: but wherefore thou? where canst thou shew any word or deed of thine which might have hasten'd her peace; what ever thou [35] dost now talke, or write, or look is the almes of other mens active prudence and zeale. Dare not now to say, or doe any thing better then thy former sloth and infancy,²⁹ or if thou darst, thou dost impudently to make a thrifty purchase³⁰ of boldnesse to thy selfe out of the painfull merits of other men: what before was thy sin, is now thy duty to be, abject, and worthlesse. These and such like lessons as these, I know would have been my Matins duly, and my Even-song.³¹ But now by this litle diligence, mark what a privilege I have gain'd; with good men and Saints

²⁸ At this time Milton had written practically all his Latin poems, most of his shorter poems (except sixteen sonnets), and his masques. Only five items, "On Shakespeare," *Comus*, "Lycidas," "Epitaphium Damonis" and the second Hobson poem, had been published, none with his name. Hence very few of his readers knew him as a poet. It seems likely here that, in publicly admitting his work, and at the same time disparaging it, he is attempting to gain the sympathy of his readers, most of whom, he knew, had a low opinion of poetry. Hence the tone of apology in these lines. Also to be considered is the possibility that Milton may mean that *any* other writing which he might do, were he not doing what he considered his Master's business, would be a vain subject because of the pressing immediacy of the church's distress. For Milton never meant "Lycidas" or "Epitaphium Damonis," which are surely "adorn'd and beautifi'd," as vain subjects. Cf. the "retraction" concluding Elegy VII:

Haec ego mente olim laevâ, studioque supino,
Nequitiae posui vana trophaea meae.

See also the reference to "tenues . . . sonos" ("trivial songs") in "Ad Patrem," l. 4.

²⁹ The strict etymological meaning: *in*—, "not"; plus *fari*, "to speak"; speechlessness.

³⁰ An easy bargain.

³¹ Matins and evensong are Church of England services, but the meaning here is general, as something heard in morning and evening. Cf. "L'Allegro," l. 114: "Ere the first cock his Mattin rings." "Duly" means "as my due"; it may be, however, a printer's error for "daily."

to clame my right of lamenting the tribulations of the Church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventur'd nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more then wisht her welfare, I have my charter and freehold ³² of rejoycing to me and my heires. Concerning therefore this wayward ³³ subject against prelaty, the touching whereof is so distastfull and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath enterd me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive ³⁴ fear least the omitting of this duty should be against me when I would store up to my self the good provision of peacefull hours, So lest it should be still imputed to me, as I have found it hath bin,³⁵ that some self-pleasing humor of vain-glory hath incited me to contest with men of high estimation,³⁶ now while green years ³⁷ are upon my head, from this needlesse surmisall I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal ³⁸ auditor, if I can but say successfully that

³² That is, my incontestable right.

³³ Milton uses the word in the sense of "untoward."

³⁴ Here the Latin sense of "going before." Cf. "Nativity Ode," l. 24: "O run, prevent them with thy humble ode."

³⁵ If this remark was published, it has not been observed.

³⁶ Hall, Ussher, Andrewes, Brerewood were famous men; Milton was all but unknown, as he here shows.

³⁷ It has often been observed that Milton was tardy in maturing and was sensitive about his years. Frequently it seems more than sensitiveness that a fairly consistent habit of minimizing his passing years can be traced throughout his life. Hence we find him at twenty-four bewailing his "late spring." Many poems, following his "Anno aetatis" formula, are dated a year or more too young: "In Obitum Procancellarii Medici," "anno a.16"—but the subject John Gostlin died October 21, 1626, when Milton was nearly eighteen. "Elegia Tertia" (on Andrewes, d. September 25, 1626) and "In Obitum Praesulis Eliensis" (on Nicholas Felton, d. October 6, 1626) are dated seventeen. William R. Parker (*TLS*, December 17, 1938, p. 802) has shown that the baby described in "Fair Infant Dying of a Cough" died January 22, 1628. Milton was twenty, not "Anno aetatis 17." "The Passion" (1630?) is excused because of its author's youth.

In the prose he frequently insists on his youth. In *Church-Government* it is "a taske too difficult for my yeares," above, p. 749. In *An Apology* he speaks of "the Remonstrant when he was as young as I" and quotes the "Toothlesse Satyrs," but Hall had been ten years Milton's junior when, in 1597, he published this work, and Milton must have known it. In *An Apology* he calls himself "hopeful" and hopes his readers will not calculate "the yeares he brings," although he does not sign the pamphlet. In the *Second Defence* (1654), written when he was past forty-five, he is "turned of forty" but looks thirty. And after 1652, at middle age, it was "ere half my days."

³⁸ Impartial.

which in this exigent behoovs me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant & learned³⁹ reader, to whom principally for a while I shal beg leav I may addresse my selfe. To him it will be no new thing though I tell him that if I hunted after praise by the ostentation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season,⁴⁰ when I have neither yet compleated to my minde the full circle of my private studies,⁴¹ although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand,⁴² or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately compos'd⁴³ to the carelesse and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next if I were wise only to mine own ends, I would certainly take such a subject as of it self might catch applause,⁴⁴ whereas this hath all the disadvantages on the contrary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayd at pleasure, and time enough to [36] pencill it over⁴⁵ with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultlesse picture, whenas in this argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leisure to doe

³⁹ Milton seems to differentiate between "the intelligent and equal auditor." that is, in the way of the polemist, everyone who agrees with him; and the "elegant and learned," people whose education and culture will enable them to understand what he plans to write next.

⁴⁰ His time is not yet come. The same idea was in the sonnet "How soon hath time" of nine years before—the long preparation is not yet over. But in *Epitaphium Damonis* (1640) he evidently thought himself ready to begin a poem on King Arthur.

⁴¹ Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 251–314, gives an admirable discussion of them, based on *CPB*. Milton reported on his progress in a letter to Duodati in September, 1637. See above, pp. 325–28.

⁴² Just what the extent of Milton's acquaintance with the fathers and later church writers was is impossible to tell. In his tracts he cites scores of authors accurately, but any student knows how easy it is to "get up" a subject for an occasion, and, furthermore, he often got hints from his opponents when he refuted them. Probably he states his case here exactly: he is adequately prepared but not deeply learned, certainly not the equal, for instance, of Ussher.

⁴³ Very few elaborately composed literary works that have lived were published from 1630 to 1642. Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* (1633) and Thomas Fuller's *The Holy State and the Profane State* (1642) are perhaps the most notable. Herbert's *The Temple* and Donne's *Poems* of 1633 were posthumous works, composed before these troubled years.

⁴⁴ Something intrinsically and universally interesting, as, for example, from British history or the Bible, not subjects of controversy like the present.

⁴⁵ The reference here is to what Thomas Wilson called "apt chusing and framing of words and sentences together" called "Eloquution" in Book III of *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553). See G. H. Mair's edition (Oxford, 1909), pp. 160 ff. This eloquution was an important part of the university subject of rhetoric, included in the trivium.

her office, art cannot have much.⁴⁶ Lastly, I should not chuse this manner of writing wherein knowing my self inferior to my self, led by the genial⁴⁷ power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand.⁴⁸ And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet since it will be such a folly, as wisest men going about to commit, have only confest and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly to have courteous pardon. For although a Poet soaring⁴⁹ in the high region of his fancies with his garland and singing robes about him might without apology speak more of himself⁵⁰ then I mean to do, yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortall thing among many readers of no Emphyreall conceit,⁵¹ to venture and divulge unusual things of my selfe, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me.⁵² I must say therefore that after I had from my first yeeres⁵³ by the ceaselesse diligence and care of my father,⁵⁴ whom

⁴⁶ That is, if this work be sound and substantial, that is his main concern; there is no time for art

⁴⁷ The gifts of nature, or general disposition, as in *Samson Agonistes*, l. 594: "So much I feell my geniall spirits droop"

⁴⁸ The left hand, being of lesser importance, suggests a less honorable type of work as well as ineptness on the part of the artist.

⁴⁹ In Ovid's *Fasti* the story is told of Arion who, before he was to be thrown into the sea, begged leave to play upon his lyre. Permission being granted, "he took the crown [garland] that might well, Phoebus, become thy locks; he donned his robe twice dipped in Tyrian purple" and sang. *The Fasti of Ovid*, II, 101-109; tr. Sir James G. Frazer (5 vols., London: Macmillan, 1929), I, 59. Arion, to be sure, does not soar, but plunges into the sea, where a dolphin takes him on its back, but the garland and robe make it seem that this reference was in Milton's mind in this famous passage.

⁵⁰ John S. Diekhoff, "The Function of the Prologues in *Paradise Lost*," *PMLA*, LVIII (1942), 697-704, points out that this frequent habit of telling about himself is a part of the proof, which aids in securing the good will of readers. As a poet Milton had not forborne to speak of himself: especially is this true of the Latin poetry and "Lycidas," of the poems written up to 1641. His explanation in *An Apology* (below, p. 871) is true of all Milton's autobiographical passages, verse or prose: "I conceav'd my selfe to be not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was perswaded."

⁵¹ That is, without sublime and elevated concepts. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, VII, 14.

⁵² Cause for odium or disrespect. Latin *invidia*.

⁵³ At twelve, as we know from *Second Defence*, Milton seldom went to bed from his studies until midnight. But at what age he started, or who, other than his father, was his early teacher, is not known.

⁵⁴ Milton was a child of his father's middle age; John Milton the elder was nearing fifty when he started teaching his eldest son. The father was probably at Oxford (Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, I, 62) and about 1600 became an active

God recompence, bin exercis'd to the tongues,⁵⁵ and some sciences,⁵⁶ as my age would suffer,⁵⁷ by sundry masters and teachers⁵⁸ both at home and at the schools,⁵⁹ it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choise in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing,⁶⁰ but chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of *Italy*,⁶¹ whither I was favor'd to resort,⁶² perceiving that some trifles⁶³ which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst

member of the Scriveners' Company Masson, I, 25. The handsome way he subsidized his son testifies to his considerable wealth. He died in 1647. In 1641 he was living at Horton or with his son Christopher at Reading

⁵⁵ In "Ad Patrem," ll 79-85, Milton lists the languages he had learned as Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Hebrew.

⁵⁶ Any useful knowledge, apart from languages

⁵⁷ Rather more than his age would suffer In *Second Defence* (Latin: 1654, p 60), he tells how the work "proved pernicious to my eyes" and that frequent headaches resulted.

⁵⁸ *Second Defence* (Latin 1654, p 60). "He [his father] provided me, in addition to the ordinary instructions of the grammar school, masters to give me daily lessons at home." The only known home tutor was Thomas Young (1587-1655).

⁵⁹ St. Paul's in London, which he entered, probably, in 1620, when Thomas Young departed for Hamburg His teachers there were the Alexander Gills, father and son. Records of the school were destroyed in the fire of 1666.

⁶⁰ Cf. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed Clark, I, 63 "Anno Domini 1619, he was ten yeares old . . . and was then a Poet" None of these poems have survived The earliest known are paraphrases of Psalms 114 and 136, both "done by the author when fifteen years old." The poems are remarkable for a teen-age boy; the eyes of parents and teachers might very likely see in them "certain vital signes" that a boy who could do so well might later do something "likely to live." Milton may include Cambridge in "the schools." If that is true, examples of "prosing" would be the seven prolusions, which he so carefully preserved and published in 1674.

⁶¹ See Masson's thorough account, I, 763 ff. Cf. *Second Defence* (Latin: 1654, p 62): "private academies—an institution which deserves the highest commendation, as calculated to preserve at once polite letters and friendly intercourse." Cf also his advocacy of academies for England, below, p 819.

⁶² George B. Parks, in *Seventeenth Century News Letter*, II (March, 1943), raises the question of how Milton achieved his entrée into the academies

⁶³ These would be in Latin, Italian, or Greek; hence *Comus* and other English poems cannot be considered If these poems the Italians applauded have not disappeared (and it seems unlikely that Milton would have discarded poems praised by experts), one might conjecture that poems like *Elegies V* and *VII* would best please these connoisseurs Perhaps he gave them also his Italian sonnets. The dis-

them,⁶⁴ were receiv'd with written Encomiums,⁶⁵ which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the *Alps*, I began thus farre to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home,⁶⁶ and not lesse to an inward prompting⁶⁷ which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study⁶⁸ (which I take to be my portion in this life) joyn'd with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts⁶⁹ at once possess me, and these other. That if I were certain to write as men buy Leases, for three lives and downward,⁷⁰ [37] there ought no regard be sooner had, then to Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country.⁷¹ For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank

paraging tone of this clause is a result of Milton's wish to appease his antipoetic Puritan readers.

⁶⁴ These are possibly the three poems "Ad Leonoram," "Ad Salsillum," and "Mansus."

⁶⁵ Milton preserved at least five of these and published them with the *Minor Poems*. They were written by Manso, Salsilli, Selvaggi, Francini, and Dati.

⁶⁶ One of these was Alexander Gill the younger, who had been an usher at St. Paul's and was Milton's senior by about eleven years. Three letters to Gill still survive (printed 1674; see above, pp. 313, 316, 321). In the second of these Milton speaks of a "friendly challenge," evidently a poetic contest, and praises Gill as "the keenest judge of poetry in general and the most honest judge of mine."

⁶⁷ The first mention of the divine inspiration of poetry in Milton's prose. See below, p. 816, n. 107, for a more explicit statement.

⁶⁸ A lifelong habit with Milton. We know of his early labors; Diodati reproved them in his two Greek letters (above, pp. 336-37); in *An Apology* (below, p. 869), he mentions the "wearisome labours and studious watchings" of his early maturity; and Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, I, 68) shows that he was busy from 4.00 A.M. to 9.00 P.M. during his later years.

⁶⁹ Milton, of course, knew he was a poet and had spent his life preparing himself for poetry, long before the Italian journey. But there can be no doubt that the appreciation of poets he deeply admired was sufficient to eliminate any doubts he may have had. The Italians gave him generous praise, and it was praise from practicing poets and men of letters, not from doting parents and admiring schoolmasters. Milton paid no attention to patrons, his father was evidently opposed to poetry as a profession ("Ad Patrem," ll. 17-20), and he faced a profession in which he could not hope to earn a competence. It is not strange, therefore, that the Italians' commendation stimulated him.

⁷⁰ A lease for three lives is "one which is to remain in force during the life of the longest liver of three specified persons." *NED*. Milton means, of course, if his writings were to live beyond his own age.

⁷¹ His country might be honored in a learned tongue but could be instructed only in the vernacular. Cf. "Epitaphium Damonis," ll. 168-88, where, he says, his reward will be sufficient if only England reads him, though he be unknown elsewhere.

There is an interesting connection between this and the following sentence and

among the Latines,⁷² I apply'd my selfe to that resolution which *Ariosto* follow'd against the perswasions of *Bembo*,⁷³ to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities⁷⁴ the end, that were a toylsom vanity, but to be an interpreter & relater⁷⁵ of the best and sagest things

Ariosto's Orlando Furioso in Sir John Harington's translation. We know that about this time Milton was reading Harington (the 1591 edition) because he quoted from Canto 34 in *Of Reformation* (above, p. 560) and because he wrote in the margin of his copy "questo libro duo volte Io letto, Sept. 21, 1642." ("I have read this [46th] book twice")

In an essay, "The Life of Ariosto," Sir John observes (pp 416-17):

[Ariosto] determined, as it should seeme, to make some Poem, finding his strength to serve him to it, & though he could have accomplished it very wel in Latine, yet he chose rather his native tongue, either because he thought he could not attaine to the highest place of praise, the same being before occupied by divers . . . or because he found it best agreed with his matter and with the time, or because he had a desire (as most men have) to enrich their owne language with such writings, as may make it in more account with other nations. but the first of these was the true cause indeed, for when *Bembo* would have dissuaded him from writing Italian, alledging that he should winne more praise by writing Latine his answer was, that he had rather be one of the principall & chiefe Thuscan writers, then scarce the second or third among the Latines.

The similarities are evident: the desire to enrich their own languages, the Bembo-Ariosto incident, and the difficulty of arriving at even second rank among the Latins. It may be objected that the first is a Renaissance commonplace and that the second two are parts of a well-known incident (from Pigna, *I Romanzi, ne quali della Poesia & della vita dell'Ariosto con nuovo mode si tratta*, Venice, 1554, pp 74-75). Were it not for Milton's contemporaneous interest in Harington's translation, no connection need be considered. But this and the fact that he also was "determined . . . to make some Poem" make it seem fairly certain that Harington's essay was at least in the back of his mind when he wrote of his own literary plans.

⁷² Hughes (*Milton's Minor Poems*, pp. xix-xx) suggests that by "the Latines" Milton referred more to modern Italians who wrote in Latin, Pontano, Vida, Sannazaro, than to the great ancients.

⁷³ Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was a force in bringing sixteenth-century Italian literature to the classical tradition through imitation of the ancients and was important in furthering the Platonic note in the imitators and followers of Petrarch.

⁷⁴ Since Milton is thinking of great national poetry in this passage, he cannot have in mind the metaphysical poets here. One English poet, well known to him and much admired, wrote great national poetry but made too much an end of "verbal curiosities": Spenser. Milton knew Sir Philip Sidney well (*cf.* the two CPB references above, pp 371, 372, and *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter I, 1649, p. 12), and probably remembered Sidney's strictures upon Spenser's language. *Cf. The Defence of Poesie* (1595; NYPL), sig. H3v. This seems better to suit the situation than the "late fantastics" of "At a Vacation Exercise," l. 20. In its context, the remark refers to the verbal extravagances of fellow students.

⁷⁵ The first noun is used in the same sense as Bunyan's in *Pilgrim's Progress*: an interpreter must teach through God-given insight. This comes before relating, which is his function as storyteller. This is, of course, the central point in Renais-

among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choycest wits of *Athens*, *Rome*, or modern *Italy*, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Christian,⁷⁶ might doe for mine: not caring to be once nam'd abroad,⁷⁷ though perhaps I could attaine to that, but content with these British Ilands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as some say,⁷⁸ made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, *England* hath had her noble atchievements made small by the unskillfull handling of monks and mechanicks.⁷⁹

Time serves not now,⁸⁰ and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account⁸¹ of what the mind at home in the spacious

sance criticism Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, l. 333; Antonio Minturno, *De Poeta* (Venice, 1599), p. 5 Here Milton gives a positive reason for writing in English: his enthusiastic love of his country In deciding to write in "the mother dialect" he was following Tasso, who wrote in Tuscan and defended his practice; Sidney, who defended the English language as well as poetry; and Giraldi Cinthio and Minturno, who wrote on Tuscan poetry and showed that it need not be obedient to the classics nor in classic languages.

⁷⁶ Because his inspiration would be a truer and stronger one, as his religion was truer The Puritans did not allow the Catholic to be a true church; hence Milton's exclusion of the poets of modern Italy from the advantage of writing as Christians. The Hebrews, of course, though believers in the true God, were not Christians

⁷⁷ The aside, "perhaps I could attaine to that," must be thought of with the unexpressed "if I wrote in Latin." English was neither a learned nor a well-known tongue, and to write in it, he thought, was to renounce forever any fame in Italy, France, or Spain, the centers of culture.

⁷⁸ Cf. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, tr. J. C. Rolfe (London and New York: Loeb Classical Library, 1927), p. 14.

⁷⁹ By "mechanics" Milton means that their work was that of illiterate hand workers He returned to the attack on the illiteracy of monks in *History of Britain*. This is his long condemnation of them as historians (1670, Book II, pp. 97-98):

Henceforth we are to steare by another sort of Authors, neer enough to the things they write, as in thir own Countrie, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal age, in expression barbarous, and to say how judicious, I suspend a while. this we must expect, in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term holy Church, meaning indeed themselves in most other matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and strook with superstition as with a Planet; in one word, Monks.

They borrowed their stories from heathen fables (1670, p. 303); they used their cunning to change the views of kings (1670, p. 173); in short, Milton had no good to say of monks.

⁸⁰ That is, there is not the time

⁸¹ This account, as certain as it may be for us, is preserved on pp. 35-41 of the Milton MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, the one place he put down the substance behind numerous hints of this sort. There Milton jotted down outlines and notes of subjects for tragedies on Old and New Testament, British, and north

circuits of her musing hath liberty to propose to her self, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting, whether that Epick form⁸² whereof the two poems of *Homer*, and those other two of *Virgil* and *Tasso*⁸³ are a diffuse,⁸⁴ and the book of *Job* a brief model:⁸⁵ or whether the rules of *Aristotle*⁸⁶ herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and use judgement is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what K. or Knight⁸⁷ before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the

British themes. These notes were probably being written at the same time as the antiprelatical tracts. All the poetic types mentioned in *Church-Government* are introduced by expressed or implied conditionals, meaning "If occasion and time allowed, I *could* tell much more of my literary plans."

⁸² The Renaissance usually held epic poetry the highest species of writing, though Aristotle had placed it after tragedy. *Poetics*, XXVI. Thus Sidney, *Defence* (1595), sig. F2, calls it "the best and most accomplished kinde of *Poetrie*." Jacopo Mazzoni, *Literary Criticism, Plato to Dryden*, ed. Allan H. Gilbert (New York: American Book Co., 1940), p. 382, named epic as the highest type of poetry. Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, in *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675: NYPL), named epic, dramatic, and lyric in the same order as had his uncle some thirty-five years before, when Edward was his pupil.

⁸³ Virgil's *Aeneid* and Torquato Tasso's long (diffuse) *Gerusalemme Liberata*, modeled on Virgil, not on the romantic Ariosto.

⁸⁴ Gilbert (p. 114 n) conjectures plausibly that Milton had in mind Aristotle's "watery" (long) and short epics (*Poetics*, XXVI, 62a14) in this passage.

⁸⁵ Although *Job* is now regarded as a drama rather than an epic, the Renaissance did not consider it so. Sidney, citing Emanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, classes *Job* with the Psalms and Proverbs as "the Poeticall part of the scripture" (1595, sig. C2). Aristotle, in *Poetics*, XXVI, 62a14, speaks of the short epic with a single plot.

⁸⁶ The passage again demonstrates Milton's keen interest in Renaissance Italian criticism of the epic, the problem being to find a place for the *romanzi* of such poets as Boiardo and Ariosto, heroic poems which differed greatly from the ideals proposed by Aristotle. Giraldis *Discorsi di M. Giovambattista* (Venice, 1554; NYPL), p. 25 (Gilbert, p. 263), believed that the strict classical pattern could be enriched as the genius of the poet directs him. Milton may also mean that more diverse action is more natural and will, as Giraldis remarked, give "the author wide scope for introducing episodes, or pleasing digressions, and for bringing in events which in poems dealing with a single topic cannot come about save with some hint of blame" (Gilbert, p. 264). Lewis in *Preface to Paradise Lost*, p. 5, also believes that a multiple plot is likely what Milton had in mind by "nature." Lewis cites Tasso, *Discourses*.

⁸⁷ "K." is "King." In "Mansus," ll. 81-84, and "Epitaphium Damonis," ll. 166-68, Milton had announced his hope and intention of writing of King Arthur. However, the Cambridge MS. does not name Arthur in the subjects from British history, although all were of kings or nobles of "before the conquest," that is, before the usurping Normans. These are all subjects for tragedies—lusts, murders, betrayals, etc.—and do not deal with Christian (that is, glorified) heroes. In writ-

pattern of a Christian *Heroe*. And as *Tasso* gave to a Prince of *Italy*⁸⁸ his choise whether he would command him to write of *Godfreys* expedition against the infidels,⁸⁹ or *Belisarius*⁹⁰ against the Gothes, or *Charlemain* against the Lombards;⁹¹ if to the instinct of nature and the imboldning of art⁹² ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing aduers in our climat,⁹³ or the fate of this age,⁹⁴ it haply would be no rashnesse from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offer in our own ancient stories.⁹⁵ Or whether those Dramatick constitutions,⁹⁶ wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides*⁹⁷ raigne shall be

ing of Alfred there is one epic suggestion: "A Heroicall Poem may be found somewhere in Alfreds reigne. especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey at the Danes. whose actions are wel like those of Ulysses." Cf. Putnam F. Jones, "Milton and the Epic Subject from British History," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 190-99.

⁸⁸ Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, one of the greatest (and last) of the Italian Renaissance patrons of art, literature, and learning. He was duke from 1559 to 1597.

⁸⁹ This would be the story of Godfrey of Bouillon (1058-1100) and the First Crusade. It is the subject Alfonso is supposed to have preferred. Cf. Francesco de Sanctis, *History of Italian Literature*, tr. Joan Redfern (2 vols., New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931), II, 637.

⁹⁰ According to legend this greatest of Roman commanders against the Goths and Vandals (527-563) was blinded by Justinian and wandered the streets of Constantinople a beggar.

⁹¹ In 771-774 Charles the Great (742-814) led his expedition against the Lombards in Italy.

⁹² That is, his natural genius and the encouragement which his knowledge of literature gives him.

⁹³ The theory that a cold climate would dull intelligence troubled Milton, who was very sensitive to English weather. The London climate (averaging 49.7° F., that of Boston, Massachusetts, but lacking Boston's extremes) he considered very cold. Thus, in "Mansus," ll. 24-29, he is from "the frozen North"; in "Ad Salsillum" he complains of terrible English storms; in *Areopagitica* he is pleased that his intelligence is none the worse for fifty-two degrees of northern latitudes; in *Paradise Lost*, IX, 44, "cold climate" may ruin his fame.

⁹⁴ In the Latin poem "Naturam non Pati Senium" (1628?) and Prolusion VII (1631-32) Milton argues against the theory that the world is far gone in decay. But here, and in *Paradise Lost*, IX, 44, Milton does not seem to be certain. He may be, to be sure, simply thinking of the stormy years in which he is living.

⁹⁵ Milton sets for himself rigidly national stories, as contrasted with Tasso's widely dispersed locales. He hints, moreover, that he is fully prepared to offer a selection of such themes.

⁹⁶ A constitution of a law, decree, or enactment. The word is used because tragedy is created to teach.

⁹⁷ Milton's favorite Greek tragedian was probably Euripides. William R. Parker, in *Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937), finds eighteen references to Euripides in Milton's work, eight (probable) to Sophocles, and one to Aeschylus. Milton's own annotated Euripides was *Euripidis Tragoediae* (Geneva, 1602; BOD).

found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation,⁹⁸ the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon* consisting of two persons and a double *Chorus*, as *Origen* rightly judges.⁹⁹ [38] And the Apocalyps of Saint *John* is the majestick image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold *Chorus* of halleluja's and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of *Paraeus*¹⁰⁰ commenting that booke is sufficient to confirm.¹⁰¹ Or if occasion shall lead to imitat those magnifick Odes and Hymns¹⁰² wherein *Pindarus*¹⁰³ and *Callimachus*¹⁰⁴ are in most things worthy, some others in their

⁹⁸ Milton's "or whether" indicates a belief that there is a different sort of teaching in tragedy and in epic. Cf. Tasso, *Discorsi Del Poema Heroico* (Naples, 1594; NYPL), p. 179, Gilbert, p. 503. "two modes of teaching by example, one that of inciting to good works by showing the reward of the noblest virtue and of well-nigh divine valor, the other that of frightening us from evil with a punishment. The first is that of epic, the second that of tragedy."

"Doctrinal" means instructive, didactic, fit to serve as an example or pattern. The two words include the whole Renaissance doctrine that poetry teaches by example, and the feigned example is a better teacher than the true, since it may be modified for more intensive instruction.

⁹⁹ Origen (see above, p. 552) made this statement in *In Canticum Canticorum Prologus* (*Opera Omnia*, XIV, 240). It is likely Milton found the reference in Paraeus (below), in his *In Divinam Apocalypsin S. Apostoli et Evangelistae Iohannis*, in *Operum Theologicorum* (2 vols., Frankfurt, 1628 [NYPL], II, 1077): "De Cantico canticorum videri sibi Epithalamium in modum Dramatis a Salamone conscriptum." Paraeus, continuing his commentary on Revelation, points out how the book is a "high and stately tragedy" and also writes out the scenes and acts as well as the dramatis personae of the pastoral drama he conceives the book to be. Milton remembered this in his introduction to *Samson Agonistes*: "And Paraeus commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole book as a tragedy, into acts distinguished each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and songs between." Cf. A. C. Cook, "Milton's View of the Apocalypse as Tragedy," *Herrig's Archiv.*, CXXIX (1912), 74-80, and Hughes, *Prose Selections*, pp. 106-07, nn. 131-32.

¹⁰⁰ See Paraeus, *Operum Theologicorum* (1628), II, 1077.

¹⁰¹ This stressing of Biblical and Calvinist authority is partly to appease the antiliterary sensibilities of Puritan readers and partly because he recognized in the Bible models worthy of imitation.

¹⁰² Both are the highest types of lyric poetry, placed by Sidney next to the epic. Phillips places the types in Milton's order: epic, tragedy, lyric. The early writers of odes, Anacreon and Pindar, intended their odes to be sung.

¹⁰³ Pindar lived 522?-443 B.C. His great works were the Olympic and Pythian odes (mostly celebrations of athletic victories). They were in triad form, including an account of the victory, a mythological development, and a eulogy of the hero. Milton's personal copy of Pindar (*Pindari Olympica*, Saumur, 1620), with hundreds of MS. notes, is described in Columbia, XVIII, 565-66.

¹⁰⁴ Born in Cyrene in 310 B.C., Callimachus was perhaps a librarian in the famous Alexandrian library. His poems are shorter and more polished than those of the epic age, which he believed dead. Surviving works include six long hymns

frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty: But those frequent songs ¹⁰⁵ throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition ¹⁰⁶ may be easily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired guift of God ¹⁰⁷ rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) ¹⁰⁸ in every Nation: and are of power ¹⁰⁹ beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility,¹¹⁰ to allay the perturbations of the mind,¹¹¹ and

and some sixty-four epigrams. Milton used Bonaventura Vulcanius' edition (Antwerp, 1584). Cf. Nathan Dane, "Milton's Callimachus," *MLN*, LVI (1941), 278-79.

¹⁰⁵ The argument that much of the Bible was poetic was important for the apologists for poetry in the Renaissance. Thus Sidney (*Defence*, 1595, sig. C1v) praises "*Salomon in his song of songs . . . Moses and Debora, in their Hymnes, and the wryter of Jobe.*"

Harington mentions "certaine other songs of Deborah, of Salomon, & others" as being great poetry. *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (2 vols., Oxford Clarendon Press, 1904), II, 207. Milton's mature judgment of Hebrew poetry is in *Paradise Regained*, IV, 331-64.

¹⁰⁶ "Critical" here means "involving or exercising careful judgment or observation." *NED*. There is also a suggestion of the meaning "all-important." Israel Baroway, "The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance," *JEGP*, XXXII (1933), 477, suggests that Milton may have written about "those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets" under the stimulus of Franciscus Gomarus' *Davidis Lyra* (1637), where similar views are expressed. Gomarus discusses prosody.

¹⁰⁷ Milton's doctrine of inspiration is partly Platonic (e.g., *Phaedrus*, 265), the belief that God gives directly the ability to make poetry to a few specially chosen persons. These must, however, be persons of learning and ability. Two of his great predecessors believed the same. Sidney highly approved what he thought Plato said, "a verie inspiring of a divine force, farre above man's wit." *A Defence* (1595), sig. H1. To Spenser poetry was "a divine gift and heavenly instinct not to be gotten by laboure and learning, but adorned by both." *Argument*, October Eclogue.

¹⁰⁸ Milton makes no effort to explain a difficulty in the inspiration theory, that heathen writers have the same gift, often in greater measure than Christians. "Most" heathens, and some Christians as well, abuse the gift; their *matter* is faulty.

¹⁰⁹ Here Milton lists five functions of the *vates*, the serious national poet. First, to inculcate virtue by precept and, as we learn later (below, p. 890), by example. Second, katharsis: as he explains it in the preface to *Samson Agonistes*, "to temper and reduce them [the passions] to just measure." Third, to celebrate the glory of God. Fourth, to celebrate the deeds of the sons of God in his service. The fifth is essentially his own: Other nations had backslid, but it was his duty to deplore the relapses of England. It is evident that the first applies to the epic, the second to tragedy, and the third and fourth to odes and hymns.

¹¹⁰ I.e., good citizenship.

¹¹¹ "Allay" is similar to the Aristotelian "purge," the word Milton was to use in

set the affections in right tune, to celebrate¹¹² in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of Gods Almightyness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church, to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints,¹¹³ the deeds and triumphs of just and pious Nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ, to deplore the general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and Gods true worship.¹¹⁴ Lastly,¹¹⁵ whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in vertu amiable,¹¹⁶ or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration¹¹⁷ in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune¹¹⁸ from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of mans thoughts from within, all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse¹¹⁹ to paint out and describe. Teaching¹²⁰ over the whole book of sanctity and vertu through all the instances of example with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious

his preface to *Samson*. The perturbations are pity, fear, "and such like passions" The affections are the emotions or feelings.

¹¹² Tasso was a poet and critic well known to Milton. The keen interest of both in problems of criticism and their insistence on the ethical purpose of poetry are interesting points of similarity. Tasso had discussed this point, the religious obligation of the poet, in his *Discourses*. Poetry leads "to the contemplation of divine things" and he compares "the mystic theologian and the poet." Cf. *Discorsi* (1594), p. 29, Gilbert, p. 476

¹¹³ Tasso had also praised this function of poetry. He praised as poetic subjects "those enterprises for the confirmation of the Christian faith or for the exaltation of the church." *Discorsi* (1594), p. 48; Gilbert, p. 488.

¹¹⁴ This function of the poet is peculiar to Milton because here he refers directly to current evil conditions in the Church of England as he had in "Lycidas." Had foreign critics considered this a poetic function, fear of the Inquisition would certainly have prevented their expressing it.

¹¹⁵ The position and syntax of this eloquent passage recall St Paul's peroration "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, etc." of Phillipians 4:8.

¹¹⁶ Worthy of being loved.

¹¹⁷ *NED* defines "passion" as "an eager outreaching of the mind; an overmastering zeal or enthusiasm for a special object" "Admiration" may be called "wonder mingled with reverence"; it was almost as important as instruction and delight in Renaissance criticism.

¹¹⁸ Milton poses the question of whether literature shall portray the changes of life as fortune "one regardless quite / Of Mortal things" (*Paradise Regained*, IV, 317-18) or as psychological; he seems to favor the second. Strangely he does not seem to consider the hand of God as moving the "refluxes" of life, or perhaps he thought the reader would take this for granted.

¹¹⁹ Deliberate, gentle smoothness.

¹²⁰ The doctrine that poetry teaches by delightful instances and examples is the heart of Renaissance criticism. Cf. Sidney, *Defence* (1595), sig. D2; Giraldi, *Discorsi* (1554), p. 265, Castelvetro (Gilbert, p. 316); Mazzoni (Gilbert, pp. 399-400).

temper ¹²¹ who will not so much as look upon Truth herselfe, unlesse they see her elegantly drest, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appeare to all men both easy and pleasant though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guest by what we know of the corruption and bane which they suck in dayly from the writings and interludes ¹²² of libidinous and ignorant Poetasters,¹²³ who having scars ever heard ¹²⁴ of that which is the main con-[39]sistence of a true poem, the choys of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is morall and decent to each one, doe for the most part lap up vitious principles in sweet pills ¹²⁵ to be swallow'd down, and make the tast of vertuous documents harsh and sowr. But because the spirit of man cannot demean it selfe lively ¹²⁶ in this body without some recreating intermission of labour,¹²⁷ and serious things, it were

¹²¹ "Delicious" here means sensuous. *NED*. Milton returns to his apology for poetry: it will teach sanctity and virtue to those who are too soft minded to be affected by sermons and Puritan pamphlets; yet these are God's children too

¹²² By "interludes" Milton meant plays below the high rank of tragedies, the term is used in exactly the same contemptuous sense in the preface to *Samson Agonistes*: "This is mentioned to vindicate tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes." Ben Jonson, in the preface to *Volpone*, wrote, "We never punish vice in our *Enterludes*"

¹²³ For the benefit of his Puritan readers Milton here adopts their attitude toward the "rakehelly rout of ragged rhymers." As Smith points out (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, xx), "The Puritans had in mind the popular literature of the playhouse and Paul's [in their diatribes against plays and poetry]." Poetry to them meant Elderton, or Tarleton, or bawdy sonnets.

¹²⁴ Milton here adds a rather technical ignorance of the requirements of decorum to the graver charges leveled against the poets by the Puritans. Milton always insisted upon the necessity for decorum. In 1654 he was to blame Salmasius because "he was yet so ignorant of every thing that is called decorum" (Latin: 1654, p. 25) and in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* he was to condemn plays that err by "intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd." In *Of Education* (1644, p. 6) decorum is "the grand master peece to observe." Decorum made possible moral teaching; its lack resulted in moral anarchy.

¹²⁵ Milton is referring here to the theory of Lucretius that poetry should be a "sweet medicine," inclining the taker toward virtue. Tasso (Gilbert, p. 468) had opposed this exactly as Milton does, because it would "keep the mind occupied with vain reading." Sidney favored the sugar-coated method of teaching. *Defence* (1595), sig. E3.

¹²⁶ Keep in perfect mental health

¹²⁷ Milton was to repeat this idea in two sonnets of around 1655, "Lawrence of virtuous father virtuous son," and "Cyriack, whose grandsire on the royal bench." In the latter he recommends enjoying a "cheerful hour."

happy for the Common wealth, if our Magistrates, as in those famous governments of old,¹²⁸ would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious Law cases and brawls, but the managing of our publick sports, and festival pastimes, that they might be, not such as were autoriz'd¹²⁹ a while since, the provocations of drunkennesse and lust, but such as may inure and harden¹³⁰ our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skil and performance, and may civilize, adorn and make discreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies,¹³¹ and the procurement of wise and artfull recitations sweetned with eloquent and gracefull inticements to the love and practice of justice, temperance and fortitude,¹³² instructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and vertu may be heard every where, as *Salomon* saith,¹³³ *She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concours, and in the openings of the Gates.* Whether this may not be not only in Pulpits, but after another persuasive method,¹³⁴ at

¹²⁸ Milton refers to such great festivals as the Greek Olympian Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. These encouraged athletics as part of education, also contests in music, poetry, and oratory. Cf. also Plato, *Laws*, Books VII, VIII

¹²⁹ The reference is to the declaration of Charles I, 1633, usually called the *Book of Sports*. The king authorized an "open" Sunday and declared such sports as "dancing . . . archery . . . May-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances" to be lawful. Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals . . . Church of England* (2 vols., Oxford, 1844), II, 243-44. In *Of Reformation* Milton accused the bishops of urging profane use of the Sabbath. "The pretended *Fathers of the Church* instigated by publique Edict, and with earnest indeavour push't forward to gaming, juggling, wassailing, and mixt dancing is a horror to think."

¹³⁰ The Renaissance ideal of physical education was that it made a better soldier and gentleman; cf. the martial exercises of Gargantua in Rabelais, I, xxiv. In *Of Education* (1644, p. 3) education is necessary for "all the offices . . . of peace and war," and exercise is a third of it. Further recommended are swordplay, wrestling, drill, hiking, and sea fighting.

¹³¹ "Wise and artful recitations" were parts of the meetings of Italian academies Milton had frequented. In *Second Defence* Milton calls academies "calculated to preserve at once polite letters and friendly intercourse."

¹³² The basic virtues of the Platonic system (*Republic*, IV, 442); the first two are celebrated in the *Faerie Queene*. Cf. above, p. 746, Milton's ideal man with his "wit, prudence, and fortitude" Milton would train men in "true fortitude" in *Of Education*. Cf. *Ars Logicae*, Book I, Chap. 27 (1672, p. 100): "Sic *Cic. Offic. I* Virtutem dividit in species quatuor, prudentiam, justitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam." The reference is to *De Officiis* I, vi.

¹³³ Proverbs 1:20-21. Milton has compressed the two verses "In the top of high places" occurs in Proverbs 8.2.

¹³⁴ The pulpit is for instruction only; poetry in addition gives delight. The meaning is the same as above, p. 816, "beside he office of the pulpit."

set and solemn Paneguries,¹³⁵ in Theaters, porches,¹³⁶ or what other place, or way may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation, & instruction, let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have liv'd within me ever since I could conceive my self any thing worth to my Countrey, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an abortive and foredated discovery.¹³⁷ And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways¹³⁸ endeavour'd, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost averre of my self, as farre as life and free leasure will extend, and that the Land had once infranchis'd her self from this impertinent¹³⁹ yoke of prelaty, under whose inquisitorius and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither doe I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few yeeres yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rays'd from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine,¹⁴⁰ like that which [40] flows at wast from the pen of some vulgar Amorist,¹⁴¹ or the trencher fury of a riming parasite,¹⁴² nor to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters,¹⁴³ but by devout prayer to that

¹³⁵ General public assemblies of great solemnity.

¹³⁶ Transepts or side-chapels of a church.

¹³⁷ Above, p. 807, Milton explained he was not yet ready for his great work; here he repeats it. The "urgent reason" is, of course, the controversy with the bishops.

¹³⁸ Castelvetro (Gilbert, p. 357) posed, but did not answer, the Renaissance question: Does the poet need great learning? Milton, like Sidney and Spenser, was convinced that "labor and intent study" were essential to his projected work.

¹³⁹ "Not pertaining or belonging." *NED*.

¹⁴⁰ Some twelve years before, in *Elegy VI*, Milton had, in playful spirit, praised poetry of youth and wine. "Carmen amat Bacchum, Carmina Bacchus amat." l. 14. But, he goes on, the serious poet, "qui bella refert et adulto sub Iove Caelum," must live sparingly, drink water, and eat herbs. In *Second Defence* (Latin: 1654, p. 40) he would represent the poetasters as "inspired by the bottle."

¹⁴¹ This reflects the Puritan denunciation of much popular poetry. Cf. Article 8 in the London Petition of December 11, 1640: "The swarming of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets, Play-bookees and Ballads" (below, p. 979). Cited as horrible examples are Ovid's *Fits of Love* (*sic*) and *Parliament of Women*.

¹⁴² "Poetic madness" inspired by promise of pay; an attack on patronage and its frequent debasement of literature. Cf. the contemptuous reference to patronage in *An Apology* (below, p. 877): "as a man in complement uses to truck up the name of some Esquire, Gentleman, or Lord Paramount . . . to be his book-patron."

¹⁴³ The daughters of Memory are the Muses. Milton here seems to have mingled two references: to Memory, the mother of the Muses, and to the sirens of *Repub-*

eternall Spirit ¹⁴⁴ who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar ¹⁴⁵ to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, ¹⁴⁶ steddly observation, ¹⁴⁷ insight into all seemly and generous ¹⁴⁸ arts and affaires, till which in some measure be compast, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. ¹⁴⁹ Although it nothing content me to have disclos'd thus much before hand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingnesse I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no lesse hopes then these, and leave a calme and pleasing solitarynes ¹⁵⁰ fed with cherful and confident thoughts, to imbarke in a troubl'd sea of noises and hoars disputes, ¹⁵¹ put from beholding the bright countenance of truth ¹⁵² in the quiet and still

loc. 617-18, one of whom sits on each of the eight spheres, "hymning a single tune or note" It does not appear whose daughters these sirens are; certainly they are not the daughters of Memory Milton referred to these latter sirens in "Arcades," ll. 61-73, and in "At a Solemn Music"

¹⁴⁴ Kelley, *This Great Argument*, pp. 110 ff., summarizes the argument here for the identification of Milton's muse and decides it is not the third person but (p. 117) "a personification of the various attributes of God the Father." The identity of the "eternall spirit" is not clear but, since Milton's figure is based upon Isaiah 6.1-7, where the Lord sends down a seraph with "a live coal in his hand" to purify unclean lips, it is unlikely that he meant the Holy Spirit.

¹⁴⁵ Isaiah 6.6.

¹⁴⁶ Above, p. 810, Milton had told of his "labour and intent study," and in *An Apology*, below, p. 891, he spoke of the "ceaselesse round of study and reading" with which his days were filled

¹⁴⁷ In *Art of Logic* (1672, sig. A7) Milton would further insist upon clear observation. "Without observation, which commits individual examples to memory, the senses can avail nothing"

¹⁴⁸ "Generous" means "gallant" or "magnanimous."

¹⁴⁹ While the loss to those who "hazard so much credulity" upon him will be great, he himself will lose all chance of fame and opportunity for serving God if he does not produce the works he has promised.

¹⁵⁰ The calm of his "sufficiently spacious house" in Aldersgate Street, which he took on his return from Italy. Here, he tells us in *Second Defence* (Latin: 1654, p. 64), he "returned with no little delight to [his] interrupted studies; leaving . . . the issue of things more especially to God, and to those to whom the people had assigned that department of duty." The studious retirement did not last for long

¹⁵¹ The vehement struggle against Episcopacy.

¹⁵² Possibly an allusion to *Phaedrus*, 248 ff. According to Plato, the philosopher gets the vision of truth herself, which lesser men, who engage in worldly pursuits, cannot have.

air of delightfull studies to come into the dim reflexion of hollow antiquities¹⁵³ sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations¹⁵⁴ with men whose learning and beleif lies in marginal stuffings,¹⁵⁵ who when they have like good sumpters¹⁵⁶ laid ye down their hors load of citations and fathers at your dore, with a rapsody of who and who were Bishops here or there,¹⁵⁷ ye may take off their packsaddles, their days work is don, and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehension that can distinguish learned pains from unlearned drudgery,¹⁵⁸ imagin what pleasure or profoundnesse can be in this, or what honour to deal against such adversaries. But were it the meanest under-service, if God by his Secretary¹⁵⁹ conscience injoyn it, it were sad for me if I should draw back, for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help ease and lighten the difficult labours of the Church, to whose service by the intentions of my parents and friends I was destin'd of a child, and in mine own resolutions,¹⁶⁰ till comming to some maturity of yeers

¹⁵³ Antiquity was the favored recourse of the Episcopal party; *Certain Briefe Treatises* is an excellent example. The first part of *Of Reformation* was aimed at those that affect antiquity.

¹⁵⁴ In *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* Milton had clubbed quotations with his opponents; in this pamphlet, save for occasional lapses, he disdained to do so

¹⁵⁵ Some of Ussher's and Brerewood's pages in *CBT* had been filled with reference notes in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew almost to the exclusion of the English text.

¹⁵⁶ Drivers of pack horses

¹⁵⁷ A good share of Ussher's work in the pamphlet under attack had been conjecture as to who was bishop of Smyrna, Ephesus, and other ancient sees.

¹⁵⁸ Milton's intended contrast of his own work with his opponents' is manifestly unfair. The Episcopal writers had defended a cause they believed in. A good deal of the drudgery incidental to scholarship is evident, but it is not simply the unthinking copying of authorities.

¹⁵⁹ According to *NED*, a secretary was one "entrusted with the secrets or commands of God." The conscience was understood as a God-given sense which knew the right intuitively; hence it is privy to God's commands and secrets. Cf. "Conscience," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, III, 242-45.

¹⁶⁰ That some nine years before 1641 Milton still had at least a partial determination to become a minister we learn from the conclusion of the letter (second draft) which included "How soon hath time" This was perhaps six months after he received his M. A. at Cambridge July 3, 1632. In *Comus* (1634) there is no evidence of disgust with the Anglican Church. Not until 1638 or 1639, in "Lycidas," did Milton show such aversion to the corrupted clergy that, we may understand, he could never become one of their number. By the time Milton was about thirty, certainly of "some maturity of years," all hope of church reformation under Laud's primacy had ended, and he had decided that a "blamelesse silence" outside the church, a silence which the five antiprelatic tracts forever broke, was his only possible course.

and perceaving what tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withall,¹⁶¹ which unlesse he took with a conscience that would retch,¹⁶² he must either strait perjure, or split his faith, I thought it better to preferre a blamelesse silence before the sacred office of speaking bought, and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever thus Church-outed by the Prelats, hence may appear the [41] right I have to meddle in these matters, as before, the necessity and constraint appear'd.

CHAP. I.

That Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel three ways, and first in her outward form.

AFTER this digression ¹ it would remain that I should single out some other reason which might undertake for Prelaty to be a fit and lawfull Church-government; but finding none of like validity with these that have alreedy sped according to their fortune, I shall adde one reason why it is not to be thought a Church-government at all, but a Church-tyranny, and is at hostile terms with the end

¹⁶¹ According to the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* (1604), Article XXXVI, the oath of a candidate for ordination required (1) acknowledgment of the king as the "only supreme Governour of this Realme," (2) belief that "The Booke of Common prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons" is according to the word of God, (3) subscribing to the thirty-nine Articles. Milton had agreed to these when he proceeded B.A. and M.A. Masson, I, 217, 257-58.

It is probable, however, that Milton is here referring not to the oath of 1604 but to the much more obnoxious "Et Cetera" oath of the canons of 1640, which was a burning issue in 1641. This required, among other stipulations, the following (below, p. 990). "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deanes, and Archdeacons, &c." Many people would have forgotten the old oath, but everyone remembered the new. Milton did not say which oath he meant. The usual inference is that he meant the old one, but he may have wanted his readers to think of the new.

¹⁶² S. B. Liljegren, in *Studies in Milton* (Lund, 1918, p. xxx), would have this another instance of Milton's diabolical dishonesty because he had already subscribed to the articles twice. No such conclusion is justified; it is one thing to sign passively in a formality to getting a degree but quite another to sign away one's integrity in such a serious matter as ordination. The famous phrase is perhaps an oversimplification, but it is essentially true.

¹ Milton's digression comes rather early according to the standards of the classical oration; Cicero, in *De Oratore*, II, xix; tr. J. S. Watson (London, 1881), p. 242, recommends it "before you come to the peroration."

and reason of Christs Evangelick ministry. Albeit I must confesse to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, and the world so potent in most mens hearts, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood. For who is ther almost that measures wisdom by simplicity,² strength by suffering, dignity by lowlinesse, who is there that counts it first, to be last,³ something to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a servant? ⁴ yet God when he meant to subdue the world and hell at once, part of that to salvation, and this wholly to perdition, made choise of no other weapons, or auxiliaries then these whether to save, or to destroy. It had bin a small maistry ⁵ for him, to have drawn out his Legions into array, and flankt them with his thunder; therefore he sent Foolishnes to confute Wisdom, Weaknes to bind Strength, Despisednes to vanquish Pride.⁶ And this is the great mistery of the Gospel made good in Christ himself, who as he testifies ⁷ came not to be minister'd to, but to minister; and must be fulfil'd in all his ministers till his second comming.⁸ To goe against these principles S. *Paul* so fear'd, that if he should but affect the wisdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the crosse of Christ to be of none effect.⁹ Whether then Prelaty do not make of none effect the crosse of Christ by the principles it hath so contrary to these, nullifying the power and end of the Gospel, it shall not want due proof, if it want [42] not due belief. Neither shal I stand to trifle with one that will tell me of quiddities and formalities,¹⁰ whether Prelaty or Prelateity ¹¹ in abstract notion be this or that, it suffices me that I find it in his skin,

² Cf II Corinthians 1.12. The thought, though not the phrasing, of the following antitheses is from II Corinthians 1.

³ Mark 9.35.

⁴ Cf I Corinthians 9.19

⁵ Something very easy.

⁶ Cf I Corinthians 1.25-28.

⁷ The testimony appears in Matthew 20.28 and Mark 10.45

⁸ Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 616). "Thou the Eternall and shortly-expected King shalt open the Clouds to judge the severall Kingdomes of the world" In *De Doctrina* (I, xxxiii) Milton says the date is "known only to God"

⁹ I Corinthians 1.17

¹⁰ None of the writers in *CBT* had discussed this point.

¹¹ "Prelaty" is the concrete word the office or superiority exercised by a prelate; "prelateity" is "the essential quality or essence of a prelate." *NED*. Milton's use of "prelateity" is the only one *NED* cites; the word is evidently Milton's coinage. Cf *An Apology* (below, p. 874): "There be those that esteeme Prelaty a figment."

so I find it inseparable, or not oftner otherwise then a Phenix¹² hath bin seen; although I perswade me that whatever faultines was but superficial to Prelaty at the beginning, is now by the just judgment of God long since branded and inworn into the very essence therof. First therefore, if to doe the work of the Gospel Christ our Lord took upon him the form of a servant,¹³ how can his servant in this ministry take upon him the form of a Lord? I know *Bilson*¹⁴ hath decipher'd us all the galanteries¹⁵ of *Signore* and *Monsignore*, and *Monsieur*¹⁶ as circumstantially as any punctualist¹⁷ of *Casteel*, *Naples*, or *Fountain Bleu*¹⁸ could have don, but this must not so complement¹⁹ us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a servant was a mean, laborious and vulgar life aptest to teach; which form Christ thought fittest, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles choosing the meaner things of this world that he might put

¹² The mythical bird which, after its long life of 500 to 1,000 years, burned itself to ashes, only to emerge renewed and young again. Cf Richard Eden (1521?–1576). "The Pheynix the which I knowe no men that ever hath seene." *The Decades of the New Worlde* (1555), p. 216.

¹³ Philippians 2. 7: "And took upon him the form of a servant"

¹⁴ Thomas Bilson (1547–1616), bishop of Winchester. His works in defense of the English church are *The True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion* (1585; UTSL) and *The Perpetuall Governement of Christes Church* (1593; UTSL)

¹⁵ In *True Difference* (1585) Bilson describes (pp. 111 ff.) very circumstantially the gallant doings of Catholic prelates and high clergy. They wore suits of cloth of gold, decked harlots with shoes covered with silver, and used stools of silver. Even the inferior clergy (p. 114) "wear gold in their bridles, sadles & spurs; yea their spurs shine brighter than the Altars."

¹⁶ "Signore" was a title sometimes used by the Pope. See Niccolò Tommaseo and Bernardino Bellini, *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* (4 vols. in 8, Rome, 1865–79). "Monsignore" is a title of honor in the church conferred by the Pope. "Monsieur" was, during the Middle Ages, a title of the Pope. See *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada* (70 vols. in 72, Barcelona, J. Espasa, 1907–30). Milton meant the grandiose, foreign-sounding titles to refer loosely to French, Italian, and Spanish prelates.

¹⁷ One who discusses or treats of points of conduct or ceremony. The usage is obsolete and rare; this is the only reference cited in *NED*.

¹⁸ Castile is roughly in the center of Spain, with Madrid as its capital city. Since Philip II made it his court in 1560, it has been a leading ecclesiastical center. Naples was then the chief city of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and was also a center of ecclesiastical influence. Fontainebleau was a seat of the French court, some thirty-five miles from Paris, the most magnificent in the world before Versailles.

¹⁹ To soothe or flatter. Milton's meaning in this passage is that, although no such outrageous scandals as Bilson relates of the Roman clergy are true of the English, we must remember that they are nevertheless proud, rich, and overbearing.

under the high.²⁰ Now whether the pompous garb, the Lordly life, the wealth, the haughty distance of Prelaty be those meaner things of the world, wherby God in them would manage the mystery of his Gospel, be it the verdict of common sense. For Christ saith in *S. John*,²¹ *The servant is not greater then his Lord, nor he that is sent greater then he that sent him.* And addes, *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye doe them.* Then let the prelates well advise, if they neither know, nor do these things, or if they know, and yet doe them not, wherein their happines consists. And thus is the Gospel frustrated by the Lordly form of Prelaty.

CHAP. II.

That the ceremonious doctrin of Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel.

THAT which next declares the heavenly power,¹ and reveales the deep mistery of the Gospel, is the pure simplicity of doctrine, accounted the foolishnes of this world,² yet crossing and confounding the pride and wisdom of the flesh. And wherein consists this [43] fleshly wisdom and pride? in being altogether ignorant of God and his worship? no surely, for men are naturally asham'd of that. Where then? it consists in a bold presumption of ordering the worship and service of God after mans own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wisdom of the flesh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt, but in that very point wherein it was proudest and thought it self wisest, that so the victory of the Gospel might be the more illustrious. But our Prelats instead of expressing the spirituall power of their ministry by warring against this chief bulwark and strong hold of the flesh, have enter'd into fast league

²⁰ Cf. II Corinthians 10:5: "Casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

²¹ John 13:16-17.

¹ The first chapter pointed out that the form of lordship which the prelates assumed was opposed to the Gospel; this chapter deals with the ceremonies for which prelatism, in Milton's opinion, is wholly responsible. On ceremonies, see above, pp. 68-70, and Laud's defence of them in his dedication to *A Relation of the Conference* (1639).

² I Corinthians 3:19-21.

with the principall enemy against whom they were sent, and turn'd the strength of fleshly pride and wisdom against the pure simplicity of saving truth.³ First, mistrusting to find the autoity of their order in the immediat institution of Christ, or his Apostles by the cleer evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal supportment of tradition: when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unweildy volumes of tradition.⁴ And doe not shame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal for the pervers iniquity of sixteen hunderd yeers; choosing rather to think truth it self a lyar, then that sixteen ages should be taxt with an error; not considering the general apostasy that was foretold,⁵ and the Churches flight into the wildernes.⁶ Nor is this enough, instead of shewing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high pre-eminence from humane consent and authority. But let them chaunt while they will of prerogatives, we shall tell them of Scripture; of custom, we of Scripture; of Acts and Statutes, stil of Scripture, til the quick and pearcing word enter to the dividing of their soules,⁷ & the mighty weaknes of the Gospel throw down the weak mightines of mans reasoning.⁸ Now for their demeanor within the Church, how have they disfigur'd and defac't that more then angelick brightnes, the unclouded serenity of Christian Religion with the dark overcasting of superstitious coaps and flaminical vestures; ⁹ wearing on their backs; and, I abhorre to think, perhaps in some worse place ¹⁰ the unexpressible Image of God

³ II Corinthians 11:3.

⁴ Cf. Smectymnuus in *An Answer* (1641), p. 23, on the rejection of tradition by the Presbyterians: "This *Remonstrant* thinke to helpe himselfe by taking Sanctuary in *Antiquity* (though we would gladly rest in *Scripture*, the Sanctuary of the Lord)."

⁵ Related in Matthew 24 and Mark 13, when "nation shall rise against nation" and there will be many false Christs and prophets.

⁶ Matthew 24:10 and Mark 13:18; also Revelation 12:6.

⁷ Hebrews 4:12.

⁸ The oxymoron is based upon one of Milton's favorite scriptural passages, I Corinthians 12:9: "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness."

⁹ A cope is a long vestment, reaching from the shoulders to the heels, open in front. The flamens were priests of ancient Rome; hence flaminical vestures were heathen robes. In *Areopagitica* the "augurs and flamens" are teachers of religion and law and are ignorant and fearful of everything else.

¹⁰ Milton means that some of the prelatical party wore the sign of the cross on their backsides. Among the charges against the extreme-high-church Dr. John Cosin (1594-1672), prebendary of the cathedral church of Durham, made in Parliament March 15, 1641, was that "he used upon Communion dayes to make

the father. Tell me ye Pricsts wherfore this gold, wherfore these roabs and surplices over the Gospel? is our religion guilty of the first trespasse, and hath need of cloathing to cover her nakednesse?¹¹ what does this else but cast an ignominy upon the perfection of Christs ministry by seeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our shame? Believe it, wondrous Doctors, all [44] corporeal resemblances of inward holinesse & beauty are now past; he that will cloath the Gospel now, intimates plainly, that the Gospel is naked, uncomely, that I may not say reproachfull. Do not, ye Church-maskers,¹² while Christ is cloathing upon our barenes with his righteous garment to make us acceptable in his fathers sight,¹³ doe not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted cloathing of your ceremonies to make it seem more decent in your own eyes. *How beautifull, saith Isaiah, are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation!*¹⁴ Are the feet so beautifull, and is the very bringing of these tidings so decent of it self? what new decency then can be added to this by your spinstry?¹⁵ ye think by these gaudy glisterings¹⁶ to stirre up the devotion of the rude multitude; ye think so, because ye forsake the heavenly teaching of S. Paul for the hellish Sophistry of Papism. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the Preacher must give knowledge, and not ceremonies. And although some Christians be new born babes¹⁷ comparatively to some that are stronger, yet in respect of ceremony which is but a rudiment of the Law, the weakest Christian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man,¹⁸ as to legal rites. What childrens food there is in the

the signe of the Crosse with his finger . . . upon the seats whereon they were to sit." *Diurnall Occurrences* (1641), p. 54.

¹¹ A reference to Genesis 3:7: "And they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons."

¹² Those who would make a profane and ceremonial masque of the rites of the church.

¹³ II Corinthians 5:2-4.

¹⁴ Milton here seems to quote Isaiah 52:7 from memory. The passage is. "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation."

¹⁵ Artful weaving; here, the making of ceremonies.

¹⁶ Gleaming tinsel of ritual.

¹⁷ Before they had thrown off the bondage of the Mosaic law, some of the newly converted Christians were "babes in Christ." I Corinthians 3:1.

¹⁸ Of full age, of an age legally competent for a specified function. The phrase occurs in Ephesians 4:13: "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man."

Gospel we know to be no other then the *sincerity of the word that they may grow thereby*.¹⁹ But is heer the utmost of your outbraving the service of God? No. Ye have bin bold, not to set your threshold by his threshold, or your posts by his posts,²⁰ but your Sacrament, your signe, call it what you will,²¹ by his Sacrament, baptizing the Christian infant with a solemne sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger: ²² as if when ye had layd the purifying element ²³ upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and crosse it out again with a caracter not of Gods bidding.²⁴ O but the innocence of these ceremonies! O rather the sottish absurdity of this excuse! what could be more innocent then the washing of a cup, a glasse, or hands before meat,²⁵ and that under the Law when so many washings were commanded,²⁶ and by long tradition, yet our Saviour detested their customes,²⁷ though never so seeming harmlesse, and charges them severely that they had transgrest the Commandments of God by their traditions and worshipt him in vain.²⁸ How much more then must these, and much grosser ceremonies now in force delude the end of Christs comming in the flesh against the flesh, and stifle the sincerity of our new cov'nant which hath bound us to forsake all carnall pride and wisdom especially in matters of [45] religion. Thus we see again how Prelaty sayling in opposition to the main end and power of the Gospel doth not joyn in that misterious work of

¹⁹ A reference to I Peter 2.2: "As newborn babes, desie the sincere milke of the word, that ye may grow thereby."

²⁰ Ezekiel 43.8. "In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their posts by my posts . . . they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations"

²¹ Canon 30 of 1604 pointed out that the sign of the cross was *not* a sacrament but rather a remembrance of Christ and a sign only, when used in baptism, that the infant was dedicated to Christ

²² Another reference to the sign of the cross, made, in the Episcopal church, at the end of the baptismal ceremony, the only authorized use of the sign in the English church.

²³ The water which, in Milton's time (i.e., between the prayer book revisions of 1562 and 1662), was not directly blessed by the minister at all

²⁴ No mention is found in Scripture of the sign of the cross (Ezekiel 9.4 and Revelation 7.3 speak only of a sign on the forehead)

²⁵ The ceremonial washings in the eucharist, objected to because they resembled the various washings of the priest in the Roman Catholic mass.

²⁶ For example, Exodus 29:4, 17; 30:19-21 The books of the law contain scores of commands to wash at various fixed times

²⁷ Mark 7.8: "Ye hold to the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups"

²⁸ Cf. Matthew 15.7-9 and Mark 7.6-9.

Christ, by lowlines to confound height, by simplicity of doctrin the wisdom of the world, but contrariwise hath made it self high in the world and the flesh to vanquish things by the world accounted low, and made it self wise in tradition and fleshly ceremony to confound the purity of doctrin which is the wisdom of God.²⁹

CHAP. III.

That Prelatical jurisdiction opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel and of State.

THE third and last consideration remains, whether the Prelats in their function doe work according to the Gospel practizing to subdue the mighty things of this world by things weak: ¹ which S. *Paul* hath set forth to be the power and excellence of the Gospel, or whether in more likelihood they band themselves with the prevalent things of this world to overrun the weak things which Christ hath made choise to work by: and this will soonest be discern'd by the cours of their jurisdiction. But heer again I find my thoughts almost in suspense betwixt yea and no,² and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may best retire, and not proceed in this subject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixt me too attentively to come thus farre. For Truth, I know not how, hath this unhappinesse fatall to her, ere she can come to the triall and inspection of the Understanding, being to passe through many little wards and limits of the severall Affections and Desires, she cannot shift it, but must put on such colours and attire, as those Pathetick handmaids of the soul please to lead her in to their Queen.³ And if she find so much favour with them, they let her passe in her own likenesse; if not, they bring her into the presence habited and colour'd like a notorious Falshood. And

²⁹ Milton is freely paraphrasing I Corinthians 1. 25-28.

¹ Corinthians 1:27: "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

² Cf. above, pp. 824-25, for Milton's extended apology for himself on this same theme.

³ Cf. above, p. 818. The thought is: "Truth must be dressed in pleasing language and apt figures, must appeal not only to reason (the understanding), but the emotions (the severall affections and desires) before she can get a hearing." The emotions are the "Pathetic handmaids"; the word signifies producing an effect on the emotions, not necessarily the tender ones.

contrary when any Falshood comes that way, if they like the errand she brings, they are so artfull to counterfeit the very shape and visage of Truth, that the Understanding not being able to discern the fucus ⁴ which these inchantresses with such cunning have laid upon the feature some-[46]times of Truth, sometimes of Falshood interchangeably, sentences ⁵ for the most part one for the other at the first blush, according to the suttile imposture of these sensual mistresses ⁶ that keep the ports and passages ⁷ between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already said, I should goe neer to relinquish that which is to follow. And because I see that most men, as it happens in this world, either weakly, or falsly principl'd, what through ignorance, and what through custom of licence, both in discours and writing, by what hath bin of late written in vulgar, have not seem'd to attain the decision of this point, I shall likewise assay those wily Arbitresses who in most men have, as was heard, the sole ushering of Truth and Falshood between the sense, and the soul, with what loyalty they will use me in convoying this Truth to my understanding; the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I doe not find them engag'd either one way or other. Concerning therefore ecclesial jurisdiction, I find still more controversie, who should administer it, then diligent enquiry made to learn what it is, for had the pains bin taken to search out that, it had bin long agoe enroul'd to be nothing els but a pure tyrannical forgery of the Prelats; and that jurisdictional power in the Church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceiv'd that what men now call jurisdiction in the Church, should be other thing then a Christian censorship; ⁸ and therefore is it most commonly and truly nam'd ecclesiastical censure. Now if the Roman censor ⁹ a civil function, to that severe assise ¹⁰

⁴ Here, a cosmetic paint.

⁵ That is, *passes* judgment.

⁶ The emotional coloring given by the affections and desires. Cf. above, p. 818, where Milton is also eager to break down the barriers of meaning often existing between the word and the actual thing.

⁷ Throughout Milton is fond of these alliterative doublets; cf. "card and compasse" (p. 753); "line and level" (p. 758), "sword or saw" (p. 832). The ports are the five senses, the passages the organs of sense.

⁸ "Censorship" signifies, in general, official supervision of morals; "censure," a spiritual punishment or reprimand inflicted by some ecclesiastical judge. Both come from the same Latin root: *censere*.

⁹ One of two Roman officials who enumerated the citizens, made a list of their possessions, and also supervised morals and conduct.

¹⁰ *NED* cites this. "The office of judge or act of judging."

of surveying and controuling the privatest, and sliest manners ¹¹ of all men and all degrees had no jurisdiction, no courts of plea, or inditement, no punitive force annex, whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of suits was improper, or that the notice of those upright Inquisitors extended to such the most covert and spiritous vices as would slip easily between the wider and more material grasp of Law; Or that it stood more with the Majesty of that office to have no other Serjeants ¹² or maces about them but those invisible ones of Terror and shame: Or lastly, were it their feare, lest the greatnes of this authority and honour arm'd with jurisdiction might step with ease into a tyranny. In all these respects with much more reason undoubtedly ought the censure of the Church be quite divested and disintal'd ¹³ of all jurisdiction whatsoever. For if the cours of judicature to a political censorship seem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the discipline of [47] Church whose definitive decrees are to be speedy, but the execution of rigour slow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is most usual, and by how much the lesse contentious it is, by so much will it be the more Christian. And if the censor in his morall episcopy being to judge most in matters not answerable by writ or action could not use an instrument so grosse and bodily as jurisdiction is, how can the minister of Gospel manage the corpulent and secular trial of bill and processe in things meerly spiritual. Or could that Roman office without this juridical sword or saw ¹⁴ strike such a reverence of it self into the most undaunted hearts, as with one single dash of ignominy to put all the Senate and Knighthood of *Rome* into a tremble, ¹⁵ surely much rather might the heavenly ministry of the Evangel bind her self about with farre more pearcing beams of Majesty and aw by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements ¹⁶ in the use of her powerful Keies. ¹⁷ For

¹¹ That is, most secret actions

¹² The sergeants are inferior court officers who enforce the orders of a tribunal and carry a mace as the badge of their office.

¹³ To detach.

¹⁴ "Saw" here is the obsolete meaning of "decree" or "command" Cf. Spenser, "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," l 885: "And rules the creature by his powerfull saw."

¹⁵ The censors inflicted a general penalty, *infamia*, which involved civil disability and would, therefore, be of special terror to senators and patricians

¹⁶ "Halings," dragging into court by force; "amercements," arbitrary mulcts or fines.

¹⁷ That is, the "keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 16.19); or the

when the Church without temporal support is able to doe her great works upon the unforc't obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spirituall efficacy, and to win her self respect and dread by strutting in the fals visard of worldly authority, tis evident that God is not there; but that her apostolick vertu is departed from her, and hath left her *Key-cold*.¹⁸ Which she perceaving as in a decay'd¹⁹ nature seeks to the outward fomentations²⁰ and chafings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extream parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and arteficial heat of jurisdiction. But it is observable that so long as the Church in true imitation of Christ can be content to ride upon an Asse²¹ carrying her self and her government along in a mean and simple guise, she may be as he is, a Lion of the tribe of *Juda*,²² and in her humility all men with loud Hosanna's will confesse her greatnes. But when despising the mighty operation of the spirit by the weak things of this world she thinks to make her self bigger and more considerable by using the way of civil force and jurisdiction, as she sits upon this Lion she changes into an Asse,²³ and instead of Hosanna's²⁴ every man pelts her with stones and dirt. Lastly, if the wisdom of the Romans fear'd to commit jurisdiction to an office of so high esteem and dred as was the censors, we may see what a solecism²⁵ in the art of policy it hath bin all this while through Christendom to give jurisdiction to ecclesiastical Censure. For that strength joyn'd with religion abus'd and pretended to ambitious ends must of necessity [48] breed the heaviest and most

"keys of hell and death" (Revelation 1.18). Cf *Christian Doctrine*, I, xxxii: "The administration of discipline is called *the power of the keys*; a power not committed to Peter and his successors exclusively, or to any individual pastor specifically, but to the whole particular church collectively."

¹⁸ Cold in death Cf *Richard III*, I, ii, 5: "Poor key-cold figure of a holy king."

¹⁹ "Decay'd" here has the sense only of "sick."

²⁰ "Fomentations" are warming by hot applications or poultices; "chafings" are warming by rubbing.

²¹ Cf. Matthew 21:5 and John 12:14.

²² The phrase is taken from Revelation 5.5.

²³ To produce this intentionally absurd picture, Milton here combines two references, Christ riding through Jerusalem on the ass, and the Lion of the Tribe of Judah

²⁴ The cry of the multitude when Christ, riding upon the ass, made his entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, Cf. Matthew 21 9, Mark 11.9-10

²⁵ A solecism, of course, is a violation of the rules of grammar or syntax; here it simply denotes an incongruity.

quelling tyranny not only upon the necks, but even to the souls of men: which if Christian *Rome* had bin so cautelous ²⁶ to prevent in her Church, as Pagan *Rome* was in her state, we had not had such a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Christendom. For although I said before that the Church coveting to ride upon the Lionly form of jurisdiction makes a transformation of her self into an Asse, and becomes despicable, that is to those whom God hath enlight'nd with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the reliques of superstition, this is the extremity of their bondage, and blindnes, that while they think they doe obeisance to the Lordly visage of a Lion, they doe it to an asse,²⁷ that through the just judgement of God is permitted to play the dragon among them because of their wilfull stupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, lest by leaving jurisdiction and Church censure to the same persons, now that God hath bin so long medcining her eyesight,²⁸ she doe not with her overpolitick fetches marre all, and bring her self back again to worship this Asse bestriding a Lion.²⁹ Having hitherto explain'd, that to ecclesiasticall censure no jurisdictional power can be added without a childish and dangerous oversight in polity, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelick discipline, as anon more fully; ³⁰ it will be next to declare wherein the true reason and force of Church censure consists, which by then it shall be laid open to the root, so little is it that I fear lest any crookednes, any wrinkle or spot should be found in presbyterial government, that if *Bodin* the famous French writer though a papist,³¹ yet affirms that the Commonwelth which maintains this discipline will certainly flourish in vertu and piety, I dare assure my self that every true protestant will admire the integrity, the uprightness, the divine and gracious purposes therof, and even for the reason of it so coherent with the doctrine of the Gospel, besides the

²⁶ Cautious, wary, circumspect.

²⁷ Possibly Milton here has in mind also the fable of Avian, "The Ass in the Lion's Skin." See *The Fables of Aesop and Others* (2 vols, London, 1889), II. 219.

²⁸ That is, since the Reformation; but Milton believes that the cure is still far from being completed.

²⁹ Here again Milton makes an intentionally absurd extension of a familiar story, this time of the fable above.

³⁰ Cf below, pp. 835-37.

³¹ John Bodin (1530-1596) was a French scholar in economic and political theory. The reference here is to *Six Livres de la République* (1577), VI, i. See *Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, tr. Richard Knolles (London, 1606; UTSL), p. 638. "Without doubt this commonweale [of Geneva] will flourish, . . . by their vertues and pietie."

evidence of command in Scripture,³² will confesse it to be the only true Church-government, and that contrary to the whole end and mistery of Christs comming in the flesh a false appearance of the same is exercis'd by Prelaty. But because some count it rigorous, and that hereby men shall be liable to a double punishment, I will begin somewhat higher and speak of punishment. Which, as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate conscience³³ in this life, and hell in the other world. Whatever else men call punishment, or censure is not properly an evil, so it be not an illegall violence, but a saving [49] med'cin ordaine'd of God both for the publik and privat good of man, who consisting of two parts the inward and the outward,³⁴ was by the eternall providence left under two sorts of cure, the Church and the Magistrat. The Magistrat hath only to deale with the outward part, I mean not of the body alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts, which in Scripture is call'd the outward man. So that it would be helpfull to us if we might borrow such authority as the Rhetoricians³⁵ by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean³⁶ skill to shape and fashion this outward man into the similitude of a body, and set him visible before us; imagining the inner man only as the soul. Thus then the civill Magistrat looking only upon the outward man (I say as a Magistrat, for what he doth further, he doth it as a member of the Church) if he find in his complexion, skin, or outward temperature the signes and marks, or in his doings the effects of injustice, rapine, lust, cruelty, or the like, sometimes he shuts up as in frenetick,³⁷ or infectious diseases; or confines within dores, as in every sickly estate. Sometimes he shaves by penalty,³⁸ or mulct,³⁹ or els to cool and take down those luxuriant hu-

³² Cf. above, p. 832, n. 17.

³³ An inward awareness or certainty that the soul is eternally rejected by God. In *Christian Doctrine*, II, ii, it is "the judgment of each individual mind concerning its own bad action, and its consequent disapproval of them, according to the light enjoyed from nature or grace."

³⁴ II Corinthians 4:16. "Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day."

³⁵ That is, the rhetoricians, who are masters of figurative language, give us the right, figuratively, to divide man into the outer parts (body) and inner parts (soul).

³⁶ Prometheus, son of Iapetus, was fabled to have made man out of clay.

³⁷ The "frenetick" or insane would be shut up in a public institution like the Bethlehem (Bedlam) insane asylum; infectious diseases, like the plague, were confined to houses.

³⁸ To strip (a person) clean of money or possessions. *NED*.

³⁹ To fine.

mors which wealth and excesse have caus'd to abound. Otherwhiles he seres, he cauterizes, he scarifies,⁴⁰ lets blood, and finally for utmost remedy cuts off. The patients which mostanend⁴¹ are brought into his hospital⁴² are such as are farre gon, and beside themselves (unlesse they be falsly accus'd) so that force is necessary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more human cure. His general end is the outward peace and wel-fare of the Commonwealth and civil happines in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, dammage, and disgrace, that the senses and common perceivance might carry this message to the soul within, that it is neither easefull, profitable, nor praiseworthy in this life to doe evill. Which must needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the first means to a natural⁴³ man, especially an offender, which might open his eyes to a higher consideration of good and evill, as it is taught in religion. This is seen in the often penitence of those that suffer, who, had they scapt, had gon on sinning to an immeasurable heap, which is one of the extreamest punishments. And this is all that the civil Magistrat,⁴⁴ as so being, confers to the healing of mans mind, working only by terrifying plaisters upon the rind & orifice of the sore, and by all outward appliances, as the Logicians say, a posteriori, at the effect, and not from the cause: not once touching the [50] inward bed of corruption, and that hectick disposition to evill, the sourse of all vice, and obliquity against the rule of Law. Which how insufficient it is to cure the soul of man, we cannot better guesse then by the art of bodily phisick. Therefore God to the intent of further healing mans deprav'd mind, to this power of the Magistrat which contents it self with the restraint of evil doing in the external man, added that which we call censure,⁴⁵ to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmost soul. In the beginning this authority seems to have bin plac't, as all both civil and re-

⁴⁰ To sear is to burn the bodily tissues, particularly about an open wound or amputation to promote healing, to cauterize is to burn by searing or with a caustic; to scarify is to make a number of slight incisions to promote bleeding.

⁴¹ For the most part, almost entirely.

⁴² Here the present meaning of a place of reception for the sick

⁴³ Here "natural man" means the non-religious man, who lives only by natural reason, or instinct.

⁴⁴ Cf. Romans 13:3-4.

⁴⁵ "Disapproval expressed by ecclesiastical authority in the form of a public reprimand, with or without added penalty" Shailer Matthews and Gerald B. Smith, *A Dictionary of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1921).

ligious rites once were, only in each father of family.⁴⁶ Afterwards among the heathen, in the wise men and Philosophers of the age; but so as it was a thing voluntary, and no set government.⁴⁷ More distinctly among the Jews as being Gods peculiar, where the Priests, Levites, Profets, and at last the Scribes and Pharises⁴⁸ took charge of instructing, and overseeing the lives of the people. But in the Gospel, which is the straitest and the dearest⁴⁹ cov'nant can be made between God and man, wee being now his adopted sons,⁵⁰ and nothing fitter for us to think on, then to be like him,⁵¹ united to him, and as he pleases to expresse it, to have fellowship with him,⁵² it is all necessity that we should expect this blest efficacy of healing our inward man to be minister'd to us in a more familiar and effectual method then ever before. God being now no more a judge after the sentence of the Law,⁵³ nor as it were a schoolmaister of perishable rites,⁵⁴ but a most indulgent father governing his Church as a family of sons in their discreet age; and therfore in the sweetest and mildest manner of paternal discipline he hath committed this other office of preserving in healthful constitution the innerman, which may be term'd the spirit of the soul, to his spiritual deputy the minister of each Congregation; who being best acquainted with his own flock, hath best reason to know all the secretest diseases likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble then the external, by so much is his cure more exactly, more throughly, and more particularly to be perform'd. For which cause the holy

⁴⁶ For example, Noah and Abraham, fathers who had authority over families Or Milton may have had in mind Plato, *Laws*, III, 680, where the Athenian says, "and everyone gives law to his wife and children."

⁴⁷ Plato, *Laws*, III, 681, where the rule is found as Milton describes it.

⁴⁸ The scribes were those who copied, taught, and explained the law after special training; the Pharisees were a sect which strictly observed ceremonies and the whole law, and endeavored to enforce such strictness upon others.

⁴⁹ Closest, most precious Cf. "Lycidas," l 6: "Bitter constraint and sad occasion dear."

⁵⁰ The term is from Romans 8:15 and Galatians 4:5.

⁵¹ Cf. *Of Education* (1644, p. 2): "The end, then, of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him." Cf also I John 3 2: "But we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

⁵² Cf. I Corinthians 1.9.

⁵³ Deuteronomy 17:11. "According to the sentence of the law which they shall teach thee."

⁵⁴ The rules and rites of the old law, now no longer in effect.

Ghost by the Apostles joyn'd to the minister, as assistant in this great office sometimes a certain number of grave⁵⁵ and faithful brethren, (for neither doth the phisitian doe all in restoring his patient, he prescribes, another prepares the med'cin, some tend, some watch, some visit) much more may a minister partly not see all, partly erre as a man: besides that nothing can be more for the mutuall honour and love of the people to their [51] Pastor, and his to them, then when in select numbers and courses they are seen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy duties of discipline by their serviceable, and solemn presence, and receiving honour again from their imployment,⁵⁶ not now any more to be separated in the Church by vails and partitions⁵⁷ as laicks and unclean,⁵⁸ but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightfull Clergy of Christ, a chosen generation, a royal Priesthood⁵⁹ to offer up spiritual sacrifice⁶⁰ in that meet place to which God and the Congregation shall call and assigne them. And this all Christians ought to know, that the title of Clergy S. *Peter* gave to all Gods people, till Pope *Higinus*⁶¹ and the succeeding Prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themselves and their Priests only; and condemning the rest of Gods inheritance⁶² to an injurious and alienat condition of Laity, they separated from them by local partitions in Churches,⁶³ through their grosse ignorance and pride

⁵⁵ The passage Milton is about to refer to is I Timothy 3.8–13. The Holy Ghost was the source of Paul's inspiration. Paul insists on the gravity of deacons.

⁵⁶ I Timothy 3:1–13. The reference is to Paul's mention of deacons.

⁵⁷ Ephesians 2.13–15.

⁵⁸ The laity was not regarded in the English church as unclean but was strictly prohibited from performing ecclesiastical functions such as ordination and the celebration of the eucharist.

⁵⁹ The phrases, favorites with Milton, are from I Peter 2:9.

⁶⁰ I Peter 2:5. "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices."

⁶¹ The assertion apparently rests on the vague statement of Pope Hyginus (154–158 A.D.) in *Liber Pontificalis: Hic clerum composuit et distribuit gradus* ("He set the clergy in order and distributed ranks") See the translation by Louise R. Loomis (New York, 1916), p. 14.

⁶² Perhaps Milton had in mind Psalms 33.12, "the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance," or I Peter 5:3, "Neither being as lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock."

⁶³ The partition continually mentioned in polemic writings is the rail about the altar or holy table, which the high-church party placed altar-wise (at the east end of the church). See above, pp. 547–48. This was apparently the most hateful of all innovations.

imitating the old temple: ⁶⁴ and excluded the members of Christ from the property of being members, ⁶⁵ the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the ecclesiastical body, as if they had meant to sow up that Jewish vail ⁶⁶ which Christ by his death on the Crosse rent in sunder. ⁶⁷ Although these usurpers could not so presently over-maister the liberties and lawfull titles of Gods freeborn Church, but that *Origen* ⁶⁸ being yet a lay man expounded the Scriptures publicly, and was therein defended by *Alexander* of Jerusalem, ⁶⁹ and *Theoctistus* of Cæsarea ⁷⁰ producing in his behalf divers examples that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy Laymen; And *Cyprian* in his Epistles ⁷¹ professes he will doe nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant Laicks. Neither did the first Nicene council, ⁷² as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay brethren, as they were then calld. Many other authorities to confirm this assertion both

⁶⁴ Milton refers to the partition in Solomon's temple setting off the Holy of Holies (II Chronicles 3.17).

⁶⁵ "Members" are parts of the body. Milton here recalls I Corinthians 12.12-13, in which Paul compares the actual and spiritual body, and I Corinthians 6:15, "your bodies are the members of Christ."

⁶⁶ The old law, which was ended by the atonement.

⁶⁷ After the crucifixion. Cf. Matthew 27.51, Mark 15:38, Luke 23.45.

⁶⁸ Origen (ca. 185-ca. 254) was the most prolific writer and theologian of the early church. His writings include letters, works in textual criticism, exegesis, apologetics, and dogmatic and practical theology. See above, p. 552, n. 121.

⁶⁹ A friend of Origen, he became successively bishop of the sees of Cappadocia and Jerusalem. He died in prison in Caesarea. Only fragmentary letters (preserved in Eusebius, *Church History*, VI) remain.

⁷⁰ Mentioned a few times in Eusebius, VI, as bishop of Caesarea at the same time as Alexander was at Jerusalem. The defence by Alexander and Theoctistus of Origen is mentioned in Eusebius, VI, xix. Milton's syntax does not quite clarify his meaning. Both bishops wrote defending Origen. The "divers examples" were evidently their joint work.

⁷¹ Cyprian (ca. 200-258) was bishop of Carthage, martyred under Valerian in 258. Eighty-one letters, showing his peaceful, charitable nature, survive. See above, pp. 534 and 546. Smectymnuus' characterization of Cyprian's administration is accurate (*An Answer*, 1641, p. 38): "*Cyprian* professeth, that *hee would doe nothing without the Clergie*; nay, *he could doe nothing without them*; nay, *hee durst not take upon him alone* to determine that which of right did belong to all."

⁷² The first Council of Nicaea met in the city in Asia Minor in 325; 318 (the commonly accepted number) bishops, representing the best learning of the Christian world, were present. Many nonclerical learned men also attended. See above, p. 562.

out of Scripture and the writings of next antiquity *Golartius* ⁷³ hath collected in his notes upon *Cyprian*; ⁷⁴ whereby it will be evident that the Laity not only by Apostolick permission, but by consent of many the ancientest Prelates did participat in Church offices as much as is desir'd any lay Elder should now do.⁷⁵ Sometimes also not the Elders alone, but the whole body of the Church is interested in the work of discipline, as oft as publick satisfaction ⁷⁶ is given by those that have given publick scandal. Not to speak now of her right in elections.⁷⁷ But another reason there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet morall [52] and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in Philosophy, that shame or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren, and friends was the greatest incitement to vertuous deeds and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy attempts that might be.⁷⁸ Hence we may read in the Iliad where *Hector* being wisht to retire from the battel, many of his forces being

⁷³ Simon Goulart or Golartius (1543–1628) studied law at Paris. Reading the works of the reformers made so great an impression on him that he went to Geneva and was there made a minister, 1566. After the death of Beza he was chosen president of the synod. In spite of his devotion to preaching, he found time to do much scholarly work, editing the works of Tertullian, the Amyot Plutarch, and the writings of Cyprian. Besides, he took part in the work of the French Genevan Bible. His edition of Cyprian's *Opera* (HLH) appeared in Paris in 1593. In it Golartius corrects and amends the preceding editors of Cyprian. Curiously enough, in the Harvard copy of Golartius' edition the places Milton cites are marked off. The Golartius edition of Cyprian is the only one Milton mentions by name. This identification of Milton's source is the result of research by Sister Dorothy Merced, St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn, N.Y.

⁷⁴ Milton's information is from the Golartius edition of Cyprian (*Opera*, Paris, 1593; HCL). In commenting on Epistle 31, p. 70, in which Cyprian had said that a council should be held "cum episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, confessoribus, pariter ac stantibus laicis facta," Golartius lists the sources for his belief that laymen were admitted to the Nicene Council (p. 73, n. 26): "Theodoret, I, 10; Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III, 9, Sozomenus, I, 16, 17; Nicephorus, VIII, 15; Socrates, I, 5." He includes also statements of Chrysostom, Cyril, and Ambrose.

⁷⁵ In the Presbyterian system elders were both clergy and elected laymen. Hence Milton clearly differentiates. Cf. William Laud, *A Speech Delivered in the Starr-Chamber* (1637), p. 7: "In all ages, in all places, the Church of Christ was governed by Bishops; And Lay-Elders never heard of, till Calvin's new-fangled device at Geneva."

⁷⁶ Acts performed (giving alms, praying, fasting) as a temporal expiation of sin.

⁷⁷ Cf. *An Answer* (1641), p. 34: "Nor did onely Christian Bishops, but Christian Princes acknowledge the Right and power of Election of Bishops to be in the People."

⁷⁸ The idea is implicit in Plato, *Republic*, V, 465; and especially in *Laws*, II, 671.

routed, makes answer that he durst not for shame, lest the Trojan Knights and Dames should think he did ignobly.⁷⁹ And certain it is that wheras Terror is thought such a great stickler in a Commonwealth, honourable shame is a farre greater, and has more reason. For where shame is there is fear, but where fear is there is not presently shame.⁸⁰ And if any thing may be done to inbreed in us this generous and Christianly reverence one of another, the very Nurs and Guardian of piety and vertue,⁸¹ it can not sooner be then by such a discipline in the Church, as may use us to have in aw the assemblies of the faithful, & to count it a thing most grievous, next to the grieving of Gods Spirit,⁸² to offend those whom he hath put in authority, as a healing superintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happines and that we may not give offence to good men, who without amends by us made, dare not against Gods command hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcast from the company of Saints,⁸³ and from the fatherly protection of God in his Church, to consort with the devil and his angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or call it if you will an esteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own persons.⁸⁴ And if the love of God as a fire sent from Heaven⁸⁵ to be ever kept alive upon the altar of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and vertuous actions in men, this pious and just honouring of our selves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture⁸⁶ and fountain head, whence every laudable and worthy enterprize issues forth. And although I

⁷⁹ The episode is found in *Ilad*, VI, 440–446, and also XXII, 100.

⁸⁰ Cf *Euthyphro*, 12. "But where reverence [shame] is, there is fear . . . but there is not always reverence where there is fear"

⁸¹ Plato had used the preceding argument (of fear and shame) to illustrate the part of piety or holiness which is shown by justice. Milton has telescoped the argument. See *Euthyphro*, 12–13.

⁸² Ephesians 4 30. "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption."

⁸³ Milton possibly here means not only saints as God's chosen people, but the angels of God Cf *Paradise Lost*, VI, 46–47.

Gabriel, lead forth to Battle these my Sons
Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints

⁸⁴ Cf *Laws*, I, 647, 649; II, 699, *Euthyphro*, 12.

⁸⁵ Cf. Leviticus 9.24, Judges 13:19–20, I Kings 18:36–39, II Chronicles 7:1.

⁸⁶ "In mediaeval philosophy, the humour or moisture naturally inherent in all plants and animals, its presence being a necessary condition to their vitality."
NED.

have giv'n it the name of a liquid thing, yet is it not incontinent to bound it self,⁸⁷ as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerfull abstinence⁸⁸ to start back, and glob it self⁸⁹ upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming motion,⁹⁰ or any soile wherewith it may peril to stain it self. Something I confesse it is to be asham'd of evil doing in the presence of any, and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather than a bad, fearing most in his sight to offend, goes so farre as almost to be vertuous; yet this is but still the feare [53] of infamy, and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving their reputation will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty⁹¹ with their dearer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of Gods image upon him,⁹² and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly markt upon his forehead,⁹³ accounts himselfe both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth then to deject and defile, with such a debasement and such a pollution as sin is, himselfe so highly ransom'd⁹⁴ and enobl'd to a new friendship and filiall relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himselfe, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinfull though in the deepest secrecy. How shall a man know to do himselfe this right, how to performe this honourable duty of estimation and respect towards his own soul and body? which way will leade him best to this hill top of sanctity and goodnesse⁹⁵ above which there is no higher ascent but to the love of God⁹⁶ which from this self-pious regard cannot be assunder? no better way doubtlesse

⁸⁷ That is, unable to contain itself.

⁸⁸ Powerful ability to control itself.

⁸⁹ Milton is thinking of the action of mercury, which "globes itself" away from foreign matter.

⁹⁰ "Ungenerous" here means "lacking in goodness or excellence"; "motion" signifies "a reason or ground for action, a motive."

⁹¹ A secret compromise.

⁹² I Corinthians 11.7. "For a man . . . is the image and glory of God."

⁹³ Cf. Revelation 14:1, and 22:4.

⁹⁴ Cf. Matthew 20:28 and Mark 10:45, "a ransom for many," and I Timothy 2.6, "a ransom for all."

⁹⁵ An allusion to Dante's paradise, which is on the summit of the mountain of purgatory. Cf. *Purgatorio*, XXVII, 125, and *Paradiso*, XXVI.

⁹⁶ In *Paradiso* God himself is in the highest of all spheres, the Empyrean. Cf. *Paradiso*, XXVII.

then to let him duly understand that as he is call'd by the high calling of God to be holy and pure, so is he by the same appointment ordain'd, and by the Churches call admitted to such offices of discipline in the Church to which his owne spirituall gifts by the example of Apostolick institution have autoriz'd him. For we have learnt that the scornfull terme of Laick, the consecrating of Temples,⁹⁷ carpets, and table-clothes, the railing in⁹⁸ of a repugnant and contradictive Mount Sinai⁹⁹ in the Gospell, as if the touch of a lay Christian who is never the lesse Gods living temple,¹⁰⁰ could profane dead judaisms, the exclusion of Christs people from the offices of holy discipline through the pride of a usurping Clergy, causes the rest to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves; to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldnesse. For seeing such a wide and terrible distance between religious things and themselves, and that in respect of a wooden table¹⁰¹ & the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flagon pot, and a linnen corporal,¹⁰² the

⁹⁷ Cf. Article 17 of the London Petition, December 11, 1640 (below, p. 980): "The Christ'ning and Consecrating of Churches and Chapels, the Consecrating Fonts, Tables, Pulpits, Chalices, Church-yards, and many other things, and putting Holiness in them; yea, re-consecrating upon pretended Pollution, as though every thing were unclean without their consecrating." Bishop Andrewes published an elaborate ceremony of consecration, "Consecratio Capellae Jesu, et Coemeterii." The carpet was the covering of the communion table; the table cloth, of linen, the top

⁹⁸ The following may serve as an example of the fury of protest against rails around the altar. Edward Layfield, vicar (1635-1640) of All Hallows, Barking, was proved by a Parliamentary committee on November 25, 1640, to have done the following, to the horrified scandal of the group (Rushworth, IV, 58-59): "*He hath set the Communion-Table Altar-wise, caused Rails, and Ten several Images upon those Rails, to be set at the Altar. He bowed three times at his going to the Rails, twice within the Rails.*"

⁹⁹ Mount Sinai in Scripture is a summit in the Sinai range in the peninsula between the two northern arms of the Red Sea. Here, an exceptionally holy place, because this was where God, through Moses, gave the greater part of the law to the Israelites

¹⁰⁰ I Corinthians 3.16. "Ye are the temple of God, and . . . the spirit of God dwelleth in you."

¹⁰¹ The holy table, which was railed in, the whole being excluded to the laity. Altars were of stone until the Reformation, after that (in the seventeenth century), of wood.

¹⁰² The pot is the cup in which the communion wine was consecrated; it was commonly called a flagon, not a pot. The corporal is the communion cloth. Canon 82 of 1604 required the altar to be covered "in time of divine Service with a Carpet of Silks or other decent stuffe . . . and with a faire Linnen cloth at the time of ministration."

Priest esteems their lay-ships unhallow'd and unclean, they fear religion with such a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the Gospell too pure for them, and that any uncleannesse is more sutable to their unconsecrated estate. But when every good Christian throughly acquainted-[54]ed with all those glorious privileges of sanctification and adoption¹⁰³ which render him more sacred then any dedicated altar or element,¹⁰⁴ shall be restor'd to his right in the Church, and not excluded from such place of spirituall government as his Christian abilities and his approved good life in the eye and testimony of the Church shall preferre him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himselfe, which is so requisite and high a point of Christianity, and will stirre him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave imployment wherewith God and the Church hath dignifi'd him: not fearing lest he should meet with some outward holy thing in religion which his lay touch or presence might profane, but lest something unholy from within his own heart should dishonour and profane in himselfe that Priestly unction¹⁰⁵ and Clergy-right whereto Christ hath entitl'd him. Then would the congregation of the Lord soone recover the true likenesse and visage of what she is indeed, a holy generation, a royall Priesthood,¹⁰⁶ a Saintly communion, the houshold and City of God. And this I hold to be another considerable reason why the functions of Church-government ought to be free and open to any Christian man though never so laick, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour commend him. And this the Apostles warrant us to do.¹⁰⁷ But the Prelats object that this will bring profanenesse into the Church, to whom may be reply'd, that none have brought that in more then their own irreligious courses; nor more driven holinesse out of living into livelesse things. For whereas God who hath cleans'd every beast and creeping worme, would not suffer *S. Peter* to call them common or unclean,¹⁰⁸ the Prelat Bishops in

¹⁰³ Sanctification was the making holy of a true Christian through divine grace and the destruction of sin in him; adoption is the special sense in which all true Christians are the sons of God, Hebrews 10 10, Ephesians 1.4, 5 They are treated in *Christian Doctrine*, I, xviii.

¹⁰⁴ The bread and wine of the eucharist

¹⁰⁵ A special spiritual influence making all believers priestly.

¹⁰⁶ I Peter 2:9. Cf. Hughes' *Prose Selections*, p. 130, n. 187.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in I Corinthians 12 and 3.9, 10

¹⁰⁸ Acts 10:12-15. According to this passage, when Peter will not eat anything "common or unclean," the Lord answers, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." Cf. also Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker* (1925), pp. 136-43, for the importance of this idea in Milton's thinking.

their printed orders hung up in Churches ¹⁰⁹ have proclaim'd the best of creatures, mankind, so unpurifi'd and contagious, that for him to lay his hat, or his garment upon the Chancell table ¹¹⁰ they have defin'd it no lesse hainous in expresse words then to profane the Table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitish doctrine ¹¹¹ (for that which was to the Jew but jewish is to the Christian no better then Canaanitish) ¹¹² thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made profane that nature which God hath not only cleans'd, but Christ also hath assum'd. And now that the equity and just reason is so perspicuous, why in Ecclesiastick censure the assistance should be added of such, as whom not the vile odour of gaine and fees ¹¹³ (forbid it God and blow it with a whirlwinde out of our land) but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to Church-government hath call'd together, where could a wise-[55]man wish a more equall, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence that he might happen to commit against Christianity then here? ¹¹⁴ would he preferre those proud simoniacall ¹¹⁵ Courts? Thus therefore the Minister assisted attends his heavenly and spirituall, cure. Where we shall see him both in the course of his proceeding, and first in the excellence of his end from the magistrate farre different, and not more different then excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man both soul and body to an ever-

¹⁰⁹ In a postscript to *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* (1604) the king ordered that a copy of the new canons "be provided at the charge of the Parish." *A Collection of Articles, Injunctions, Canons*, ed. Anthony Sparrow (1675; UML), p. 373.

¹¹⁰ The seventh canon ecclesiastical of 1640, called "A Declaration Concerning some Rites and Ceremonies," specifically forbids this (below, p. 991): "And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, some casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the Communion-Tables in time of Divine Service . . . the said Communion Tables . . . [shall be] decently severed with Rails, to preserve them from such or worse profanations."

¹¹¹ The Canaanites were the natives of western Palestine before the coming of the Israelites. Milton here means outlandish doctrine.

¹¹² That is, the Christian is no more to follow the ancient Jewish law than he is required to follow the laws of Canaan.

¹¹³ The fines, often for large sums, assessed by the Court of High Commission.

¹¹⁴ This confused sentence seems to mean: A wise man could not wish a fairer censure of his offences against Christianity than from a court composed of the minister and laymen (elders) of the congregation, as in the Presbyterian discipline.

¹¹⁵ "Simony" is buying or selling places in the church. Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 610), and *Animadversions* (above, p. 702) for other charges of simony against the bishops.

lasting health: and yet as for worldly happinesse, which is the proper sphere wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy ¹¹⁶ from law, so little aims the Minister, as his intended scope, to procure the much prosperity of this life, that oft-times he may have cause to wish much of it away, as a diet puffing up the soul with a slimy fleshinesse, and weakning her principall organick parts. Two heads of evill he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Against the former he provides the daily Manna of incorruptible doctrine,¹¹⁷ not at those set meales only in publick, but as oft as he shall know that each infirmity, or constitution requires. Against the latter with all the branches thereof, not meddling with that restraining and styptick surgery which the law uses, not indeed against the malady but against the eruptions, and outermost effects thereof. He on the contrary beginning at the prime causes and roots of the disease sends in those two divine ingredients of most cleansing power to the soul, Admonition & Reproof,¹¹⁸ besides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments are but vain, unlesse by accident. And he that will not let these passe into him, though he be the greatest King, as *Plato* affirms,¹¹⁹ must be thought to remaine impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his purenesse and his knowledge should most appear. As soon therefore as it may be discern'd that the Christian patient by feeding elsewhere on meats not allowable, but of evill juice, hath disorder'd his diet, and spread an ill humour through his vains immediatly disposing to a sicknesse, the minister as being much neerer both in eye and duty, then the magistrate, speeds him betimes to overtake that diffus'd malignance with some gentle potion of admonishment; or if ought be obstructed, puts in his opening and discussive confections.¹²⁰ This not succeeding after once or twice or oftner, in the presence of two or three his faithfull brethren appointed thereto he advises him to be more carefull of his dearest health, and what it is that he [56] so rashly hath let down in to the divine vessel of his soul Gods temple. If this obtaine not, he then with the counsell of more

¹¹⁶ The word is used in its Latin sense "to go out of the track."

¹¹⁷ That is, the public rites of the church, services and sermons

¹¹⁸ See above, p. 845, n. 114.

¹¹⁹ As Agar notes, this reflects *Gorgias*, 524–525 See Herbert Agar, *Milton and Plato* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929), p. 61.

¹²⁰ Discussive medicines dissolved or dissipated morbid matter or humors; a confection was a sweetened medicine, a sugar-coated pill.

assistants who are inform'd of what diligence hath been already us'd, with more speedy remedies layes neerer siege to the entrenched causes of his distemper, not sparing such fervent and well aim'd reproofs as may best give him to see the dangerous estate wherein he is. To this also his brethren and friends intreat, exhort, adjure, and all these endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or lesse repeated. But if, neither the regard of himselfe, nor the reverence of his Elders and friends prevaile with him, to leave his vitious appetite, then as the time urges, such engines of terror God hath given into the hand of his minister as to search the tenderest angles of the heart: one while he shakes his stubbornnesse with racking convulsions nigh dispaire, other whiles with deadly corrosives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole Church beseech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this perform'd with what patience and attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of the Church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and holding forth the dreadfull sponge of excommunication¹²¹ pronounce him wip't out of the list of Gods inheritance, and in the custody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid sentence though it touch neither life, nor limme, nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter then any chimicall sulphur,¹²² or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrals,¹²³ it scorches the inmost soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the Church for no other cause but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medcin, where the malady is obdurat; a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties,¹²⁴ so the cruelties of the Church are mercies.

¹²¹ The sentence of excommunication cuts a man off from all communication with the church or its members. His children cannot be baptized, he cannot have attention at his death, and he is refused Christian burial. Milton apparently did not wish it to carry also civil disabilities or penalties.

¹²² Sulphur is highly inflammable; hence Milton calls it swift. It is "chimicall" because, in alchemy, it is one of the supposed ultimate constituents of all material substances.

¹²³ Not merely a figure of speech. Cf. Wilfrid Defonville, *Thunder and Lightning* (New York, 1886), p. 272: "Strange and inexplicable cases are recorded, in which the electric fire appears to have concentrated itself so as to respect, or to leave intact, the skin of an animal, whilst its internal parts are reduced to ashes." Several instances are given.

¹²⁴ Proverbs 12:10.

For if repentance sent from heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hasting towards destruction,¹²⁵ to come and reconcile to the Church, if he bring with him his bill of health,¹²⁶ and that he is now cleare of infection and of no danger to the other sheep, then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed bankets¹²⁷ of Christian consolation; with pretious ointments bathing and fomenting¹²⁸ the old and now to be forgotten stripes which terror and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly solaces they cheere up [57] his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity. This is the approved way which the Gospell prescribes, these are the *spirituall weapons of holy censure*, and ministeriall warfare, *not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling downe of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it selfe against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.*¹²⁹ What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of Gods breathing, the soul,¹³⁰ and what could be done lesse? he that would hide his faults from such a wholesome curing as this, and count it a two-fold punishment, as some do, is like a man that having foul diseases about him, perishes for shame, and the fear he has of a rigorous incision to come upon his flesh. We shall be able by this time to discern whether Prelaticall jurisdiction be contrary to the Gospell or no. First therefore the government of the Gospell being economicall¹³¹ and paternall, that is, of such a family where there be no servants, but all sons in obedience, not in servility, as cannot be deny'd by him that lives but within the sound of Scripture, how can the Prelates justifie to have turn'd the fatherly orders of Christs household, the blessed meeknesse of his lowly roof, those ever open and inviting doores of his dwelling house which delight to be frequented with only filiall accesses, how can they

¹²⁵ An allusion to the Gadarene swine; Matthew 8.30-32; Mark 5.11-16; Luke 8.32-34.

¹²⁶ Specifically, a certificate given to a shipmaster or to a traveler in foreign lands (Italy in particular), testifying that no infectious disease is present.

¹²⁷ Sweetmeats, dainty dishes *NED*.

¹²⁸ Bathing with warm or medicated lotions

¹²⁹ (M) Cor. 2. 10. (Milton means II Corinthians 10:4-5.)

¹³⁰ Genesis 2:7: "and the Lord God . . . breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

¹³¹ Here used in the sense of pertaining to household management, domestic.

justifie to have turn'd these domestick privileges into the barre of a proud judicall court where fees and clamours keep shop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption solicits, paltring the free and monillesse power of discipline with a carnall satisfaction by the purse. Contrition, humiliation, confession, the very sighs of a repentant spirit are there sold by the penny. That undeflour'd and unblemishable simplicity of the Gospell, nor she her selfe, for that could never be, but a false-whited,¹³² a lawnie¹³³ resemblance of her, like that aire-born *Helena* in the fables,¹³⁴ made by the sorcery of Prelats, instead of calling her Disciples from the receipt of custome,¹³⁵ is now turn'd Publican her self; and gives up her body to a mercenary whor-dome under those fornicated arches which she calls Gods house, and in the sight of those her altars which she hath set up to be ador'd makes merchandize of the bodies and souls of men. Rejecting purgatory¹³⁶ for no other reason, as it seems, then because her greedines cannot deferre but had rather use the utmost extortion of redeemed penances in this life.¹³⁷ But because these matters could not be thus carri'd without a begg'd and borrow'd force from worldly authority, therefore prelaty slighting [58] the deliberat and chosen counsell of Christ in his spirituall government, whose glory is in the weaknesse of fleshly things to tread upon the crest¹³⁸ of the worlds pride and violence by the power of spirituall ordinances, hath on the contrary made these her freinds and champions which are Christs enemies in this his high designe, smothering and extinguishing the spirituall force of his bodily weaknesse in the discipline of his Church with the boistrous¹³⁹ and

¹³² Matthew 23.27.

¹³³ From the lawn sleeves worn by bishops

¹³⁴ The idea that Helen never was taken to Troy, but that her place was taken by a wraith while she herself was actually in Egypt, is the theme of Euripides' *Helen*. Milton probably also saw it in Plato, *Laws*, IX, 586.

¹³⁵ Matthew was the disciple who had been a publican (tax collector). Cf. Matthew 9:9, Mark 2:14.

¹³⁶ Article XXII of 1562: "The Romishe doctrine concerning purgatorie, pardons . . . is a fonde thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrantie of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the worde of God." Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* (3 vols., New York, 1878), III, 501.

¹³⁷ A reference to the argument that purgatory was an invention of priests who grow rich on masses for souls in the process of purification there.

¹³⁸ Possibly an allusion to Micah, 1:3. "The Lord . . . will come down, and tread upon the high places of the earth."

¹³⁹ Big and cumbersome Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p 613): "boisterous & contradictional hand of a temporall, earthly, and corporeall Spirituality."

carnall tyranny of an undue, unlawfull and ungospellike jurisdiction. And thus Prelaty both in her fleshly supportments, in her carnall doctrine of ceremonie and tradition, in her violent and secular power going quite counter to the prime end of Christs comming in the flesh, that is to revele his truth, his glory and his might in a clean contrary manner then Prelaty seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mistery of God, I do not conclude that Prelaty is Antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conclude it. Yet if such like practises, and not many worse then these of our Prelats, in that great darknesse of the Roman Church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judg'd to be Antichristian in all orthodoxall esteeme, I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of truth and all her children to pronounce this Prelaty, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great light wherein we live,¹⁴⁰ to be more Antichristian then Antichrist himselfe.

THE CONCLUSION.

The mischief that Prelaty does in the State.

IADDE one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of Prelaty, this is certain that the Gospell being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious power joyn'd with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white Horse with his bow and his crown conquering, and to conquer.¹ If we let the Angell of the Gospell ride on his own way, he does his proper businesse conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the salvation of many souls. But if ye turn him out of his rode, and in a manner force him to expresse his irresistible pow-[59]er by a doctrine of carnall might, as Prelaty is, he will use that fleshly strength which ye put into his hands to subdue your spirits by a servile and blind superstition, and that againe shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiate greedinesse and force upon your worldly

¹⁴⁰ That is, the Reformation, as opposed to "that great darknesse of the Roman Church."

¹ Revelation 6:2: "And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer."

wealth and power wherewith to deck and magnifie her self, and her false worships, she shall spoil and havock your estates, disturbe your ease, diminish your honour, inthraul your liberty under the swelling mood ² of a proud Clergy, who will not serve or feed your soules with spirituall food, look not for it, they have not wherewithall, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ingratefull bodies, at least if it be possible that those open sepulchers ³ should ever be glutted, and when they have stufft their Idolish temples with the wastefull pillage of your estates,⁴ will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poore pittance which they have left you, will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had us'd her at his pleasure, will they but only hate ye and so turne ye loose? ⁵ no: they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not favour ye so much. What will they do then in the name of God and Saints, what will these man-haters yet with more despight and mischief do? Ile tell ye, or at least remember ⁶ ye, for most of ye know it already. That they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon,⁷ as they have done to your souls, they will sell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your Parlements, all these things, and if there be ought else dearer then these, they will sell at an out-cry in their Pulpits to the arbitrary and illegall dispose of any one that may hereafter be call'd a King, whose mind shall serve him to listen to their bargain. And by their corrupt and servile doctrines boring our eares ⁸ to an everlasting slavery, as they have done hitherto, so will they yet do their best to repeal and erase every

² The puffed-up pride.

³ Psalms 5:9: "the wicked . . . their throat is an open sepulchre." Cf. also Romans 3:13.

⁴ *The Grand Remonstrance* (December 1, 1641) had pointed out the losses suffered by the people in sustaining the bishops' wars, this was offered as one of the reasons for expelling the bishops from Parliament. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 202-32.

⁵ II Samuel 13:1-19 Amnon, son of David by Ahinoam, ravished his half-sister Tamar (full sister of Absalom, daughter of Micah) and afterward "hated her exceedingly." He was later killed by Absalom's servants. II Samuel 13:29.

⁶ Remind you.

⁷ The wicked city wherein are sold the souls of men. Revelation 18 10-13. The Puritans, of course, identified Catholic Rome with Babylon.

⁸ Exodus 21:6: "Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever."

line and clause of both our great charters.⁹ Nor is this only what they will doe, but what they hold as the maine reason and mystery of their advancement that they must do; be the Prince never so just and equall to his subjects; yet such are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they so look on him, & so understand him, as if he requir'd no other gratitude, or piece of service from them then this. And indeed they stand so opportunly for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the Gospel,¹⁰ as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the Princes favour, & to [60] continue so long to them, as by pleasing him they shall deserve, whence it must needs be they should bend all their intentions, and services to no other ends but to his, that if it should happen that a tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies)¹¹ should come to grasp the Scepter, here were his speare men and his lances, here were his firelocks¹² ready, he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionry¹³ then these, if they could once with their perfidious preachments aw the people. For although the Prelats in time of popery were sometimes friendly anough to magnacharta,¹⁴ it was because they stood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the royal nod:¹⁵ but now being well acquainted that the protestant religion, if she will

⁹ Magna Charta (1215) and Charta de Foresta (1217). The latter added rights such as placing much forest (legal term for royal hunting preserves) under common law, granting certain rights to the use of forests, and ameliorating certain punishments. On December 9, 1640, Harbottle Grimston, speaking in Parliament against the bishops, asked, "And who are they, Mr. *Speaker*, that have overthrown our two Great Charters, *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*?" Rushworth, IV, 36.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 765-66.

¹¹ Milton's immediate parenthetic disclaimer that this hypothetical tyrant is the actual Charles I was perhaps sufficient to prevent any real suspicion of treasonable speech.

¹² A soldier armed with a musket which fired by igniting the priming with sparks

¹³ A praetor was a Roman officer of justice next in rank to a consul; his band enforced his order; a pensionry would be a band of paid retainers. (Milton's is the only use cited in *NED*.)

¹⁴ On the attitude of the church in the early years of Magna Carta see Faith Thompson, *The First Century of Magna Carta* (University of Minnesota, thesis, Minneapolis, 1925).

¹⁵ That is, the Catholic Church was semi-independent of the English king, but since the Reformation the English church had the king as its head. The chief struggle between the papacy and the kings during the Middle Ages had been over lay investiture or the right of the prince to invest a bishop.

reform her self rightly by the Scriptures, must undresse them of all their gilded vanities, and reduce them as they were at first, to the lowly and equall order of Presbyters, they know it concerns them neerly to study the times more then the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hils of the Court, from whence only comes their help; ¹⁶ but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and observance, as ere long it would, and that yet their minds clime still to a higher ascent of worldly honour; this only refuge can remain to them, that they must of necessity contrive to bring themselves and us back again to the Popes supremacy, and this we see they had by fair degrees of late been doing.¹⁷ These be the two fair supporters between which the strength of Prelaty is born up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing ¹⁸ popery. Hence also we may judge that Prelaty is meer falsehood. For the property of Truth is, where she is publickly taught, to unyoke & set free the minds and spirits of a Nation first from the thralldom of sin and superstition, after which all honest and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long absent; but Prelaty whom the tyrant custom ¹⁹ begot a natural tyrant ²⁰ in religion, & in state the agent & minister of tyranny, seems to have had this fatal guift in her nativity like another *Midas* that whatsoever she should touch or come neer either in ecclesial or political government, it should turn, not to gold, though she for her part could wish it, but to the drosse and scum of

¹⁶ Psalms 121 1. "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help" Milton again parodies a well-known Biblical expression.

¹⁷ The London Petition of December 11, 1640, contains the heads of most of the accusations of Romanizing against the bishops. Some of them are: Article 9, hindering books against Popery; 10, the "publishing and venting of Popish . . . Books and Tenets"; 11, the increase of priests and Jesuits; 13, introducing Catholic methods of church government; 14, using Catholic ceremonial vestures; 15, introducing the sign of the cross, bowing at the name of Jesus, etc.; 16, making an altar of the communion table; 18, using a translated missal in church services, and so on, most of which Milton had attacked in *Church-Government*

¹⁸ The words are used in the strictly Latin sense. inducing, bringing in; reducing, bringing back.

¹⁹ Milton may be thinking of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, who, while recognizing the evils of the temporal power of bishops, argued for a retention of the Episcopal order. "I am . . . confident, wee shall not thinke it fit to abolish upon a few dayes debate an order, which hath lasted (as appears by story) in most Churches these sixteene hundred yeares" *A Speech Made to the House of Commons* (1641; McAlpin, II, 19), p. 14.

²⁰ That is, prelacy is the natural (illegitimate) issue of custom Cf. above, p. 767, n. 4.

slavery breeding and setting both in the bodies and the souls of all such as doe not in time with the sovrane treacle²¹ of sound doctrine provide to fortifie their hearts against her Hierarchy. The service of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom,²² but her works and her opinions declare that the service of Prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falshood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the Gentry, studious men, as I heare [61] should engage themselves to write, and speak publickly in her defence,²³ but that I beleieve their honest and ingenuous natures comming to the Universities to store themselves with good and solid learning,²⁴ and there unfortunately²⁵ fed with nothing else, but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry, were sent home again with such a scholastical burre²⁶ in their throats, as hath stopt and hinderd all true and generous philosophy from entring, crackt their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms,²⁷ and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men prelatically addicted, whose unchast'nd and unwrought minds never yet initiated or subdu'd under the true lore of religion or moral vertue,²⁸ which two are the best and greatest points of learning, but either slightly train'd up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney cours of literature to get their living by, and dazle the ignorant, or els fondly overstudied in uselesse contro-

²¹ The sovereign remedy. Unfiguratively, the word in Milton's time meant a salve, not, as later, a molasses-like syrup.

²² Cf. "The Second Collect for Peace," in the morning prayer service of *The Book of Common Prayer*, 1549 (*The Two Liturgies*, ed. Joseph Ketley [Cambridge, England, 1844], p. 225): "O God, which art author of peace, and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom, etc."

²³ For example, in 1641 were printed Sir Thomas Aston, *A Remonstrance against Presbitery*; Lord Digby, *Speeches*; Robert Pierrepont, Viscount Newark, *Two Speeches*; Sir Francis Wortley, *Truth Asserted*. But Milton well knew that the majority of the writing gentry were on his side, among them Robert Greville, Lord Brooke; Nathaniel Fiennes; Sir Harbottle Grimston; Sir John Holland; Denzil Holles; Henry Parker; Benjamin Rudyerd; Oliver St. John; Sir Henry Vane; and Sir John Wray.

²⁴ Cf. *Of Education* (1644), p. 3.

²⁵ Unhappily or unluckily

²⁶ Anything that sticks in the throat and produces choking, a "frog."

²⁷ A cracked voice has lost its musical qualities, like a cracked bell; a gargarism is an unpleasant sound, like a gargle, made in the throat.

²⁸ Because his learning is based merely on rhetoric and knowledge of vocabulary, not on true understanding.

versies,²⁹ except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta,³⁰ having a Gospel and Church-government set before their eyes, as a fair field³¹ wherein they might exercise the greatest vertu's, and the greatest deeds of Christian authority in mean fortunes and little furniture³² of this world, which even the sage heathen writers³³ and those old *Fabritii*, and *Curii*³⁴ well knew to be a manner of working, then which nothing could lik'n a mortal man more to God, who delights most to worke from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instrument, they understand it not, & think no such matter, but admire & dote upon worldly riches, & honours, with an easie & intemperat life, to the bane of Christianity: yea they and their Seminaries shame not to professe, to petition and never lin³⁵ peeling our eares that unlesse we fat them like boores, and cramme them as they list with wealth, with Deaneries, and pluralities,³⁶ with Baronies

²⁹ Milton refers here to the academic disputations which were required of all candidates for Cambridge and Oxford degrees. Though Milton preserved seven of his own (printed in 1674 by Brabazon Aylmer), he regarded them as relatively "uselesse." In Prolusion III he had attacked the scholastic philosophy on which the disputations were based. In Prolusion IV he had written (above, p. 254): "I am extremely [boring] to myself."

Another aspect of Milton's low opinion of his university education he had inserted in his letter to Alexander Gill the younger in 1628 (above, p. 314). "There is really hardly one or two among us . . . who, almost completely unskilled in Philology and Philosophy alike, does not flutter off to Theology unfledged, quite content to touch that also lightly."

³⁰ So called because of the hierarchal system of Spartan life. The state was governed by two kings. The supreme law court consisted of the kings and twenty-eight other elders. This, Milton thought, corresponded closely to the two archbishops and twenty-four bishops, most of them old men.

³¹ The figure is that of a jousting field, or at least a place where a man might show his worth.

³² A small amount of armor.

³³ An allusion to the doctrines of the stoics, who held to a life of virtue, so far as possible independent of the outer world, to the duty of justice and benevolence, and to the brotherhood of man without class distinctions.

³⁴ Gaius Fabricius Luscinius and Manius Curius Dentatus, both Romans of the third century B.C. Both were consuls but are mainly noted as exemplars of the old Roman virtues of honesty and frugality.

³⁵ "Lin" means "cease." On May 21, 1641, the two universities petitioned Parliament against the suggested elimination of deans and other ecclesiastical officials. These petitions expressed, in a different way, much the same ideas as Milton gives here. Rushworth, IV, 270-73.

³⁶ Being paid the revenues of more than one benefice at the same time.

and stately preferments, all learning and religion will goe underfoot. Which is such a shamelesse, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in Church-men, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity,³⁷ who should teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptisme,³⁸ that should the Scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of Philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not *Epicurus*,³⁹ nor *Aristippus*⁴⁰ with all his Cyrenaick rout, but would shut his school dores against such greasy sophisters: ⁴¹ not any College of Mountebanks,⁴² but would [62] think scorn to discover in themselves with such a brazen forehead ⁴³ the outrageous desire of filthy lucre.⁴⁴ Which the Prelats make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians under the names of horrible schismaticks for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruell authority over their brethren that labour in the word,⁴⁵ while they snore in their luxurious excesse. Openly proclaiming themselvs now in the sight of all men to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheeps cloathing, ravenous and savage wolves ⁴⁶ threatning inrodes and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took

³⁷ The Latin sense of moderation, temperance.

³⁸ In baptism the godparents are required to renounce for the child "the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the covetous desires of the same," and "the carnal desires of the flesh." *Book of Common Prayer*, 1549 (*The Two Liturgies*, p. 111), public baptism of infants.

³⁹ Milton maligns Epicurus (341-260 B.C.), who taught that the greatest pleasure (which he identified with the highest good) is a perfect harmony of body and soul. He sought virtue through plain living, not, as his name has come to connote, luxury.

⁴⁰ Aristippus, a pupil of Socrates, taught that happiness is the only absolute good. He was noted for luxurious and dissolute living. None of his works survive. Cyrene was a seat of Greek culture in North Africa, on the coast of Libya. Cf. Milton's mention of "that libertine school of *Cyrene*." *Areopagitica* (1644), p. 5.

⁴¹ Here used in the sense of the Sophists as arguers, interested in neither truth nor logic.

⁴² That is, any group of pretenders to skill or knowledge.

⁴³ The phrase is cited in *NED* as a well-known figure for shameless effrontery.

⁴⁴ The origin of the famous phrase is I Peter 5.2.

⁴⁵ Cf. I Timothy 5:17.

⁴⁶ "Wolves" was a favorite name with Milton for the bishops (cf. above, p. 755, and n.30), but here he is quoting Matthew 7:15. "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

upon them to feed, but now clame to devour as their prey. More like that huge dragon of Egypt ⁴⁷ breathing out wast, and desolation to the land, unlesse he were daily fatn'd with virgins blood. Him our old patron Saint George ⁴⁸ by his matchlesse valour slew, as the Prelat of the Garter ⁴⁹ that reads his Collect ⁵⁰ can tell. And if our Princes and Knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of Knighthood solemnly taken, they vow, ⁵¹ farre be it that they should uphold and side with this English Dragon; ⁵² but rather to doe as indeed their oath binds them, they should make it their Knightly adventure to pursue & vanquish this mighty sailewing'd monster that menaces to swallow up the Land, unlesse her bottomlesse gorge may be satisfi'd with the blood of the Kings daughter the Church; and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the Saints. Nor will any one have reason to think this as too incredible or

⁴⁷ In the *Golden Legend* and *Mantuan* the dragon slain by St George lived in Libya, near Silene Cf Spenser, *Complete Works*, ed Osgood *et al.*, I, 279–381.

⁴⁸ St George, the martyr, was born 303 A.D. in Cappadocia and suffered martyrdom under Diocletian about 346. From the medieval legends developed in the fifth century by the Arians from the acts of Saint George, which had been condemned as spurious by Pope Gelasius, the story of the fight with the dragon grew up. From the time of Edward III he had been patron saint of England and, more specifically, of the Garter. The story appears in the *Golden Legend* (printed by Caxton in 1487) and was popular in the ballad, "St George and the Dragon." Cf Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (3 vols., New York, 1857), III, 219–26.

⁴⁹ The Bishop of Winchester was *ex officio* the prelate of the Order of the Garter, though he was not one of the knights. Andrewes had been bishop of Winchester. Cf "A View of Popish Abuses," Article 15, in *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572, no pag). "Moreover, in that they have civill offyces, joyned to the Ecclesiastical, it is againste the woorde of God As for an Archbishop to be a Lord president, a Lorde bishop, to be a countie Palatine, a Prelate of the Garter, who hath much to do at S Georges feast, when the Bible is caryed before the procession in the crosses place"

⁵⁰ This collect (an opening prayer before the reading of the epistle) was translated in couplets by Peter Heylyn in *The History of That Most Famous Saynt and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St George of Cappadocia* (1633), p. 79

⁵¹ The knights' oath binds them to uphold religion and to destroy its enemies. Milton, to whom prelacy is the worst enemy of true Christianity, bids them destroy it also.

⁵² This dragon is in the tradition of all dragons. he is to be pursued by a knight who makes his quest; he is "sailewing'd" and menaces the land; he is avid for the blood of kings' daughters; and he lives in a "dark and infamous den." Milton had, however, in this period been reading Ariosto and Spenser, in whose writings dragons appear, cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 597) and *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 4). The mention of St George makes it likely that he had in mind the battle with the dragon in *Faerie Queene*, I, xi.

too tragical to be spok'n of Prelaty, if he consider well from what a masse of slime and mud, the sloathful, the covetous and ambitious hopes of Church-promotions and fat Bishopricks she is bred up and nuzzl'd in, like a great Python ⁵³ from her youth, to prove the general poyson both of doctrine and good discipline in the Land. For certainly such hopes and such principles of earth as these wherein she welters from a yong one, are the immediat generation both of a slavish and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole Kingdom, till like that fenborn serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of Gods word. And this may serve to describe to us in part, what Prelaty hath bin and what, if she stand, she is like to be toward the whole body of people in *England*. Now that it may appeare how she is not such a kind of evil, as hath any good, or use in it, which many evils have, but a [63] distill'd quintessence, a pure elixar of mischief, pestilent alike to all, I shal shew briefly, ere I conclude, that the Prelats, as they are to the subjects a calamity, so are they the greatest underminers and betrayers of the Monarch, to whom they seem to be most favourable. I cannot better liken the state and person of a King then to that mighty Nazarite *Samson*; ⁵⁴ who being disciplin'd from his birth in the precepts

⁵³ This is the python, a great serpent which guarded the shrine of Delphi on Parnassus. The serpent, slain by Apollo by his rays, was produced from the slime and mud resulting from the flood of Deucalion. This python, as Milton notes, was poisonous and "fenborn"—real pythons are neither. Mantuan also connects St. George's dragon and the Deucalion python. Cf. Spenser, *Complete Works*, ed. Osgood *et al.*, I, 381–82. Satan is compared with this serpent in *Paradise Lost*, X, 530–31.

⁵⁴ The story of Samson is told in Judges 13–16. Of this Milton used the following. "a Nazarite"; "disciplined from his birth"; "jawbone of an asse"; "strumpet flatteries"; "while he sleeps"; "shaving"; "making him grinde"; "nourish again his puissant hair"; "thunder forth ruin"; "great affliction to himselfe."

An interesting discussion of the relation of this short Samson allegory to *Samson Agonistes* is made by E. M. Clark in "Milton's Earlier *Samson*," *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 2734 (1927), pp. 144–54. Clark holds that *Samson Agonistes* is, politically (p. 149), "a dramatization of the apparent death and predicted resurrection of the Good Old Cause" and that this warning to Charles I strikes much the same note. Hence he sees in this allegory a "hint as to treatment" of the play to be written later.

Undoubtedly there is a strong resemblance between the two tellings of the story. All that is related in the allegory, save only the grotesque incident of the jawbone of an ass, is told in *Samson Agonistes*: both omit certain details such as the incident of the foxes' tails. But the Samson story is very brief; it is inevitable that two tellings of the story should emphasize the same details. Even the most casual student of the Bible knows the story very well. The story was, moreover, not a par-

and the practice of Temperance and Sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks the laws waving and curling about his god like shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminisht and unshorn, he may with the jaw-bone of an Asse, that is, with the word of his meanest officer suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power. But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of Prelats, while he sleeps and thinks no harme, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and waighty tresses of his laws, and just prerogatives which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which as those Philistims⁵⁵ put out the fair, and farre-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grinde in the prison house of their sinister ends and practices upon him. Till he knowing his prelatical rasor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beames of Law and Right; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himselfe. This is the sum of their loyal service to Kings; yet these are the men that stil cry the King, the King, the Lords Anointed.⁵⁶ We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing so true; and wonder more, if Kings be the Lords Anointed, how they dare thus oyle over

ticular favorite with Milton The index to the Columbia edition lists, not including the references in *Samson Agonistes*, eight references to Samson, but there are a like number to Gideon and Esau, eleven to Nehemiah, and five to Absalom. In comparison with the scores of references to David, Solomon, Moses, or Abraham, these are very few.

Among Milton's list of subjects for tragedies on Old Testament themes are several dealing with Samson (topics 19 and 20 in Columbia, XVIII, 236): "*Samson pursophorus or Hybristes, or Samson marring or in Ramath Lechi Jud. 15*"; and "*Dagonalia. Jud. 16*." Milton did not make extended outlines or drafts for them, as he did of the *Paradise Lost* theme (four drafts), *Abram from Morea, or Isack redeemd; Sodom; Moabitides or Phineas, or Abias Thersæus*. He did not even give hints of treatment, as he did with seven topics.

It seems doubtful, therefore, that Milton had the Samson story in mind any more than any other of at least a dozen other possible plots for a tragedy in the period around 1640. Cf. also W. R. Parker, "The Trinity MS and Milton's Plans for a Tragedy," *JEGP*, XXXIV (1935), 225-232.

⁵⁵ A common spelling of Philistines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

⁵⁶ Cf. *A Defence* (Chapter IV) for Milton's later view of the sacredness of the anointment of Charles I. The doctrine of the sacredness of "the Lord's Anointed" is based on such texts as I Samuel 26 9: "For who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?"

and besmeare so holy an unction with the corrupt and putrid oyntment of their base flatteries; which while they smooth the skin, strike inward and envenom the life blood. What fidelity Kings can expect from Prelats both examples past, and our present experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath bin said, may suffice to inform us. And if they be such clippers of regal power and shavers of the Laws, how they stand affected to the law giving Parliament, your selves, worthy Peeres and Commons,⁵⁷ can best testifie; the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath bin only oppos'd by the obscure and pernicious designes of the Prelats: until their insolence [64] broke out to such a bold affront,⁵⁸ as hath justly immur'd their haughty looks within strong wals.⁵⁹ Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, then to hinder⁶⁰ or break the happy assembling of Parlements, however needfull to repaire the shatter'd and disjoynted frame of the Common-wealth, or if they cannot do this, to crosse, to disenable, and traduce all Parliamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful members of the house, if they thus perpetually mutine against their own body. And though they pretend like *Salomons*⁶¹ harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same judgement that *Salomon* gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not onely their assent, but their endeavour continually to divide Parlements in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all posterity. For the which and for all their former misdeeds,

⁵⁷ The direct address is another bit of evidence that Milton felt he was composing an oration directed to the leaders of the country.

⁵⁸ The particular affront was the "Humble Petition" of the twelve bishops of December 10, 1641, protesting against the tumults in London against them and declaring that the proceedings of Parliament, enacted while they were absent because of bodily fear, were "null, and of none effect." Rushworth, IV, 466-67. For the significance of the phrase in dating the pamphlet, see editor's preface, p. 737.

⁵⁹ On December 30 the twelve were charged with high treason, the archbishop of York impeached, ten committed to the Tower, and two (Durham and Litchfield-Coventry) turned over to the Black Rod.

⁶⁰ The bishops particularly hindered the Short Parliament. The *Grand Remonstrance* of December 1, 1640, complained of the Bishops' party (Article 78; Rushworth, IV, 444): "They wickedly advised the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the Ways of Confusion, in which their own evil Intentions were most like to prosper and succeed."

⁶¹ Cf. I Kings 3:16-28. This is the case of disputed parentage in which Solomon discovered the true mother by offering to divide a child between two claimants. The prelates represented the harlot willing to kill the child to get what she claims as her right.

wherof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moytie, I shal move yee Lords in the behalfe I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your justice and speedy sentence passe against this great malefactor Prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigor I would beseech ye to think of mercy; and such a mercy, I feare I shal overshoot with a desire to save this falling Prelaty, such a mercy (if I may venture to say it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous persons would have sav'd *Sodom*.⁶² Not that I dare advise ye to contend with God whether he or you shal be more merciful, but in your wise esteems to ballance the offences of those peccant Citties⁶³ with these enormous riots of ungodly mis-rule that Prelaty hath wrought both in the Church of Christ, and in the state of this Kingdome. And if ye think ye may with a pious presumption strive to goe beyond God in mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though God for lesse then ten just persons would not spare *Sodom*, yet if you can finde after due search but only one good thing in prelaty either to religion, or civil goverment, to King or Parlament, to Prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth or learning, spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow, all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darken'd and obscurd. But on the contrary if she be found to be malignant, hostile, destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this godlesse and oppressing government: and bring such a dead Sea of subversion⁶⁴ upon her, that she may never in this Land rise more to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the elect people of God.

The End. [65]

Faults escap't in Printing are here corrected.

Page 6 line 10. for *tender*, reade it *render*. p. 30. l. 7. after *countries* there wants a *Comma*, p. 34. l. 11. reade it *treasure*. p. 41. l. 31. *lighten*. l. 35. reade it *subscribe*. p. 58 l. 34. reade *arches* [66]

⁶² Genesis 18 32. Ten was the minimum number which, had it existed, would have saved Sodom from the wrath of God

⁶³ The cities of the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah Cf Genesis 19.24-25.

⁶⁴ Sodom and Gomorrah were, according to tradition, located on what is now the bottom of the Dead Sea, or Lake of Sodom. "Subversion" means "overthrow" or "ruin."

AN APOLOGY, &C.

April, 1642

PREFACE AND NOTES BY FREDERICK LOVETT TAFT

Milton's fifth and final antiprelatical pamphlet was titled *An Apology against a Pamphlet Call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus, etc.* Such a long, cumbersome title could not be used for a running head at the top of each page, so the printer used the shortened form *An Apology, &c.* When in 1654 the unsold copies of the original edition were reissued with the unsold copies of *The Reason of Church-Government*, the new title page called the work *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, a title frequently used ever since in lieu of the original unwieldy one.

From allusions to various events in *An Apology* Masson surmised that it might have appeared before March 25, 1642, despite the date 1642 on its title page.¹ One allusion Masson did not point out seems to date the work after the first week in April. Milton speaks of "miraculous and losseless victories" against the Irish rebels, but not until Parliament's petition to the king on April 8 is there any indication among the official records that the Irish rebellion, which had begun in October, 1641, was anything but successful. Indeed the petition of April 8 presented arguments against the king's going to Ireland to quell the rebellion, and his reply indicates surprise at Parliament's word of success against the rebels.² Thus it is probable that *An Apology* appeared some time after the first week of April, 1642.

As his title indicates, Milton was answering an attacker in his fifth prose work, the nature of the attack being indicated by the full title of the forty-page pamphlet: *A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and*

¹ Masson, II, 398, and n. 1.

² See note below on "needfull aids," p. 927. Milford C. Jochums in his "John Milton's *An Apology*," *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XXV, Nos. 1-2 (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1950), 2-3, agrees with this dating, on the basis of the evidence proposed in the present writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation at Western Reserve University, *Milton and the Smectymnuus Controversy, 1641-1642* (1942). See French, *Life Records*, II, 54-55, 58-59.

*Scurrilous Libell, Entitled, Animadversions etc.*³ The authorship and exact date of publication of this attack remain problematical. It is evident that Milton himself was uncertain just who the "Confutant" was, for *An Apology* often is addressed to the Remonstrant, i.e., Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, and equally often to a young man, "thou lozel Bachelour of Art," and "unmatriculated Confutant." Once Milton asserts the *Modest Confutation* is the work of "as I am told, Father and Son," that is, Hall and one of his sons.⁴ Just who wrote the *Modest Confutation* will probably never be determined, and is, after all, relatively unimportant. Dating the pamphlet accurately, however, would help establish the chronology of Milton's early prose writings.

Thomason did not date his copy of the *Modest Confutation*, and it was not registered. The date on the title page, 1642, suggests publication after March 25, 1642, although postdating of pamphlets published before the official beginning of the year was not uncommon. Internal evidence strongly suggests composition before the acceptance by the Lords of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill on February 5, and probably publication before that event.⁵ Such a date as January for the *Modest Confutation* offers the intriguing possibility that this attack on Milton's *Animadversions* of the previous summer is also closely linked with Milton's fourth prose work, *The Reason of Church-Government*. The possibility rests in turn on the date of the last work, which Masson, noting its mention of the imprisonment of the bishops (December 30, 1641) guessed as "January or February, 1642."⁶ He did not notice the mention of that event and the yet unpassed Bishops' Exclusion Bill at another point, evidence seemingly sufficient for one to surmise that Milton finished writing *The*

³ Reproduced in facsimile in William R. Parker's *Milton's Contemporary Reputation* (1940). The title concludes, after a Greek quotation: "Printed in the year M. DC. XLII."

⁴ For an example of Milton's addressing the Confutant as Hall, see the note on "*frivolous, tedious, and false*," below, p. 876; see also the note on the words quoted here, below, p. 897. Masson (II, 393-398) says the Confutant was Robert Hall, two years ahead of Milton at Cambridge. Parker, pp. 266-269, questions Masson's identification. Jochums, p. 3, argues for another son, Edward Hall. Milton's charge that the authorship was by a "Father and Son" occurs at the beginning of Section I, below, p. 897.

⁵ On the basis of an allusion in the *Modest Confutation*, Masson, II, 353, 398, dated the writing before February 14, when Charles accepted the Bill; but he failed to point out a still clearer allusion on the last page (p. 40). Parker (p. 266), ignores Masson's dating and concludes "in 1642, probably after March 25," on the evidence of the title page. The Smectymnuan *Answer to an Humble Remonstrance*, though registered March 20, 1640 (i.e., 1641), was dated 1641.

⁶ II, 361, n. 3.

Reason of Church-Government during January, 1642.⁷ Thus the *Modest Confutation* may actually have appeared while Milton was completing *The Reason of Church-Government*. Confirmation of the above theory seems to be contained in the following passage from the justly famous autobiographical statement in the Preface to Book II of *The Reason of Church-Government*:

Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of stomach, virulence and ill nature, but to consider rather that if the Prelats have leav to say the worst that can be said, and doe the worst that can be don, while they strive to keep themselves to their great pleasure and commodity those things which they ought to render up, no man can be justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow without any gain to himselfe those sharp, but saving words which would be a terror, and a torment in him to keep back⁸

The Reason of Church-Government itself was too philosophical, too lofty for more than such a veiled allusion to the taunts of the *Modest Confutation*. Besides, Milton had signed his name to the former as he had not to the *Animadversions*, which the Confutant attacked and which was so different in tone and content from *The Reason of Church-Government*. The *Modest Confutation* therefore required a separate reply, one calculated to demolish the attack on its own terms of vituperation and personalities.

Beginning with the 1698 edition, editors of Milton's prose have regularly included *An Apology*. Thus it appears without annotation in the 1698 "Amsterdam" edition to which Toland's life is prefixed; in the 1738 edition of Thomas Birch; in Mitford's edition (1851); and of course in the Columbia Edition. The last is the most accurate textually. The Bohn Edition of the prose (1848) has occasional notes by J. A. St. John. More recently Frank Allen Patterson annotated it as a part of *The Student's Milton* (1934), as did E. H. Visiak in *Milton Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*. Excerpts of *An Apology* with notes appear in Merritt Y. Hughes' *John Milton Prose Selections* (1947) and in John S. Diekhoff's *Milton on Himself* (1939). Finally, Milford C. Jochums recently published *John Milton's "An Apology"* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1950) in an elaborate "Critical Edition." In its unpublished form as a doctoral dissertation at Illinois (1948), this last edition was available to the present editor for a brief time for perusal, but the present notes were compiled before the published edition appeared early in 1951. The present editor, however, has made use of all these annota-

⁷ The passage, too long to quote here, is near the end of "The Conclusion," above pp. 860-61.

⁸ Above, pp. 803-04.

tions, including those of Jochums, and acknowledges specific indebtednesses to them at appropriate places in the ensuing notes, although he made no attempt to make the notes merely a compilation of those of his preceding editors or to point out differences between his own comments and those of other editors.

The present text is derived from the editor's own copy of the original edition of 1642. It is referred to in the Textual Guide (below, p. 1041) as Copy A. Collation: 4^o, π^2 A-G⁴, H² [\$2 (-H) signed], 32 leaves, pp. [3] 1-58 [1]. Contents: $\pi 1$: blank. $\pi 2$: title page (verso blank). A1-H2: Text.⁹ No other edition appeared during Milton's lifetime, although the unsold copies of the original edition were reissued in 1654 along with those of *The Reason of Church-Government* under a new title page, as pointed out by William R. Parker.¹⁰ Hence both issues may be considered in preparing a text. The present text has been compared with the following: "B," a photostat of the original edition in the Union Theological Seminary (tM65a); "C," a microfilm of the original edition in the Folger Library, on the title page of which appears an early inked number, "921"; "D," a microfilm of the original edition in the Huntington Library (105,678); "E," a microfilm of the original edition in the Newberry Library, numbered (p. 1) D 25985A; "F," a microfilm of the 1654 reissue in the John Carter Brown Library; "G," a microfilm of the copy of the original edition in the Yale University Library with p. 59 unnumbered; "H," a microfilm of another copy of the original edition in the Yale University Library, formerly in the possession of John F. Fulton of the Yale University School of Medicine Historical Library, with p. 59 numbered; "I," a microfilm of the original edition in the Houghton Library *EC65/M6427/642a. Comparison has also been made with the text of the Columbia Edition (based on two original editions, one at Columbia and one at Yale) and with Milford C. Jochums' facsimile text, reproduced from several copies at the University of Illinois. The last has notes of the variants found by an examination of five copies of the original edition, one copy of the reissue of 1654, a photostat of another copy of the original edition, and films of eleven other copies of the original edition. Three of the copies listed above (copies B, C, and E) were not used by Jochums, nor was the present editor's own copy. The variants found are insignificant changes in spelling and

⁹ The device of the sun in glory (McKerrow, *Devices* [1913], No 395, p. 149) used on the title page was, as the page shows, the sign of John Rothwell's stall in St Paul's churchyard. It had been used previously by John Partndge (Plomer, *A Dictionary* [1907], pp. 144-145).

¹⁰ See "Milton, Rothwell, and Simmons," *The Library*, XVIII (June, 1937), 89-103, and also *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 16 and 265.

punctuation, mainly perhaps the result of poor presswork and the dropping out of occasional pieces of type.

An Apology, as has been suggested already, adopted the tone of the *Modest Confutation* and thus displays a side of Milton not shown in the poetry. What is revealed, however, is not always pleasant: sharp sarcasm, bitter wrangling, unreasoning and even indecent vituperation, pettiness—all these aspects of Milton are made clear. Although autobiographical passages are also to be found in *The Reason of Church-Government* and the *Second Defence*, the statements in *An Apology* appear most revealing of Milton's personality. From the time of Toland's *Life* in 1698, biographers have acknowledged this fact by extensive use of the personal statements Milton included in his attack. Some, to be sure, have found it hard, even while admiring the loftiness and fluency of the autobiographical passages, to accept the less flattering portions: Milton's dealing in personalities, his anger, his plain bad manners.¹¹ Nevertheless all scholars may be thankful for the anonymous Confuter's attack, for without it Milton's biography would be less complete and his writings would lack what is probably his most personal and most angry prose.

FREDERICK L. TAFT

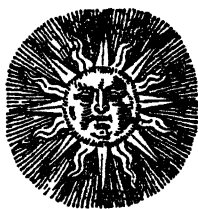
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¹¹ See, for example, Henry J. Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (6 vols., London, 1801), I, xlviii; Masson, II, 403-04; and James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (1946), p. 87.

AN
APOLOGY
Against a Pamphlet

CALL'D
A Modest Confutation
of the Animadversions upon
the Remonstrant against
SMECTYMNUUS.

S.M. - E.G. - T.Y. - M.N. - W.S.



LONDON,
Printed by E. G. for *John Rothwell*; and are
to be sold at the signe of the Sunne
in *Pauls Church-yard*. 1642.

An Apology, &c.

IF, READERS, to that same great difficulty of well doing what we certainly know, were not added in most men as great a carelesnes of knowing what they, and others ought to do, we had bin long ere this, no doubt but all of us much farther on our way to some degree of peace and happinesse in this kingdome. But since our sinfull neglect of practising that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through Gods just anger so great a difficulty now to know that which otherwise might be soone learnt, and hath divided us by a controversie of great importance indeed, but of no hard solution, which is the more our punishment, I resolv'd (of what small moment soever I might be thought) to stand on that side where I saw both the plain authority of Scripture leading, and the reason of justice and equity perswading; with this opinion which esteemes it more unlike a Christian to be a cold neuter in the cause of the Church, then the law of *Solon*¹ made it punishable after a sedition in the State. And because I observe that feare and dull disposition, lukewarmenesse & sloth are not seldomer wont to cloak themselves under the affected name of moderation,² then true and

¹ Athenian lawgiver, ca. 638–558 B.C. J. A. St. John (Bohn, III, 95) explains the reference, "According to Suidas it was a law of Solon that he who stood neuter in any public sedition should be declared . . . infamous . . . *Archaeol. Graec* i 215." Solon is referred to in *Church-Government* (above, p. 779), and Suidas is cited in the marginalia to Euripides (Columbia, XVIII, 317). The law is referred to by Plutarch in his account of Solon; see *Plutarch's Lives, the Translation Called Dryden's*, ed. Arthur H. Clough (5 vols., Boston, 1885), I, 187. Milton may have been reminded of the law, however, by Bacon's mention of it at the end of *A Wise and Moderate Discourse, Concerning Church-Affaires* (1641), from which Milton quoted in *CPB* and *Animadversions* (above, pp. 450, 668). See George W. Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu*, pp. 268–69, and below, p. 882, where Milton refers to the *Modest Confutation's* reference to Bacon. Bacon's work is reprinted in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Basil Montagu (16 vols., London, 1827), VII, 28–60, and in *Spedding, Letters and Life* (1861), I, 74–95.

² Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 537): "But their devotion most commonly comes to that queazy temper of luke-warmnesse, that gives a Vomit to God himselfe."

lively zeale is customably disparg'd with the terme of indiscretion, bitterness, and choler, I could not to my thinking honor a good cause more from the heart, then by defending it earnestly, as oft as I could judge it to behooe me, notwithstanding any false name that could be invented to wrong, or undervalue an honest meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to single forth more then once, such of them as were thought the chiefe and most nominated oppo-[1]sers on the other side, whom no man else undertooke: if I have done well either to be confident of the truth, whose force is best seene against the ablest resistance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping authority of great names titl'd to false opinions, or that it be lawfull to attribute somewhat to guifts of Gods imparting, which I boast not, but thankfully acknowledge, and feare also lest at my certaine account they be reckon'd to me many rather then few, or if lastly it be but justice not to defraud of due esteeme the wearisome labours and studious watchings, wherein I have spent and tir'd out almost a whole youth, I shall not distrust to be acquitted of presumption.³ Knowing that if heretofore all ages have receav'd with favour and good acceptance the earliest industry of him that hath beene hopefull, it were but hard measure now, if the freedome of any timely spirit should be opprest meerely by the big and blunted ⁴ fame of his elder adversary; and that his sufficiency must be now sentenc't, not by pondering the reason he shewes, but by calculating the yeares he brings. However, as my purpose is not, nor hath beene formerly, to looke on my adversary abroad, through the deceaving glasse of other mens great opinion of him, but at home, where I may finde him in the proper light of his owne worth, so now against the rancor of an evill tongue, from which I never thought so absurdly, as that I of all men should be exempt, I must be forc't to proceed from the unfained and diligent inquiry of mine owne conscience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more

³ See the title page of *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (above, p. 623) and Masson, II, 248-51, 253-57, for "the most nominated opposers." The phrase "guifts of Gods imparting" may be an allusion to James 1:17 (cf. John 3:27 and I Corinthians 4:7). Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, suggested that the "wearisome labours and studious watchings" referred to the Horton years. The entire passage is related to the later autobiographical statement; see below, p. 884, n. 85.

⁴ Dulled; *NED* dates its first entry 1677. Milton may have in mind the fact that Hall had been popular with the Puritans until he wrote *Episcopacie by Divine Right*. See Masson, II, 122-26.

true account of my selfe abroad then this modest Confuter,⁵ as he calls himselfe, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I shall be sensible of two things which to me will be nothing pleasant; the one is, that not unlikely I shall be thought too much a party in mine owne cause, and therein to see least; the other, that I shall be put unwillingly to molest the publick view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people should care whether such a one were thus, or thus. Yet those I intreat who have found the leasure to reade that name, however of small repute, unworthily defam'd, would be so good and so patient as to heare the same person not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the best apology against false accusers is silence and sufferance,⁶ and honest deeds set against dishonest words.⁷ And that I could at this time most easily, and securely, [2] with the least losse of reputation use no other defence, I need not despaire to win beliefe. Whether I consider both the foolish contriving, and ridiculous aiming of these his slanderous bolts, shot so wide of any suspicion to be fastn'd on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceav'd my friends congratulating themselves in my innocence, and my enemies asham'd of their partners folly. Or whether I look at these present times wherein most men now scarce permitted the liberty to think over their owne concernments have remov'd the seat of their thoughts more outward to the expectation of publick events. Or whether the examples of men, either noble or religious, who have sat downe lately with a meeke silence and sufferance under many libellous endorsements, may be a rule to others, I might well appease my self to put up any reproaches in such an honourable society of fellow-sufferers⁸ using no other defence. And were it that slander would be content to make an end where it first fixes, and not

⁵ So called from the title page of the pamphlet Milton is answering: *A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell*, which was anonymous. As noted in the editor's preface, above, p. 863, Milton wavers between thinking that the author was Hall or his son.

⁶ The words recur twice below, but no source has been found. Possibly Milton had in mind Christ's behavior before Pilate, Matthew 27:12-14.

⁷ Below appears the paraphrase, "speaking deeds against faltering words." No exact source has been found, but in *English Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions*, ed. G. L. Apperson (London: J. M. Dent, 1929), occurs the following: "Draxe (1633), 'Doing is better than Saying.'"

⁸ Joshua H. Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 110, notes that the first listing in *NED* is dated 1867.

seek to cast out the like infamy upon each thing that hath but any relation to the person traduc't, I should have pleaded against this Confuter by no other advocates, then those which I first commended, Silence, and Sufferance, and speaking deeds against faltering words. But when I discern'd his intent was not so much to smite at me, as through me to render odious the truth which I had written, and to staine with ignominy that Evangelick doctrine which opposes the tradition of Prelaty, I conceav'd my selfe to be now not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was perswaded, and whereof I had declar'd openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to my selfe, yet to the religious cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot, or blemish in good name so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off. Lest those disgraces which I ought to suffer, if it so befall me, for my religion, through my default religion be made liable to suffer for me. And, whether it might not something reflect upon those reverent men whose friend I may be thought in writing the *Animadversions*,⁹ was not my last care to consider, if I should rest under these reproaches having the same common adversary with them, it might be counted small credit for their cause to have found such an assistant, as this babler hath devis'd me. What other thing in his book there is of dispute, or question, in answering thereto I doubt not to be [3] justifi'd; except there be who will condemne me to have wasted time in throwing downe that which could not keepe it selfe up. As for others who notwithstanding what I can allege have yet decreed to mis-interpret the intents of my reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceav'd the reasons of my silence.

To beginne therefore an Apology for those animadversions which I writ against the Remonstrant in defence of *Smectymnus*, since the Preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologeticall enough; it will be best to acquaint ye, Readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be askt wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to answer that I did it to those ends which the best men

⁹ *ie*, the *Smectymnuans*. Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. See Masson, II, 219, and below, pp. 1001-08.

propose to themselves when they write. But wherfore in that manner neglecting the maine bulk of all that specious antiquity,¹⁰ which might stunne children, but not men, I chose rather to observe some kinde of military advantages to await him at his forragings, at his watrings, and when ever he felt himselfe secure to solace his veine inderision of his more serious opponents.¹¹ And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenc't himselfe to utter contemptuously of those reverend men provoke me to doe that over againe which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his latest insulting in his short answer, and their finall patience.¹² I had no fear but that the authors of *Smectymnus* to all the shew of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpose to retorne a suffizing answer, and were able enough to lay the dust and pudder¹³ in antiquity, which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but when I saw his weake arguments headed with sharpe taunts, and that his designe was, if he could not refute them, yet at least with quips and snapping adagies¹⁴ to vapour¹⁵ them out, which they bent only upon the businesse were minded to let passe,¹⁶ by how much I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confesse I took it as my part the lesse to endure that my respected friends through their own unnecessary patience should thus lye at

¹⁰ *Of Reformation* (above, pp. 541 ff.) and *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (above, pp. 626–31) show earlier examples of Milton's contempt for arguments in favor of Episcopacy based on the church fathers.

¹¹ See James H. Hanford, "Milton and the Art of War," *SP*, XVIII (1921), 232–66, for a discussion of such military figures of speech.

¹² Hall's third pamphlet appeared in midsummer, 1641 (registered July 28, 1641), but remained unanswered by the *Smectymnians*. See Masson, II, 391.

¹³ *The Student's Milton*, ed. Frank A. Patterson (New York: Crofts, 1934), annotates (p. 107) "Bustle, confusion." *NED* lists "pudder" as an obsolete variant of "pother," the first meaning of which is "A choking smoke or atmosphere of dust." Cf. *Of Reformation*, above, p. 522. "all in a pudder shuffles up to himself such a God."

¹⁴ A by-form of "adage." *NED*.

¹⁵ "To force (a person) into or out of something, to put down by talking big." *NED*, where the first citation is from Bulstrode Whitelocke, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy* (1654, publ. 1712).

¹⁶ See both *Smectymnian* pamphlets, *An Answer* and *A Vindication of the Answer*. Cf. *An Answer* (1641), p. 2: "The *Preface* fills almost a fourth part of the Booke, and the rest swels with so many *passionate Rhetorizations*, as it is harder for us in the multitude of his words to finde out what his argument is, that we have to answer, then to answer it when it is found."

the mercy of a coy flurting ¹⁷ stile; to be girded with frumps ¹⁸ and curtall ¹⁹ gibes, by one who makes sentences by the Statute, as if all above three [4] inches long were confiscat.²⁰ To me it seem'd an indignity, that whom his whole wisdom could not move from their place, them ²¹ his impetuous folly should presume to ride over. And if I were more warme then was meet in any passage of that booke, which yet I do not yeild, I might use therein the patronage of no worse an author then *Gregory Nyssen*, who mentioning his sharpnesse against *Eunomius* in the defence of his brother *Basil*,²² holds himselfe irreprovable in that it *was not for himselfe, but in the cause of his brother; and in such cases, saith he, perhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry, then to be cooler.* And whereas this Confuter taxes the whole discourse of levity, I shall shew ye, Readers, wheresoever it shall be objected in particular that I have answer'd with as little lightnesse as the Remonstrant hath given example. I have not beene so light as the palme of a Bishop which is the lightest thing in the world when he brings out his book of Ordination: For then contrary to that which is wont in releasing out of prison, any one that will pay his fees is layd hands on. Another reason, it would not be amisse though the Remonstrant were told, wherefore he was in that unusuall manner beleaguer'd; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not Prelaticall, are grosse-headed, thick witted, illiterat, shallow. Can nothing then but Episcopacy teach men to speak good English, to pick & order a set of words judiciously? ²³ Must we learne from Canons and quaint Sermonings in-

¹⁷ *NED* lists under "Flirt": "To sneer or scoff at, flout."

¹⁸ "A mocking speech or action, a flout, a jeer" *NED*.

¹⁹ "Abridged, curtailed; brief, scant, curt." *NED* Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XIV: "curtal aphorisms."

²⁰ Like Hall's pamphlets, *Modest Confutation* lacks Milton's elaborate sentence structure; here as later Milton derides its short sentences. See below, p. 894, n. 141.

²¹ Modern usage would omit and change the earlier "that whom" to "those whom."

²² Gregory Nyssenus, Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia (373-395), brother of Basil the Great and leading theologian. He and his brother and their common friend Gregory Nazianzen were the chief champions of the orthodox Nicene faith against Arianism and Apollinarianism.

²³ Besides Bishop Hall's attacks in his replies to the Smectymnuans, there were many satiric pictures of the lack of learning among the Puritans. *An Apology for Bishops or, a Plea for Learning* (1641), Thomason, E167(12), used verse. Another example is the following statement of "John Harris, Gent.," author of *The Puritanes Impurities* (1641), E173(8), p. 2: "That they are ignorant soules may ap-

terlin'd with barbarous Latin to illumine a period, to wreath an Enthymema ²⁴ wth maistrous dexterity? I rather encline, as I have heard it observ'd, that a Jesuits Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be borne and bred a *Florentine*,²⁵ so to thinke that from like causes we may go neere to observe the same in the stile of a Prelat. For doubtlesse that indeed according to art is most eloquent, which returnes and approaches neerest to nature from whence it came; and they expresse nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be call'd regenerate reason.²⁶ So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withall a good man, I see not. Never the lesse as oft as is to be dealt with men who pride themselves in their supposed art, to leave thẽ unexcusable wherin they will not be better'd there be of those that esteeme Prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe, if they can dance, nor will be unfurnisht to shew that what the Prelats admire and have not, others have and admire not. [5] The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the Gospel ²⁷ were those other motives which gave the animadversions no leave to remit a continuall vehemence throughout the book. For as in teaching, doubtlesse the Spirit of meeknesse is most powerfull, so are the meeke only fit persons to be taught: ²⁸ as for the proud, the obstinate, and false Doctors of mens devices, be taught they will not; but discover'd and laid open they must be. For how can they admit of teaching who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refusing divine instruction; ²⁹ that is, to be *fill'd with their own devices*,

pear in this, that they preferre the Discipline of ignorant men of their owne Society, before the Discipline of learned men."

²⁴ *NED* cites this passage with the explanation: "After Aristotle's use. An argument based on merely probable grounds, a rhetorical argument as distinguished from a demonstrative one."

²⁵ No source found. Cf. *Of Reformation* (above, p. 586) and *Animadversions* (above, p. 724), where Jesuits are attacked for lack of learning.

²⁶ Cf. *Church-Government* (above, p. 764) on "those unwritten lawes and ideas which nature hath ingraven in us." Later Milton elaborates the idea (below, pp. 890-93.

²⁷ Among other places see Romans 16:17, Galatians 1:8-9, Ephesians 6:13-14, and II Thessalonians 2:15, 3.6.

²⁸ "And the servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient; In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves." II Timothy 2:24-25.

²⁹ Cf. John 3:18-19 for refusal of divine instruction, for teaching, see Romans 2:21.

as in the Proverbs we may reade; ³⁰ therefore we may safely imitate the method that God uses; *with the froward to be froward,*³¹ *and to throw scorne upon the scorner,*³² whom if any thing, nothing else will heale. And if *the righteous shall laugh at the destruction of the ungodly,*³³ they may also laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obstinacy, and at the same time be mov'd with detestation of their seducing malice, who imploy all their wits to defend a Prelaty usurpt, and to deprave that just government, which pride and ambition partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath shoulder'd out of the Church. And against such kind of deceavers openly and earnestly to protest, lest any one should be inquisitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder then others, let him know that this office goes not by age, or youth, but to whomsoever God shall give apparently the will, the Spirit, and the utterance.³⁴ Ye have heard the reasons for which I thought not my selfe exempted from associating with good men in their labours toward the Churches wellfare: to which if any one brought opposition, I brought my best resistance. If in requitall of this and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gain'd a name bestuck, or as I may say, bedeckt with the reproaches and reviles of this modest Confuter, it shall be to me neither strange, nor unwelcome; as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an account, what induc't me to write those animadversions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to see what the confutatiō hath to say against thē; but so as the confuter shall hear first what I have to say against his confutation. And because he pretends to be a great conector ³⁵ at other men by their writings, I will not faile to give ye, Readers, a present taste of [6] him from his own title; hung out like a toling ³⁶ signe-post to call passengers, not simply *a confutation* but *a modest confutation* with a laudatory of it

³⁰ Proverbs 1:31.

³¹ Psalms 18:26.

³² Proverbs 3:34. Cf. Proverbs 19:25.

³³ Psalms 52 5-6.

³⁴ Perhaps an allusion to I Timothy 4:12: "Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity"

³⁵ Conjecturer. "To The Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "I have no further notice of him, than he hath been pleased, in his immodest and injurious Libell to give of himself."

³⁶ "Enticing or alluring." NED.

selfe obtruded in the very first word.³⁷ Whereas a modest title should only informe the buyer what the book contains without further insinuation, this officious epithet so hastily assuming the modesty w^{ch} others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himselfe by forestalling, is a strong presumption that his modesty set there to sale in the frontispice, is not much addicted to blush. A surer signe of his lost shame he could not have given, then seeking thus unseasonably to prepossesse men of his modesty. And seeing he hath neither kept his word in the sequel, nor omitted any kinde of boldnesse in slandering, tis manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word *modest*, that he might not want colour³⁸ to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. Next what can equally favour of injustice, and plaine arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemne his adversary in the title for *slandorous and scurrilous*, and as the Remonstrants fashion is, for *frivolous, tedious, and false*,³⁹ not staying till the Reader can hear him prov'd so in the following discourse; which is one cause of a suspicion that in setting forth this pamphlet the Remonstrant was not unconsulted with; thus his first addresse was *an humble Remonstrance by a dutifull son of the Church*, almost as if he had said her white-boy.⁴⁰ His next was a *defence* (a wonder how it scapt some praising adjunct) *against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnus*, sitting in the chaire of his Title page upon his poore cast adversaries both as a Judge and Party, and that before the jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His last was *A short answer to a tedious vindication*; so little can he suffer a man to measure either with his eye or judgement, what is short or what tedious without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this *modest confutation against a slanderous*

³⁷ Here as a little later Milton is quoting from the complete title page of the *Modest Confutation*.

³⁸ Note the double meaning, as often in Milton's prose. color from rubbing and "fair pretence"

³⁹ Throughout the pamphlet Milton wavers between identifying the anonymous author of the *Modest Confutation* with the Remonstrant, i e., Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, and treating him as Hall's friend or son. Here he begins to present evidence from the titles of Hall's three Smectymnuan pamphlets: *An Humble Remonstrance* (1640), *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance* (1641), and *A Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus* (1641). Reprinted in Volume IX of *The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D D.* (1863), ed Philip Wynter

⁴⁰ "A favorite, pet, or darling boy: a term of endearment for a boy or (usually) man, derogatory." *NED*.

and scurrilous libell. I conceive, Readers, much may be guest at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title, which being in this Remonstrant so rash, and unadvised as ye see, I conceit him to be neere a kin to him who set forth a Passion Sermon with a formall Dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour.⁴¹ Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his praise and glory, yet to inscribe him in a void place with flourishes, as a man in complement uses to trick up the name of some Esquire, Gentle-[7]man, or Lord Paramount⁴² at Common Law, to be his book patron with the appendant form of a ceremonious presentment, wil ever appeare among the judicious to be but an an insuls⁴³ and frigid affectation. As no lesse was that before his book against the Brownists to write a Letter to a prosopopœa a certain rhetoriz'd woman whom he calls mother, and complains of some that laid whoredome to her charge; and certainly had he folded his Epistle with a superscription to be deliver'd to that female figure by any Post or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had beene a most miraculous greeting.⁴⁴ We finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches, speaking to them as to a number of faithfull brethren and sons, and not to make a cloudy transmigration of sexes in such a familiar way of writing as an Epistle ought to be, leaving the track of common adresse, to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphoricall compellations,⁴⁵ and many fond utterances better let alone. But I step againe to this emblazoner of his Title page (whether it be the same man or no I leave it in the midst) and here I finde him pronouncing without reprieve those animadversions to be *a slanderous and scurrilous libell.* To which I, Readers, that they are neither slanderous, nor scurrilous, will answer

⁴¹ Refers to the dedication of Hall's *The Passion Sermon Preached at Paule's Crosse on Good-Friday, Apr. 14. 1609.* (1609, UTSL; *Works*, 1863, V, 24). Bohn, III, 103-04 n., is in error about the date of printing being 1642.

⁴² "In *Lord paramount*, lord superior, overlord . . . one who exercises supreme power or jurisdiction." *NED*.

⁴³ "Lacking wit or sense; dull, stupid, senseless, absurd." *NED*.

⁴⁴ The book against the Brownists is Hall's *A Common Apology of the Church of England against the . . . Brownists* (1610; *Works*, 1863, IX, 1). It begins with a letter (p. 2) "To Our Gracious and Blessed Mother, The Church of England." "Ubiquitary" is "one that is or can be everywhere at once." *NED*

⁴⁵ According to *NED* "compellation" is "an addressing or calling upon anyone, an address; the words addressed to any one" Milton is referring to the letter and its elaborate allusions to the church such as the following: "Thou mayest be black, but thou art comely. The daughters have seen thee, and counted the blessed, even the queen and the concubines, and they have praised thee."

in what place of his book he shall be found with reason, and not inke only in his mouth. Nor can it be a libell more then his owne, which is both namelesse, and full of slanders, and if in this that it freely speaks of things amisse in religion, but establisht by act of State, I see not how *Wicklefe* ⁴⁶ and *Luther*,⁴⁷ with all the first Martyrs, and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the humane frailty of erring in cases of religion infamy to a State, no more then to a Councell; it had therefore beene neither civill, nor Christianly, to derogate the honour of the State for that cause,⁴⁸ especially when I saw the Parlament it selfe piously and magnanimously bent to supply and reforme the defects and oversights of their forefathers,⁴⁹ which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jewes were often matter of humble confessing and bewailing, not of confident asserting and maintaining.⁵⁰ Of the State therefore I found good reason to speak all honourable things, and to joyne in petition with good men that petition'd: ⁵¹ but against the Prelats who were the only seducers and mis-leaders of the State to constitute the government of the Church not rightly, me thought I had not vehemence enough. And thus, Readers, by the exam-[8]ple which hee hath set mee I have given yee two or three notes of him out of his Title page; by which his firstlings feare not to guesse boldly at his whole lump, for that guesse will not faile ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may beare with me, since I am like to chase ⁵² him into some good knowledge, and others, I trust, shall not mis-spend their leasure. For this my aime is, if I am forc't to be displeasing to him whose fault it is, I shall not

⁴⁶ As noted in Bohn, III, 104-05 n, Milton esteemed Wycliffe "with particular veneration." See *Of Reformation* (above, p. 525) and *Animadversions* (above, p. 704).

⁴⁷ Below in Section 1 (p. 897) Milton elaborates this idea.

⁴⁸ As in *Of Reformation* (above, p. 569), Milton rejects the authority of the councils. The passage probably refers to the opening of the *Modest Confutation*, which charges the *Animadversions* with (p. 1) "having done violence . . . to the person of an holy and religious Prelate, the eares of all good Christians within our Church, the established Laws of the Kingdom, the pretious and dear name of our common Master and Saviour Christ Jesus"

⁴⁹ See Section 6, below, pp. 922-28, Milton's long digression concerning the Long Parliament.

⁵⁰ Perhaps referring to Nehemiah 1:6, 9:2-3, and Daniel 9.

⁵¹ Doubtless the London Petition, December 11, 1640. Masson says (II, 213) Milton was "probably" one of the 15,000 signers. The petition is mentioned in *Animadversions* (above, p. 676). For text of the petition see below, pp. 977-84.

⁵² Some copies read *chafe*. See Jochums, *An Apology* (1950), p. 21.

forget at the same time to be usefull in some thing to the stander by.

As therefore he began in the Title, so in the next leafe he makes it his first businesse to tamper with his Reader by sycophanting⁵³ and misnaming the worke of his adversary. He calls it a *mime thrust forth upon the stage to make up the breaches of those solemne Scenes between the Prelats and the Smectymnuans*.⁵⁴ Wherein while he is so overgreedy to fix a name of ill sound upon another, note how stupid he is to expose himselfe, or his own friends to the same ignominy; likening those grave controversies to a piece of Stagery, or Sceneworke where his owne Remonstrant whether in Buskin or Sock must of all right be counted the chiefe Player, be it boasting *Thraso*,⁵⁵ or *Davus that troubles all things*,⁵⁶ or one who can shift into any shape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath resembl'd the whole argument to a Comedy, for *Tragicall*, he sayes, *were too ominous*. Nor yet doth he tell us what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers except some fragments, which containe many acute and wise sentences. And this we know in *Laertius*, that the Mimes of *Sophron* were of such reckning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow.⁵⁷ *Scaliger* describes a Mime to be a Poem imitating any action to stirre up laughter.⁵⁸ But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abusively

⁵³ "Calumniating, slandering" *NED*

⁵⁴ A paraphrase of "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation* (1642): "Thou art acquainted with the late and hot bickerings between the Prelates and Smectymnuans: To make up the breaches of whose solemne Scenes, (it were too ominous to say *Tragicall*) there is thrust forth upon the Stage, as also to take the eare of the lesse intelligent, a scurrilous Mime, a personated, and (as himself thinks) a grim, lowering, bitter fool."

⁵⁵ "A braggart, a boaster, from the name of a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*." *NED* Edward H. Visiak, *Milton, Complete Poetry and Selected Prose* (New York: Random House, 1938), however, cites (p. 846) Athenaeus (VI, 58): "Thrasso was a well-known flatterer of Hieronymus who became tyrant of Syracuse in 214 B.C."

⁵⁶ "A name given to Roman slaves, frequent in the comedies of Plautus and Terence" *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, ed. Ethan A. Andrews; rev. ed., Charlton Lewis and Charles Short (New York, 1907).

⁵⁷ Irene Samuel, *Plato and Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947), pp. 14-15, quotes this passage and the one following the reference to Scaliger and identifies the present passage as referring to "Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Plato*, 18."

⁵⁸ Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) in his *Poetics* devotes Book I, Chapter 10, to mimes, discussing them also in Book III, Chapter 97. See F. M. Padelford, *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics* (New York, 1905), which translates only the second selection, pp. 57-69.

taxt to be a Mime. For if every book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, must be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of *Plato*, who for those his writings hath obtain'd the surname of Divine, be esteem'd as they are by that detractor in *Athenaeus*, no better then *Mimes*. Because there is scarce one of them, especially wherein some notable Sophister lies sweating and turmoyling under the inevitable, and mercilesse dilemma's of Socrates,⁵⁹ but that hee who reads, were it *Saturne* himselfe,⁶⁰ would be often rob'd of more then a smile. And whereas he tels us that *Scurrilous Mime was a personated grim lowring joole*,⁶¹ his [9] foolish language unwittingly writes foole upon his owne friend, for he who was there *personated*, was only the *Remonstrant*; the author is ever distinguisht from the person he introduces. But in an ill houre hath his unfortunate rashnesse stumbl'd upon the mention of miming. That hee might at length cease, which he hath not yet since he stept in, to gall and hurt him whom hee would aide. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he so uncircumspect, as not to foresee, that no sooner would that word *Mime* be set eye on in the paper, but it would bring to minde that wretched pilgrimage over *Minshews Dictionary* ⁶² call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, the idlest and the paltriest Mime that ever mounted upon banke.⁶³ Let him ask *the Author of those toothlesse Satyrs* who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that universall foolery,⁶⁴ who

⁵⁹ Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, quotes, p. 14, and explains, n. 12. "See Athenaeus, Deipnosophists 11.504^b–509^e, where Pontianus speaks scornfully of Plato's Dialogues, and 10.440^b."

⁶⁰ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 846, explains as "the mythical king who introduced agriculture and civilization . . . into Italy." But perhaps "the cross dire-looking Planet" ("Arcades," l. 52), long associated in astrology with gloominess, according to *NED*. "Il Penseroso," ll. 23–24, makes Saturn one of the parents of Melancholy.

⁶¹ An allusion to the passage from the *Modest Confutation* quoted above, (p. 879) under "the Smectymnuans."

⁶² John Minshew, *Ductor in Linguas: The Guide into the Tongues* (1617; NYPL). See Franklin B. Williams, "Scholarly Publication in Shakespeare's Day: A Leading Case," in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington. Folger Library, 1948), pp. 755–73, for a discussion of this work.

⁶³ "A platform or stage from which to speak." *NED*. Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* (reprinted in Volume X of Hall, *Works*, 1863) appeared about 1605 in Frankfort, at Hanau in 1607, at Utrecht in 1643. A translation into English by John Healey appeared in 1609 and was reprinted in 1613–1614. See Huntington Brown, *The Discovery of a New World*, pp. xxx–xxx. Hall's work, as is evident from Milton's comments, satirizes utopian writings and travelers' "voyages" as well as human vices.

⁶⁴ Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes . . . of Tooth-lesse Satyrs* (1597), is reprinted in *Works*, IX, 562–680, and in Konrad Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*

he was, who like that other principle of the *Maniches* the *Arch evill one*, when he had look't upon all that he had made and mapt out, could say no other but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very foolish.⁶⁵ That grave and noble invention which the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, *Plato in Critias*, and our two famous countrey-men, the one in his *Utopia*, the other in his *new Atlantis* chose, I may not say as a feild, but as a mighty Continent wherein to display the largenesse of their spirits by teaching this our world better and exacter things, then were yet known, or us'd,⁶⁶ this petty prevaricator of *America*, the zanie of *Columbus*, (for so he must be till his worlds end) ⁶⁷ having rambl'd over the huge topography ⁶⁸ of his own vain thoughts, no marvell, if he brought us home nothing but a meer tankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a stewes.⁶⁹ Certainly he that could indure with a sober pen to sit and devise laws for drunkards to carouse by,⁷⁰ I doubt me whether the very sobernesse of such a one, like an unlicour'd *Silenus*,⁷¹ were not stark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriously with the name of *Mime*, being himselfe the loosest and most extravagant *Mime*, that hath been heard of; whom no lesse then almost halfe the world could

(Berlin, 1910). The introduction (pp. 19-51) to *Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices of Joseph Hall*, ed. Rudolf Kirk, gives further information about Hall's literary reputation.

⁶⁵ Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, III, 795-800, "Manicheans," explains that the system was dualistic, light being good and darkness evil. For a comment on this passage, see Martin A. Larson, *The Modernity of Milton* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 38-39.

⁶⁶ See Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, p. 15 *Utopia* is of course by Sir Thomas More, and *New Atlantis* by Sir Francis Bacon Cf Milton's less enthusiastic view from *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 17): "To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities, which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the midd'st whereof God hath plac't us unavoidably."

⁶⁷ Alluding to "The occasion of this Travel and the Pre-instruction for it," *Mundus Alter et Idem* (tr. Healey) See Brown, *Discovery of a New World*, pp. 9-17.

⁶⁸ The map of "Terra Australis Incognita" (*Discovery of a New World*, p. 12) from the 1605 edition of *Mundus Alter et Idem* shows the southern hemisphere covered by land, the locale of the imaginary countries described

⁶⁹ "Salacious (or lecherous) decorations for a brothel" Venereous: cf "venereal trains," *Samson Agonistes*, l. 533. Parjetory, according to *NED*, from parget, "ornamental work in plaster."

⁷⁰ The laws of "Carousi-kanikan" and "Drink-allia" occur in *Discovery of a New World*, pp. 54-55.

⁷¹ The tutor and constant attendant of Bacchus, always represented as drunken, lascivious, and mounted on an ass. *Harper's Latin Dictionary*.

serve for stage roome to play the *Mime* in.⁷² And let him advise againe with Sir *Francis Bacon* whom he cites to confute others, what it is to *turn the sinnes of Christendome into a mimickall mockery, to rip up the saddest vices with a laughing countenance*, especially where neither reproofe nor better teaching is adjoynd.⁷³ Nor is my meaning, Readers, to shift off a blame from my selfe, by charging the like upon my accuser, but [10] shall only desire, that sentence may be respited, till I can come to some instance, whereto I may give answer.

Thus having spent his first onset not in confuting, but in a reasonlesse defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like against the Author: not by proofes and testimonies, but *having no certaine notice of me*, as he professes, *further then what he gathers from the animadversions*,⁷⁴ blunders at me for the rest, and flings out stray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent,⁷⁵ suck from any thing that I have written; but from his own stufft magazin,⁷⁶ and hoard of slanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venome in the drawing. To me Readers, it happens as a singular contentment, and let it be to good men no slight satisfaction, that the slanderer here confesses, he has *no further notice of mee then his owne conjecture*. Although it had been honest to have inquir'd, before he utter'd such infamous words, and I am credibly inform'd he did inquire, but finding small comfort from the intelligence which he receav'd, whereon to ground the falsities which he had provided, thought it his likeliest course under a pretended ignorance to let drive at randome,⁷⁷ lest he should lose his odde

⁷² See above, p. 881, n. 68.

⁷³ *Animadversions* (above, p. 668) quotes Bacon, *A Wise and Moderate Discourse* (1641). The *Modest Confutation* (1642) quotes this Bacon tract as follows (p. 2): "*To leave all reverend compassion towards evils, all religious indignation towards faults, to turn Religion into a Comedy or Satyr, to rip up wounds with a laughing countenance, to intermixe Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant beseeeming the honest regard of a sober man.*" Hall's quotation varies slightly from Bacon's original, which appears in *A Wise and Moderate Discourse* (1641), p. 7.

⁷⁴ Milton is quoting from the *Modest Confutation*; see above, p. 875, n. 35.

⁷⁵ Genesis 3:1 describes the serpent as "more subtil than any beast of the field"; hence wiliness is associated with it. *NED*

⁷⁶ A store. Cf. *Samson Agonistes*, l. 1281.

⁷⁷ Both Haller, *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638-1647*, I, 129, and William R. Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 17, 268-70, cite this statement of the Confuter in support of the smallness of Milton's reputation

ends which from some penurious Book of Characters ⁷⁸ he had been culling out and would faine apply. Not caring to burden me with those vices, whereof, among whom my conversation hath been, I have been ever least suspected; perhaps not without some suttlety to cast me into envie, by bringing on me a necessity to enter into mine own praises.⁷⁹ In which argument ⁸⁰ I know every wise man is more unwillingly drawne to speak, then the most repining eare can be averse to heare. Neverthesse since I dare not wish to passe this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull,⁸¹ I shall relye on his promise to free the innocent from causelesse aspersions: ⁸² whereof nothing sooner can assure me, then if I shall feele him now assisting me in the just vindication of my selfe, which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to those other matters of publick debatement in this book I should give attendance first, but that I feare it would but harme the truth, for me to reason in her behalfe, so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lye unpurg'd from these insolent suspicions. And if I shall be large, or unwonted in justifying my selfe to those who know me not, for else it would be needlesse, let them consi-[11]der, that a short slander will oft times reach farder then a long apology: ⁸³ and that he who will do justly to all men, must begin from knowing how, if it so happen, to be not unjust to himselfe.⁸⁴ I must be thought, if this libeller (for now he shewes himselfe to be so) can finde believe, after an inordinat and riotous youth spent at *the Vniversity*, to have bin at

at this time. Since Milton states here that he was inquired about and nothing derogatory was available about him, it hardly seems that he was *without* reputation but that he had a good reputation.

⁷⁸ Probably an oblique allusion to another of Hall's writings, *Characters of Vertues and Vices* (1608; *Works*, 1863, VI, 89-125) See Rudolf Kirk's introduction (pp. 19-51) to his edition of *Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices*.

⁷⁹ Milton may have had in mind Proverbs 27.2: "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth."

⁸⁰ Subject matter of discussion or discourse, as often in Milton.

⁸¹ Luke 6:26.

⁸² The idea is contained in Matthew 5:11-12.

⁸³ No exact source; possibly alluding to Machiavelli's "Audacter calumniare semper aliquid haeret." Cf. Bacon (*De Augmentis Scientiarum*, VIII, ii [*Works*, 1857-74, V, 67]) "Calumniate boldly, for some of it will stick"

⁸⁴ Possibly a paraphrase of Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, IX, 1: "The unjust man is unjust to himself, for he makes himself bad."

length vomited out thence.⁸⁵ For which commodious lye, that he may be encourag'd in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publickly with all gratefull minde, that more then ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my equals⁸⁶ at the hands of those curteous and learned men, the Fellowes of that Colledge wherein I spent some yeares: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signifi'd many wayes, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many Letters full of kindnesse and loving respect both before that time, and long after I was assur'd of their singular good affection towards me.⁸⁷ Which being likewise propense⁸⁸ to all such as were for their studious and civill life worthy of esteeme, I could not wrong their judgements, and upright intentions, so much as to think I had that regard from them for other cause then that I might be still encourag'd to proceed in the honest and laudable courses, of which they apprehended I had given good prooffe. And to those ingenuous and friendly men who were ever the countnancers of vertuous and hopefull wits, I wish the best, and happiest things, that friends in absence wish one to another. As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteeme or disesteeme my selfe or any other the more for that, too simple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he thinke to obtaine with me, or any right discerners.⁸⁹ Of small practize were that Physitian who could not judge

⁸⁵ Because of its autobiographical significance the material from here through p. 18 has been heavily commented upon since the eighteenth century. See Masson, I, 282-84; II, 399-404; James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (4th ed., New York: F. S. Crofts, 1946), especially Appendix A, pp. 355-64, and Appendix B, pp. 364-83, which link the statements here with those in *Church-Government*, Book II, preface, and the *Second Defence*. Visiak, *Milton*, p. 846, and Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 269-70, interpret "vomited" to be a reference to Milton's "rustication," although Parker concedes that the Confuter may only have meant "graduated." "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "It is like hee spent his youth, in loytering, bezelling, and harlotting. Thus being grown to an Impostume in the brest of the Vniversity, he was at length vomited out thence into a Suburbe sinke about London; which, since his coming up, hath groaned under two ills, Him, and the Plague." See also the comment in Bohn, III, 110 n., about Mitford, Brydges, and Johnson, and Hughes, *Milton Prose Selections*, p. 149, n. 4.

⁸⁶ A contemporary student; cf. Galatians 1:14. "And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation."

⁸⁷ Masson, I, 234-39, discusses this thoroughly.

⁸⁸ "Having an inclination, bias, or propensity to something; cf. *Samson Agonistes*, l. 455." NED.

⁸⁹ Milton means he refuses to be drawn into an argument about the university.

by what both she or her sister, hath of long time vomited, that the worser stuffe she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasie.⁹⁰ She vomits now out of sicknesse, but ere it be well with her, she must vomit by strong physick. In the meane while that *Suburb sinke*, as this rude Scavenger calls it, and more then scurrilously taunts it with the *plague*,⁹¹ having a worse plague, in his middle entraille, that suburb wherein I dwell, shall be in my account a more honourable place then his University.⁹² Which as in the time of her better health, and mine owne younger judgement I never great-[12]ly admir'd, so now much lesse. But he followes me to the City, still usurping⁹³ and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirmes to have had; *and where my morning haunts are he wisses not*.⁹⁴ Tis wonder, that being so rare an Alchymist of slander, he could not extract that, as well as the University vomit, and the Suburb sinke which his art could distill so cunningly, but because his Limbeck⁹⁵ failes him, to give him and envie the more vexation, Ile tell him. Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home, not sleeping, or concocting⁹⁶ the surfets of an irregular feast, but up, and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in Summer as oft with the Bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to reade good Authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention bee weary, or memory have his full fraught. Then with usefull and generous labours preserving the bodies health, and hardinesse; to render lightsome, cleare, and not lumpish obedience

Hanford, *Handbook*, Appendix A, cites the numerous references of Milton's dislike for the training he received there. See especially Prolusion III, above, p. 240, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 854.

⁹⁰ Kester Svendsen, "Milton and Medical Lore," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XIII (1943), 158-84, discusses Milton's use of such medical terminology and cites analogies with medieval encyclopedias of science "She and her sister": Cambridge and Oxford.

⁹¹ Referring to the quotation given above, p. 884, n. 85.

⁹² See below, p. 920, where Milton calls the Confuter "thou lozel Bachelour of Art," i. e., worthless, unfinished scholar Suburb. Milton was then living in Aldersgate Street. Masson, II, 401.

⁹³ "To claim or make pretensions, to assume or attempt arrogantly" *NED*. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, XI, 827-28. "shall heave the Ocean to usurp Beyond all bounds"

⁹⁴ "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation* (continuation of the passage quoted above, p. 884, n. 85): "Where his morning haunts are I wist not; but he that would finde him after dinner, must search the Play-Houses, or the Boidelli, for there I have traced him"

⁹⁵ "Alembic or still." *NED*.

⁹⁶ Digesting. See *Church-Government*, above, p. 797.

to the minde, to the cause of religion, and our Countries liberty, when it shall require firme hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover their stations,⁹⁷ rather then to see the ruine of our Protestation,⁹⁸ and the inforcement of a slavish life. These are the morning practises; proceed now to the afternoone; *in Playhouses*, he sayes, *and the Bordelloes*.⁹⁹ Your intelligence, unfaithfull Spie of Canaan?¹⁰⁰ he gives in his evidence, that *there he hath trac't me*. Take him at his word Readers, but let him bring good sureties, ere ye dismissee him, that while he pretended to dogge others, he did not turne in for his owne pleasure; for so much in effect he concludes against himselfe, not contented to be caught in every other gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still hamper'd in his owne hempe.¹⁰¹ In the Animadversions, saith he, I finde the mention of old clokes, fals beards, night-walkers, and salt lotion; therefore the Animadverter haunts Playhouses and Bordelloes; for if hee did not, how could hee speake of such gear? Now that he may know what it is to be a childe, and yet to meddle with edg'd tooles,¹⁰² I turne his *Antistrephon*¹⁰³ upon his owne head; the Confuter knowes that these things are the furniture of Playhouses and Bordelloes, therefore by the same reason the *Confuter himselfe hath beene trac't in those places*. Was it such a dissolute speech telling of

⁹⁷ Hanford, "Milton and the Art of War," p. 244, rejects Masson's interpretation (Masson, II, 402, 481) of this passage as an indication Milton was drilling with the militia.

⁹⁸ Masson, II, 402, has "Protestantism," but Milton is referring to the Protestation of May 3, 1641, mentioned later (below, p. 926). See Gardiner, IX, 353-56, and above, pp. 94-96.

⁹⁹ See above, p. 885, n. 94.

¹⁰⁰ Numbers 14:36; Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," *PMLA*, LX (1945), 119, cites this as an example of Milton's use of Biblical names "allusively and substantively."

¹⁰¹ No exact source but a variation of "Hoist with his own Petard." See Stevenson, "Retribution II," *Home Book of Proverbs*, which lists Ovid's "In laqueos quos posuere, cadent" ("Let them fall into the snare which they have laid") and Erasmus' (*Adagia*, Chil i, cent. i, No. 53) "Suo ipsius laqueo captus est" ("He is caught in his own snare") *NED* cites this passage of Milton's under "hamper". "entangled, caught." "Gin" is a trap or snare for game.

¹⁰² Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, quotes among others, "It is a proverbe wise and auncient/ Beware how you give any edged tool/ Unto a young child and unto a fool" (William Wager, *Longer Thou Livest*, 1568), and "Some say that it is not good Jestng with edge toles" (Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*). Stevenson, *Home Book of Proverbs*, p. 337, cites Erasmus' rendition of the Greek of Diogenianis (*Adagia*, VI, 46) "*Ne puero gladium*" ("Don't give a child a knife").

¹⁰³ "Antistrophon, an argument that is retorted upon an opponent." *NED*, which does not record Milton's spelling.

some Politicians who were wont to eavesdroppe in disguises, to say they were often lyable to a night-walking cudgeller, or the emptying of a Urinall? ¹⁰⁴ What if I [13] had writ as your friend the author of the aforesaid *Mime*, *Mundus alter & idem*, to have bin ravisht like some young *Cephalus* ¹⁰⁵ or *Hylas*, ¹⁰⁶ by a troope of camping Huswives in *Viraginia*, ¹⁰⁷ and that he was there forc't to sweare himselfe an uxorious varlet, then after a long servitude to have come into *Aphrodisia* that pleasant Countrey that gave such a sweet smell to his nostrils among the shamelesse Courtezans of *Desvergonia*? surely he would have then concluded me as constant at the Bordello, as the gally-slave at his Oare. But since there is such necessity to the hear-say of a Tire, a Periwig, or a Vizard, ¹⁰⁸ that Playes must have bin seene, what difficulty was there in that? when in the Colleges so many of the young Divines, and those in next aptitude to Divinity have bin seene so oft upon the Stage writhing and unboning their Clergie limmes to all the antick and dishonest gestures of Trinculo's, ¹⁰⁹ Buf-fons, and Bawds; prostituting the shame of that ministry which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and *Madamoisellaes*. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools, they made sport, and I laught, they mispronounc't and I mislik't, and to make up the *atticisme*, ¹¹⁰ they were out, and I hist. Judge

¹⁰⁴ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 670.

¹⁰⁵ Called "the Attic boy" in "Il Penseroso," l. 124, and named in Elegies III, V, and VII, was beloved by Aurora, the goddess of the dawn. Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 152, n. 17, cites Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 700-13.

¹⁰⁶ *Harper's Latin Dictionary* describes Hylas as a beautiful youth of Oechalia (Argos) who accompanied Hercules on the Argonautic expedition. Carried off by nymphs, Hylas was long sought for by Hercules. Milton's source was probably Theocritus, *Idyll* XIII. Milton mentions him in Elegy VII, "Epitaphium Damonis," and *Paradise Regained*, II, 353.

¹⁰⁷ Like Aphrodisia and Desvergonia below, names of places mentioned in *Mundus Alter et Idem*. Healey translated them respectively, Shee-Land, Cockatrixia, and Shames-grave; "The Sepulchre of Modesty is in this Towne," i.e., "Shames-grave." See *Discovery of a New World*, pp. 64-76.

¹⁰⁸ Listed in *Modest Confutation* immediately following the quotation given above, p. 885, n. 94, "periwig" and "vizard" appear in *Animadversions*, above, pp. 668 and 711. "Tire", costume; "Periwig": wig; and "Vizard": mask. *NED*.

¹⁰⁹ A sailor and jester in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 153, n. 21, however, suggests a rustic of the same name in Thomas Tomkys' *Albumazar* played at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1614. See Bohn, III, 114-15 n.

¹¹⁰ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 846, explains that the passage is "imitated from Demos-

now whether so many good text men were not sufficient to instruct me of false beards and vizards without more expositors; and how can this Confuter take the face to object to me the seeing of that which his reverent Prelats allow, and incite their young disciples to act. For if it be unlawfull ¹¹¹ to sit and behold a mercenary Comedian personating that which is least unseemely for a hireling to doe, how much more blamefull is it to indure the sight of as vile things acted by persons either enter'd, or presently to enter into the ministry, and how much more foule and ignominious for them to be the actors.

But because as well by this upraiding to me the Bordello's, as by other suspicious glancings in his book he would seem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whose custome of life were not honest, but licentious; I shall intreat to be born with though I digresse: & in a way not often trod acquaint ye with the summe of my thoughts in this matter through the course of my yeares and studies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the nose of the envious, as it were in skirmish [14] to change the compact order, and instead of outward actions to bring inmost thoughts into front.¹¹² And I must tell ye Readers, that by this sort of men I have bin already bitten at; ¹¹³ yet shall they not for me know how slightly they are esteem'd, unlesse they have so much learning as to reade what in Greek *Ἀπειροκαλία* ¹¹⁴ is, which together with envie is the common disease of those who censure books that are not for their reading. With me it fares now, as with him whose outward garment hath bin injur'd and ill bedighted; for having no other shift, what helpe but to

thenes' *De Corona* (315 10) in Reiske's *Oratores Attici*." *NED* notes the use of the word to mean "a refined amenity of speech, a well-turned phrase" as early as 1612.

¹¹¹ Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p 153, n. 22, states: "Milton was writing within almost a year of the closing of the theatres by Parliament." Actually, Edward Husbands, *An Exact Collection of All Remonstrances, Declarations* (1643), pp 593-94, prints the order under the date of September 2, 1642. See Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp. 394-95, and John S. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself*, pp. xxxii-xxxv.

¹¹² Another military figure of speech; see above, p 872, n. 11.

¹¹³ Only by the Confuter and one other pamphleteer, according to Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 14-17, 71-72.

¹¹⁴ Liddell and Scott note the appearance of this word twice in Plato's *Republic* (403 C and 403 B): "ignorance of the beautiful, want of taste" Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 154, n. 24, defines it "bad taste such as produces bad conduct. Plato uses the word of the propensities to undue physical intimacy and to litigiousness." Columbia, III, 301, prints *Ἀπειροκαλία* alone among the editions consulted. Liddell and Scott list no such word.

turn the inside outwards, especially if the lining be of the same, or, as it is sometimes, much better. So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me, I must make tryall, if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can. Wherein of two purposes both honest, and both sincere, the one perhaps I shall not misse; although I faile to gaine beliefe with others of being such as my perpetuall thoughts shall heere disclose me, I may yet not faile of successe in perswading some, to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I fain. I had my time Readers, as others have, who have good learning bestow'd upon them, to be sent to those places, where the opinion was it might be soonest attain'd: and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended; whereof some were grave Orators & Historians; whose matter me thought I lov'd indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them; ¹¹⁵ others were the smooth Elegiack Poets, ¹¹⁶ whereof the Schooles are not scarce. Whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous ¹¹⁷ writing, which in imitation I found most easie; and most agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter which what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome. For that it was then those years with me which are excus'd though they be least severe, I may be sav'd the labour to remember ye. Whence having observ'd them to account it the chiefe glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteeme themselves worthiest to love those high perfections which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I thought with my selfe by every instinct and presage of nature which is not wont to be false, that what imboldn'd them to this task might with such diligence as they us'd imbolden me, and that what judgement, wit, or elegance was my share, would herein best appeare, and best va-[15]lue it selfe, by how much more wisely, and with more love of vertue I should choose (let rude eares be absent) ¹¹⁸ the object of

¹¹⁵ Alluding probably to I Corinthians 13:11 Hanford, *Handbook*, Appendix B, and more fully in "The Youth of Milton," *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, discusses the ensuing passage in relation to similar statements in *Church-Government*, Book II, preface, and *Second Defence*.

¹¹⁶ Particularly Ovid, as Tillyard, *Milton*, pp 10-11, points out, among others.

¹¹⁷ "Measured, rhythmic, harmonious, musical." *NED* cites Puttenham's similar use and *Paradise Lost*, V, 150.

¹¹⁸ Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 155, n. 26, remarks on the reminiscence of such classical warnings as that of the seer in Virgil's *Aeneid*, VI, 258.

not unlike praises. For albeit these thoughts to some will seeme vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third sort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in serious.¹¹⁹ Nor blame it Readers, in those yeares to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferr'd. Whereof not to be sensible, when good and faire in one person meet, argues both a grosse and shallow judgement, and withall and ungentle, and swainish brest. For by the firme setting of these perswasions I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors any where speaking unworthy things of themselves; or unchaste of those names which before they had extoll'd, this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplor'd; and above them all preferr'd the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura* ¹²⁰ who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition, and patterne of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroick men, or famous Cities, unlesse he have in himselfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praise-worthy.¹²¹ These reasonings, together with a certaine nicenesse of nature, an honest haughtinesse, and self-esteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envie call pride) and lastly that modesty, whereof though not in the Title page yet here I may be excus'd to make some beseeming profession, all these uniting the supply of their naturall aide together, kept me still above those low descents of minde, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to salable and unlawfull prostitutions. Next, (for heare me out now Readers) that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wander'd; I betook me

¹¹⁹ "Seriously." *NED*.

¹²⁰ Dante and Petrarch.

¹²¹ Joel E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, 1605-1650*, I, 250, noted that this is a paraphrase of Strabo, *Geographica*, I, ii, also (I, 221) calling attention to a similar statement in Ben Jonson. Hanford, "The Youth of Milton," p. 123, connects the passage with Prolusion VI, above, p. 266. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself*, quotes a similar statement from Familiar Letter No. 23 to Henry DeBrass (Columbia, XII, 93). See also above, p. 874, n. 26, and Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, pp. 45-67.

among those lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in solemne canto's the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings; & from hence had in renowne over all Christendome.¹²² There I read it in the oath of every Knight, that he should defend to the expence of his [16] best blood, or of his life, if it so befell him, the honour and chastity of Virgin or Matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue chastity sure must be, to the defence of which so many worthies by such a deare¹²³ adventure of themselves had sworne. And if I found in the story afterward any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judg'd it the same fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to *Homer*; to have written undecent things of the gods.¹²⁴ Only this my minde gave me that every free and gentle spirit without that oath ought to be borne a Knight, nor needed to expect the guilt spurre,¹²⁵ or the laying of a sword upon his shoulder to stirre him up both by his counsell, and his arme to secure and protect the weaknesse of any attempted chastity. So that even those books which to many others have bin the fuell of wantonnesse and loose living, I cannot thinke how unlesse by divine indulgence prov'd to me so many incitements as you have heard, to the love and stedfast observation of that vertue which abhorres the society of Bordello's Thus from the Laureat¹²⁶ fraternity of Poets, riper yeares, and the ceaselesse round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy, but chiefly to the divine volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon*.¹²⁷ Where if I should tell ye what I learnt, of chastity and love, I meane that which is truly so, whose charming cup is only vertue which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy. The rest are cheated with

¹²² Hanford, *Handbook*, p. 370, believes this refers to Spenser; Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 156, n. 30, suggests the following as evidence of Milton's study of Arthurian themes: *Paradise Lost*, IX, 27-37, and "Manso," ll. 80-88 *Paradise Lost*, I, 579-87, might also be cited

¹²³ "Hard, severe, heavy, grievous, fell, dire." *NED* Cf "Lycidas," l 6.

¹²⁴ Bohn, III, 119, n 1, has a long explanation of the passage in *Plato's Republic* (377 E) here alluded to.

¹²⁵ The entire sentence refers back to the fables and romances mentioned earlier. *NED* calls the gilt spur "the distinctive mark of a knight."

¹²⁶ *NED* cites this and explains, "worthy of the Muses' crown"

¹²⁷ Cf. *Anmadversions*, above, p. 719, *Church-Government*, above, p 746; and *Of Education* (1644), p 5. See Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, pp 11-12, 23, and chap. 7, where the connection with *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* of this and the ensuing remarks on love is discussed; see also long note, Bohn, III, 119-21, and Tillyard, *Milton*, Appendix C, pp. 274-83.

a thick intoxicating potion which a certaine Sorceresse ¹²⁸ the abuser of loves name carries about; and how the first and chieftest office of love, begins and ends in the soule, producing those happy twins of her divine generation knowledge and vertue, with such abstracted subtilities as these, it might be worth your listning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a still time, when there shall be no chiding; not in these noises, the adversary as ye know, barking at the doore; or searching for me at the Burdello's where it may be he has lost himselfe, and raps up without pittie the sage and rheumatick old *Prelatesse* with all her young *Corinthian Laity* ¹²⁹ to inquire for such a one. Last of all not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Christian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath bin to shew, that though Christianity had bin but slightly taught me, yet a certain reserv'dnesse of naturall disposition, and morall discipline learnt [17] out of the noblest Philosophy was enough to keep me in disdain of farre lesse incontinences then this of the Burdello. But having had the doctrine of holy Scripture unfolding those chaste and high mysteries with timeliest care infus'd, that *the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body*,¹³⁰ thus also I argu'd to my selfe; that if unchastity in a woman whom Saint *Paul* termes the glory of man, be such a scandall and dishonour, then certainly in a man who is both the image and glory of God, it must, though commonly not so thought, be much more deflouring and dishonourable.¹³¹ In that he sins both against his owne body which is the perfeter sex, and his own glory which is in the woman, and that which is worst, against the image and glory of God which is in himselfe. Nor did I slumber over that place expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lambe, with those celestiall songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defil'd with women,¹³² which doubtlesse meanes

¹²⁸ Probably Circe, cf. *Comus*, ll. 49-52. The "twins" mentioned below, Hughes points out (*Prose Selections*, p. 157, n. 2), are "knowledge and virtue" from Plato (*Symposium*, 209 A). Cf. *Comus*, ll. 1009-10, "Youth and Joy."

¹²⁹ Profligate from the well-known licentious manners of that town. Milton does not forget his opponent even when apparently digressing on his own thoughts.

¹³⁰ I Corinthians 6:13. Tillyard, *Milton*, p. 380, notes that "Milton did not arrogate special powers to lifelong chastity."

¹³¹ I Corinthians 11.7, "Man . . . is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of man." Cf. also verses 9 and 11.

¹³² Revelation 14:1-5, cf. II Corinthians 11:2.

fornication: For mariage must not be call'd a defilement.¹³³ Thus large I have purposely bin, that if I have bin justly taxt with this crime, it may come upon me after all this my confession, with a tenne-fold shame. But if I have hitherto deserv'd no such opprobrious word, or suspicion, I may hereby ingage my selfe now openly to the faithfull observation of what I have profest. I go on to shew you the unbridl'd impudence of this loose rayler, who having once begun his race regards not how farre he flies out beyond all truth & shame; who from the single notice of the animadversions, as he protests, will undertake to tell ye the very cloaths I weare, though he be much mistaken in my wardrobe.¹³⁴ And I like a son of Belial without the hire of *Iesabel*¹³⁵ charges me of *blaspheming God and the King*, as ordnarily as he imagines *me to drink Sack and sweare*,¹³⁶ meerely because this was a shred in his common place-book, and seem'd to come off roundly, as if he were some Empirick¹³⁷ of false accusations to try his poysons upon me whether they would work or no. Whom what should I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book which is his only testimony returnes the lye upon him; not giving him the least hint of the author to be either a swearer, or a Sack drinker. And for the readers if they can believe me, principally for those reasons which I have alleg'd, to be of life & purpose neither dishonest, nor unchaste, they will be easily induc't to thinke me sober both of wine, and of word; but if I have bin already successelesse in perswading them, [18] all that I can further say will be but vaine; and it will be better thrift to save two tedious labours, mine of excusing, and theirs of needlesse hearing.

¹³³ I Corinthians 7 1-2; cf. also verses 8-9, 25-28. Many have noted the connection with *Comus*. Hughes, *Prose Selections*, p. 159, n. 38, says the passage refers to Revelation 19, and he points out similar ideas in "Lycidas," 176-77, and "Epitaphium Damonis," ll. 215-19. Diekhoff suggests (*Milton on Himself*, p. 81, n. 14) that the passage shows Milton's regard for marriage, soon before his actual marriage to Mary Powell. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, IV, 299: "Hee for God only, shee for God in him"

¹³⁴ "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "He is new cloathed in Serge, and confined to a Parlour, where he blasphemes God and the King, as ordinarily as erewhile he drank Sack or swore" NED defines serge, "cloth worn by poorer classes."

¹³⁵ See the story of Naboth, I Kings 21. 1-15.

¹³⁶ Bohn, III, 123, n. 1, feels the Confuter "was probably better read in Shakespeare than in the Bible" and was thinking of Falstaff.

¹³⁷ "An untrained practitioner in physic or surgery; a quack, pretender, imposter, or charlatan." NED.

Proceeding further I am met with a whole ging¹³⁸ of words and phrases not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a slye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo,¹³⁹ worse then the ghost of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his friend *Ænaëas*.¹⁴⁰ Here I scarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that booke where I set them. For certainly this tormenter of semicolons¹⁴¹ is as good at dismembring and slitting sentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have bin at stigmatizing & slitting noses.¹⁴² By such handy craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour which being his own must needs offend his sense of smelling, since he will needs bestow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he weares a Sock, I shall endeavour it may be offencelesse to other mens eares.¹⁴³ The Remonstrant having to do with grave and reverend men his adversaries, thought it became him to tell them in scorne, that *the Bishops foot had beene in their book and confuted it*, which when I saw him arrogate, to have done that with his heeles that surpast the best consideration of his head, to spurn a confutation among respected men, I question'd not the lawfulnessse of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a Sock would have in such a painfull businesse. And this may have chanc't to touch him more neerly then I was aware; for indeed a Bishops foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a linnen Sock over it, is the aptest embleme of the Prelate himselfe. Who being a pluralist, may under one Surplice which is also linnen, hide foure benefices besides the metropolitan toe, and sends a fouler stench to heaven, then that which this young queasinesse reches at.¹⁴⁴ And this is the immediate reason here why our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as perfet an hypocrite as *Caiaphas*, ere he be a High Priest,¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ "Gang, pack, set, train." *NED*, which cites passage.

¹³⁹ Cf. *Paradise Lost*, III, 443 ff., and *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 9).

¹⁴⁰ Deiphobus was slain and mangled at capture of Troy. *Aeneid*, VI, vi.

¹⁴¹ See above, p. 873, n. 20. The preface of *Modest Confutation* (1642) begins thus (p. 1): "It is apologeticall, and well may it be so"

¹⁴² This was one punishment inflicted on Alexander Leighton. Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and Lilburne suffered other tortures. See above, pp. 34-48.

¹⁴³ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 732. In the passage which follows Milton, as he was to do in *Defence of Himself*, stoops to a low level of abuse. "Weares a Sock" seems to be a pun on the sock as a symbol for comedy.

¹⁴⁴ Pluralist was the name given to a minister holding more than one benefice or living, metropolitan refers to Hall's bishopric. As noted earlier, Milton conceives of his author as youthful, even as an undergraduate; see above, p. 885, n. 92.

¹⁴⁵ Caiaphas was the high priest who condemned Christ; see Matthew 26:3 and 59-68. Milton likens the Confuter to Caiaphas in duplicity even though the Con-

cries out, *horrid blasphemy!* and like a recreant Jew calls for *stones*. I beseech ye friends, ere the brick-bats flye, resolve me and your selves, is it blasphemy, or any whit disagreeing from Christian meeknesse, when as Christ himselfe speaking of unsavory traditions, scruples not to name the Dunghill and the Jakes,¹⁴⁶ for me to answer a slovenly wincer¹⁴⁷ of a confutation, that, if he would needs put his foot to such a sweaty service, the odour of his Sock was like to be neither musk, nor benjamin?¹⁴⁸ Thus did that foolish Monk [19] in a barbarous Declamation accuse *Petrarch* of blasphemy for dispraising the French wines.¹⁴⁹ But this which followes is plaine bedlam¹⁵⁰ stuffe, this is the *Demoniack legion* indeed, which the Remonstrant feard had been against him, and now he may see is for him.¹⁵¹ *You that love Christ*, saith he, *and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity*. What thinks the Remonstrant? does he like that such words as these should come out of his shop, out of his Trojan horse? to give the watch word like a *Guisian of Paris*¹⁵² to a mutiny

futer has yet to become a high priest or bishop. See previous note. The remainder of the sentence here refers to "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation*: "*Horrid blasphemy! You that love Christ, and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest your selves smart for his impunity.*" Milton may have in mind Acts 6 51-59, the stoning of Stephen.

¹⁴⁶ Alluding probably to Luke 14.35; Mark 7 15, 19-20, 21-23; and Matthew 15.17

¹⁴⁷ *NED* cites passage as a figurative use of the word, "a kicker"

¹⁴⁸ *NED* says musk comes from male musk deer and is the basis of many perfumes Benjamin is another perfume substance from benzoin

¹⁴⁹ Maud F. Jerrold, *Francesco Petrarca, Poet and Humanist* (London, 1909), pp. 210-11, explains Petrarch's *Apologia contra Gallum* (*EB: Contra Cusdam Anonymi Galli Calumnias Apologia*) as follows: "At the very end of his life, probably in 1372, he was again involved in controversy, owing to his correspondence with Urban V. A French Cistercian monk, whose name has not been preserved, resenting the part Petrarcha had played in the departure of Urban from Avignon, loaded him and his arguments with contempt, and, in particular, indulged in such abuse of Rome as the poet could not refrain from refuting. His *Apologia contra Gallum* is as bitter as his other invectives, but has the merit of being patriotic rather than personal"

¹⁵⁰ Insane or mad.

¹⁵¹ Hall, *A Defence* (1641), says of the Smectymnuans (p. 1). "Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know; But, could they say, *My name is Legion, for we are many*; or were they as many Legions as men, my cause, yea Gods, would bid me to meet them undismayed." Hall is quoting from Mark 5:9, in the account of Christ's driving out the legion of devils, verses 1-13.

¹⁵² *NED* cites this passage and explains, "a partisan of the Guise faction in France in the 16th century." The Guise party promoted the St. Bartholomew's massacre of Huguenots, August 24, 1572.

or massacre; to proclame a *Crusada*¹⁵³ against his fellow Christian now in this troublous and divided time of the Kingdome? if he do, I shall say that to be the Remonstrant is no better then to be a Jesuit. And that if he and his accomplices could do as the rebels have done in *Ireland* to the Protestants, they would do in *England* the same to them that would no Prelats.¹⁵⁴ For a more seditious and Butcherly Speech no Cell of *Loyola*¹⁵⁵ could have belch't against one who in all his writing spake not, that any mans skin should be rais'd.¹⁵⁶ And yet this cursing *Shimei* a hurler of stones,¹⁵⁷ as well as a rayler, wants not the face instantly to make as though he *despair'd of victory unlesse a modest defence would get it him*. Did I erre at all, Readers, to foretell ye, when first I met with his title, that the epithet of modest there, was a certaine red portending signe,¹⁵⁸ that he meant ere long to be most tempestuously bold, and shamelesse? Neverthelesse *he dares not say but there may be hid in his nature as much venemous Atheisme and profanation*, as he thinks, *hath broke out at his adversaries lips, but he hath not the soare running upon him*, as he would intimate *I have*.¹⁵⁹ Now trust me not Readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing¹⁶⁰ this Seagull, so open he lies to strokes; and never

¹⁵³ "Crusade or holy war against infidels or heretics." *NED*.

¹⁵⁴ News of the Irish Rebellion reached England in November, 1641; see Gardiner, X, 54, 64-70; above, p. 168.

¹⁵⁵ For similar instances of Milton's condemnation of opponents because of their alleged use of arguments originating with the Society of Jesus, cf *Of Reformation*, above, p. 573, "Schooles of *Loyola* with his Jesuites," and p. 582, "out of the Jesuites Cell."

¹⁵⁶ Variant of "rase": "to scratch, tear, remove by scraping; pull, pluck, slash or to make an incised mark on." *NED*

¹⁵⁷ II Samuel 16 5-7. Another case cited by Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," p. 119, of Milton's use of Biblical names "allusively and substantively."

¹⁵⁸ "Marked by blood or fire or by violence." *NED*, citing *Paradise Lost*, II, 174 "His red right hand to plague us?"

¹⁵⁹ "To the Reader," *Modest Confutation* (1642)· "This is my adversary; to encounter whom at his own weapons . . . I am much too weak; and must despaire of victory, unlesse it may be gotten by the strength of a good cause, and a modest defense of it I dare not say but there may be hid in my nature, as much venemous Atheisme and profanation as hath broken out at his lips; (Every one that is infected with the Sicknesse, hath not the Sores running upon him·)" The allusion to venereal disease here is obvious.

¹⁶⁰ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, explains: "Plucking and taking away the claws" *NED* quotes the passage under "Foot," and explains, "Of a bird of prey, especially hawk: to seize or clutch with the talons." The entry comments that "seagull" is equivalent to "gull," frequently a term for a fool.

offers at another, but brings home the dorre ¹⁶¹ upon himselfe. For if the sore be running upon me, in all judgement I have scapt the disease, but he who hath as much infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confest, and cannot expell it, because hee is dull, for venomous Atheisme were no treasure to be kept within him else, let him take the part hee hath chosen, which must needs follow, to swell and burst with his owne inward venome.

Sect. 1. But marke, Readers, there is a kind of justice observ'd among them that do evill, but this man loves injustice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abus'd the good [20] name of his adversary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonstrant, if they be not both one person, or as I am told, Father and Son,¹ yet after all this he calls for satisfaction, when as he himselfe hath already taken the utmost farding.² *Violence hath been done*, sayes he, *to the person of a holy, and religious Prelat*.³ To which, something in effect to what S. Paul answer'd of Ananias,⁴ I answer, *I wist not brethren that he was a holy and religious Prelat*; for evill is written of those who would be Prelats. And finding him thus in disguise without his superscription or *Phylactery*⁵ either of *holy* or *Prelat*, it were no sinne to serve him as *Longchamp* Bishop of *Elie* was serv'd in his disguise at *Dover*.⁶ He hath begun the measure namelesse, and when he pleases we may all appeare as we are. And let him be then what he will, he shall be to me so as I finde him principl'd. For neither must Prelat or Arch-Prelat hope to exempt himselfe from

¹⁶¹ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, defines "bat (in the sense of battledore and shuttlecock)"; Patterson, *Student's Milton*, Glossary, "trick, joke", *NED* quotes passage and defines, "scoff, mockery, 'making game.'"

¹ Milton's statement here is the authority for attributing the *Modest Confutation* to Robert Hall. See Masson, II, 393-98, and Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, pp. 266-69.

² Farthing

³ See above, p. 878, n. 48, where *Modest Confutation* is quoted.

⁴ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, calls this "a slip for Caiaphas," but the quotation which follows paraphrases Acts 23:5, where Paul is addressing the "high priest Ananias" (see verse 2).

⁵ Alluding to Matthew 23:5, a description of the Pharisees' hypocrisy: "But all their works they do for to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries," that is, small leathern boxes containing scriptural passages and worn on arm and head during prayers. Cf. "On the New Forcers of Conscience," l. 18, "Clp your Phylacteries, though bauk your Ears."

⁶ According to the *DNB*, William of Longchamp (d. 1197) was hated by the English and arrested, 1191. He was twice caught trying to escape in disguise from Dover, where he was imprisoned.

being reckon'd as one of the vulgar; which is for him only to hope whom true wisdom and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Psalmes that he who is in honour and understandeth not is as the beasts that perish.⁷ And now first *the manner of handling that cause* which I undertook, he thinks *is suspicious*,⁸ as if the wisest, and the best words were not ever to some or other suspicious. But where is the offence, the disagreement from Christian meeknesse, or the precept of *Solomon* in answering folly? ⁹ when the Remonstrant talks of *froth and scum*, I tell him there is none, and bid him *spare his Ladle*: ¹⁰ when he brings in the messe with *Keale, Beef, and Brewesse*, what stomack in *England* could forbear to call for flanks and briskets? ¹¹ Capon and whitebroth having been likely sometimes in the same roome with Christ and his Apostles,¹² why does it trouble him that it should be now *in the same leafe*, especially, where the discourse is not continu'd but interrupt? ¹³ And let him tell me, is he wont to say grace, doth he not then name holiest names over the steame of costliest superfluities? Does he judge it foolish or dishonest to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things he can devoutly chew? is he afraid to name Christ where those things are written in the same leafe whom he feares not to name while the same things are in his mouth? Doth not Christ himselfe teach the highest things by the similitude of *old bottles and patcht cloaths*? ¹⁴ Doth he not illustrate best things by things most evill? his own *comming* to be *as a thiefe in the night*,¹⁵ and the righ-[21]teous mans *wisdome to that of an unjust Steward*? ¹⁶ He

⁷ Psalms 49.11-12.

⁸ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 1: "We must now look to your manner of handling it: a suspicious way you think; and so do I." This passage apparently refers to the preface to *Animadversions*, where Milton explains his method.

⁹ Proverbs 26.5: "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit." Verse 4 offers contradictory advice: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him."

¹⁰ *Animadversions*, above, p. 672.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, above, p. 734. According to *NED*, "keal" is a tub or vat for holding liquor, and "brewess" is a broth or liquor in which beef and vegetables have been boiled.

¹² Alluding to the Last Supper; see Matthew 26:19-26.

¹³ Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," cites this as an example of Milton's preference for the "Latin past participle."

¹⁴ Matthew 9.16-17; cf. Mark 2.21-22, Luke 5.36-37.

¹⁵ Matthew 24.42-44; cf. Luke 12.39.

¹⁶ Luke 16.1-8.

might therefore have done better to have kept in *his canting beggars and heathen Altar*¹⁷ to sacrifice his thredbare criticisme of *Bomolochus* to an unseasonable Goddess fit for him call'd Importunity, and have reserv'd his Greek derivation till he lecture to his fresh men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.¹⁸

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which may further satisfie any conscionable man, who notwithstanding what I could expaine before the animadversions, remains yet unsatisfi'd concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter whom it pinches, utterly disapproves, I shall assay once againe, and perhaps with more successe. If therefore the question were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation, or scorn upon an object that merits it, were among the aptest *Ideas* of speech to be allow'd, it were my work, and that an easie one to make it cleare both by the rules of best rhetoricians, and the famoussest examples of the Greek and Roman Orations.¹⁹ But since the Religion of it is disputed, and not the art, I shall make use only of such reasons and authorities, as religion cannot except against. It will be harder to gainsay, then for me to evince that in the teaching of men diversly temper'd different wayes are to be try'd. The Baptist we know was a strict man remarkable for austerity and set order of life.²⁰ Our Saviour who had all gifts in him was Lord to expresse his indoctrinating power in what sort him best seem'd; sometimes by a milde and familiar converse, sometimes with plaine and impartiall home-speaking regardlesse of those whom the auditors might think he should have had in more respect; otherwhiles with bitter and irefull rebukes if not teaching yet

¹⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 2: "Such language you should scarce hear from the mouths of canting beggars, at an heathen altar, much lesse was it looked for in a treatise of controversall Theologie"

¹⁸ "Criticisme of Bomolochus" refers to the pedantic marginal note in *Modest Confutation* to explain the quotation just given. The "unseasonable Goddess fit for him call'd Importunity" can be explained as the "base importunity of begging Friars" mentioned in *Animadversions*, above, p. 702, as one of the sources of the prelates' money and lands.

¹⁹ As noted in Bohn, III, 128, n. 1, "ideas" "is here used according to its primitive signification, for form"; cf. below, p. 934, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 764. Milton may have in mind Aristotle's dictum "For emotion, if the subject be wanton outrage, your language will be that of anger; if you speak of impiety or filth, use the language of aversion and reluctance even to discuss them" *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, III, vii; ed. Lane Cooper (New York: D. Appleton, 1932), p. 197.

²⁰ See Matthew 3.4, and Mark 1:6.

leaving excuselesse those his wilfull impugnors. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his Church; ²¹ some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity that they may win such, & check sometimes those who be of nature over-confident and jocond; others were sent more cheerefull, free, and still as it were at large, in the midst of an untrespassing honesty; that they who are so temper'd may have by whom they might be drawne to salvation, and they who are too scrupulous, and dejected of spirit might be often strengthn'd with wise consolations and revivings: no man being forc't wholly to dissolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the sanguine to empty out all his sociable live-[22]linesse, the cholerick to expell quite the unsinining predominance of his anger; but that each radicall humour and passion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every mans peculiar guifts, and vertues. Some also were indu'd with a staid moderation, and soundnesse of argument to teach and convince the ratioll and sober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient course of teaching, for in times of opposition when either against new heresies arising, or old corruptions to be reform'd this coole unpassionate mildnesse of positive wisdome is not enough to damp and astonish the proud resistance of carnall, and false Doctors, then (that I may have leave to soare a while as the Poets use) then Zeale whose substance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond ascends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing Meteors figur'd like beasts, but of a higher breed then any the Zodiack yeilds,²² resembling two of those four which *Ezechiel* and *S. John* saw, the one visag'd like a Lion to expresse power, high authority and indignation, the other of count'nance like a man to cast derision and scorne upon perverse and fraudulent seducers; with these the invincible warriour Zeale shaking loosely the slack reins drives over the heads of Scarlet Prelats, and such as are insolent to maintaine traditions, brusing their stiffe necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the false; thus Christ himselfe the fountaine of meeknesse found acrimony enough to be still galling and vexing the Prelaticall Phari-

²¹ Bohn, III, 128-29, n. 2, praises the passage which follows for its "power and truth," remarking on the "poetical daring" of the description of Zeale.

²² The description of Zeale's chariot is reminiscent of that of the Son in *Paradise Lost*, VI, 750-59, and is derived from Ezekiel 1, and Revelation 4, especially 4:6, as the mention of "Ezechiel" and "S John" shows,

sees.²³ But ye will say these had immediat warrant from God to be thus bitter, and I say, so much the plainlier is it prov'd, that there may be a sanctifi'd bitterness against the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inspiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other vertue, of morall and generall observation, the example of *Luther* may stand for all: whom God made choice of before others to be of highest eminence and power in reforming the Church; who not of revelation, but of judgement writ so vehemently against the chiefe defenders of old untruths in the Romish Church, that his own friends and favourers were many time offended with the fiercenesse of his spirit; yet he being cited before *Charles* the fifth to answer for his books, and having divided them into three sorts, whereof one was of those which he had sharply written, refus'd though upon deliberation giv'n him to retract or unsay any word there-[23]in; as we may reade in *Sleiden*.²⁴ Yea he defends his eagernes, as being of *an ardent spirit, and one who could not write a dull stile*: and affirm'd *hee thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, seeing that matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot*. And herewithall how usefull and available God had made this tart rhetorick in the Churches cause, he often found by his owne experience. For when he betook himselfe to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but contempt both from *Cajetan* and *Erasmus*, from *Cocleus*, from *Ecchius*²⁵ and others, insomuch that blaming his friends who had so counsel'd him, he resolv'd never to runne into the like error; if at other times he seeme to excuse his vehemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his works to know how farre he gave way to his owne fervent minde; it shall suffice me to looke to mine own. And this I shall easily averre though it may seeme a hard saying, that the Spirit of God who is purity it selfe, when he would reprove any fault severely, or but relate things done or said with indignation by others, abstains not from some words not civill at other

²³ Matthew 23; Mark 12.38-40; Luke 14:31-34.

²⁴ See *CPB*, above, p. 373, and Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 268, 271, 306-07.

²⁵ Cajetan, Tommaso de Vio Gaetani, (1469-1534), Dominican cardinal, philosopher, theologian, and exegete; attempted to prevent Luther's defection from the church (1519). Erasmus, Desiderius (ca. 1466-1536), Dutch humanist, friend and later opponent of Luther. Cocleus, or Cochleus, Johann (properly Dobeneck) (1479-1552), humanist and Catholic controversialist, opponent of Luther, 1520. Ecchius (Eck or Eckius), Johan, (1486-1543), theologian and principal adversary of Luther. *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

times to be spok'n. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of *Zimri and Cosbi* done by *Phineas* in the height of zeal, related as the Rabbines expound, not without an obscene word,²⁶ we may finde in Deuteronomy and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the punishments of Idolaters, tels them in a terme immodest to be utter'd in coole blood, that their wives shall be defil'd openly.²⁷ But these, they will say were honest words in that age when they were spok'n. Which is more then any Rabbin can prove, and certainly had God been so minded, he could have pickt such words, as should never have come into abuse. What will they say to this. *David* going against *Nabal*, in the very same breath when he had but just before nam'd the name of God, he vowes not to leave any alive of *Nabals* house that *pisseth against the wall*.²⁸ But this was unadvisedly spoke, you will answer, and set downe to aggravate his infirmity. Turne then to the first of Kings where God himselfe uses the phrase; *I will cut off from Iereboam him that pisseth against the wall*.²⁹ Which had it beene an unseemely speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that *Ionathan*, or *Onkelos the Targumists* were of cleaner language then he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, *I will cut off all who are at yeares of discretion*, that is to say so much discretion as [24] to hide nakednesse.³⁰ Whereas God who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plaine word might have easily bin forborne. Which the *Masoreths* and Rabbinicall *Scholiasts* not well attending, have often us'd to blurre the margent with *Keri*,³¹ instead of *Ketiv*,³² and gave us this insuls rule out of their *Talmud*, *That all words which in the Law are writ ob-*

²⁶ Numbers 25:8 The references here to "Rabbines" have been used by Harris Fletcher (*Milton's Rabbinical Readings* [Urbana. University of Illinois, 1930]) to argue Milton's reading of the Buxtorf Bible. This has been questioned by George N. Conklin, *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949), pp. 52-66, who concludes, "The usefulness or relevance of the whole corpus of medieval rabbinic exegesis to Milton studies must be considered very doubtful indeed."

²⁷ Deuteronomy 28:30; Isaiah 13:16; Jeremiah 3:2; and Zechariah 14:2 See also Conklin, *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 58-59; Conklin is wrong, however, in citing Isaiah 13:15.

²⁸ I Samuel 25.22; cf. verse 34.

²⁹ I Kings 14.10.

³⁰ See Conklin, *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 60-63, discussing the entire passage.

³¹ "Read" in a marginal gloss.

³² "So written." *Insuls*: stupid, insipid, tasteless.

scenely, must be chang'd to more civill words. Fools who would teach men to read³³ more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad, hath leave and authority oft times to utter such words and phrases as in common talke were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the Historian speaks, *that all those things for which men plough, build, or saile, obey vertue,*³⁴ but that all words and whatsoever may be spoken shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter, I shall returne him in short, that laughter being one way of answering *A Foole according to his folly*, teaches two sorts of persons, first the Foole himselfe *not to be wise in his own conceit*; as *Salomon* affirms,³⁵ which is certainly a great document, to make an unwise man know himselfe. Next, it teaches the hearers, in as much as scorne is one of those punishments which belong to men carnally wise, which is oft in Scripture declar'd; ³⁶ for when such are punisht *the simple are thereby made wise*, if *Salomons* rule be true.³⁷ And I would ask, to what end *Eliah* mockt the false Prophets? ³⁸ was it to shew his wit, or to fulfill his humour? doubtlesse we cannot imagine that great servant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and instruct the poore misledde people. And we may frequently reade, that many of the Martyrs in the midst of their troubles, were not sparing to deride and scoffe their superstitious persecutors. Now may the confutant advise againe with Sir *Francis Bacon* whether *Eliah* and the Martyrs did well to turne religion into a Comedy, or Satir; *to rip up the wounds* of Idolatry and Superstition *with a laughing countenance.*³⁹ So that for pious gravity his author here is matcht and overmatcht, and for wit and morality in one that followes. [25]

³³ Milton's erratum on the final page of the pamphlet reads: "Pag. 25. lin. 9. for speak *correct it* read." The word "speak" is therefore in this text changed to "read."

³⁴ Sallust in *Catilina*, II, 7: "Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent" See *Harper's Latin Dictionary*: "aro."

³⁵ See above, p. 898, n. 9, where Proverbs 26 5 is also referred to, cf. Romans 11 25, 12 16.

³⁶ Possibly alluding to Romans 8.6-8.

³⁷ Proverbs 21:11

³⁸ I Kings 18:27.

³⁹ See above, p. 882, n. 73.

—*laughing to teach the truth*

What hinders? as some teachers give to Boyes

Junkets and knacks, that they may learne apace.

Thus *Flaccus* in his first Satir,⁴⁰ and in his tenth

—*Jesting decides great things*

Stronglier, and better oft then earnest can.

I could urge the same out of *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, but he may content him with this. And hence forward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds, and objects of laughter and vehement reproofe, as he hath knowne hitherto how to deserve them both. But lest some may haply think, or thus expostulat with me after all this debatement, who made you the busie Almoner to deale about this dole⁴¹ of laughter and reprehension which no man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that man I shold answer much after this sort? That I, friend objecter, having read of heathen Philosophers, some to have taught, that whosoever would but use his eare to listen, might heare the voice of his guiding *Genius* ever before him, calling and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; ⁴² others, as the Stoicks, to account reason, which they call the *Hegemonicon*, to be the common *Mercury* conducting without error those that give themselves obediently to be led accordingly,⁴³ having read this, I could not esteeme so poorly of the faith which I professe, that God had left nothing to those who had forsaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward wnesse, and warrant of what they have to do, as that they should need to measure themselves by other mens meas-

⁴⁰ Horace, *Satires*, I, 24. Columbia, XVIII, 605, lists these lines, along with those following (X, 24) and the later lines from Sophocles, *Electra*, in the "Conspectus of Original and Translated Verse Passages in Milton's Prose Works." Apparently the translations are original.

⁴¹ "Distribution of gifts, especially of food or money given in charity." *NED*. An almoner is a church official charged with such almsgiving.

⁴² *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949) on "genius": "In classical and pre-classical Latin the attendant Spirit of every man, a sort of guardian angel, whose activities were apparently directed towards fostering natural desires and their satisfaction." See Samuel, *Plato and Milton*, p. 96, where this passage is labeled "Platonic" without comment.

⁴³ Bohn, III, 133, n. 1, quotes from Nemesius, *De Anima*. Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon*, under "Hegemonicon," explains, "the authoritative part of the soul (reason)," citing "Zeno ap Diogenes Laertius 7.159." Zeno (335-263 B.C.) was the founder of the Stoic school. Milton later (below, p. 909) speaks of the Confuter's "stoick apathy." Cf. *Comus*, l. 706, "those budge doctors of the *Stoick Furr*" (*Comus* speaking).

ures how to give scope, or limit to their proper actions; ⁴⁴ for that were to make us the most at a stand, the most uncertaine and accidentall wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the question ere while mov'd who he is that spends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproofe so liberally upon such men as the Prelats, may returne with a more just demand, who he is not of place ⁴⁵ and knowledge never so mean, under whose contempt and jerk these men are not deservedly false? neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the Prelats, since religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes ⁴⁶ must heale her. I might also tell them, what *Electra* in *Sophocles*, ⁴⁷ a wise Virgin answer'd her wicked Mother who thought her selfe too violently reprov'd by her the daughter. [26]

*Tis you that say it, not I, you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds finde me the words.*

If therefore the Remonstrant complaine of libels, ⁴⁸ it is because he feels them to be right aim'd. For I ask againe as before in the animadversions, ⁴⁹ how long is it since he hath dis-relish't libels? we never heard the least mutter of his voice against them while they flew abroad without controul or check defaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can remember of none but *Lysimachus Nicanor*, and *that he mislikt and censur'd*.⁵⁰ No more but of one can the Remonstrant remember? What if I put him in minde of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonstrant in many likelyhoods may be thought the author? Did he never see a Pamphlet intitl'd after his own fashion, *A survey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, profane libell the*

⁴⁴ Milton's rejection of all but his own conscience.

⁴⁵ Modern usage would omit the "not."

⁴⁶ Strokes or lashes with whip or scourge. *NED*.

⁴⁷ The two lines below are from *Electra*, l. 624; see above, p. 904, n. 40.

⁴⁸ Hall's address to the king in *A Defence* (1641) describes the *Humble Remonstrance* (1640) as "*made to the High Court of Parliament; bemoaning the lawlesse frequency of scandalous Libels*," a reference to his earlier pamphlet's opening statement (p. 1) "Lest the world should think the Presse had of late forgot to speake any language other then Libellous, this honest paper hath broken through the throng"

⁴⁹ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 667.

⁵⁰ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 3. "That *Lysimachus Nicanor*, which you instance in, (is but one, and truly to my remembrance I have seen no more; one of theirs to an hundred of yours is oddes:) I mislikt and censured as much as any that I have read."

*Protestation protested?*⁵¹ The child doth not more expresly refigure the visage of his Father, then that book resembles the stile of the Remonstrant, in those idioms of speech, wherein he seemes most to delight: and in the seventeenth Page three lines together taken out of the Remonstrance word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrowes from himselfe.⁵² Who ever it be, he may as justly be said to have libell'd, as he against whom he writes: there ye shall finde another man then here is made shew of, there he bites as fast as this whines. *Vinegar in theinke* is there *the antidote of Vipers*. *Laughing* in a religious controversie is there *a thrifty physick to expell his melancholy*.⁵³ In the meane time the testimony of Sir Francis Bacon was not misalledg'd, complaining that libels on the Bishops part were utter'd openly;⁵⁴ and if he hop't the Prelats *had no intelligence with the libellours*, he delivers it but as his favourable opinion.⁵⁵ But had

⁵¹ Attributed to Hall by Theodore C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement* (Washington and London, 1916), p. 71, *McAlpin Catalogue*, and Wolfe, *Milton in the Puritan Revolution*, p. 54; but not included in the 1863 edition of Hall's *Works*. Milton's belief that Hall wrote the pamphlet may rest on the following statement from *A Survey* (1641), p. 30: "You mention Dr. Hall, and his learned paines out upon thee for a fool, and a babler! The workes of that reverend, painfull, and judicious bishop, shall be entertained by the posterity, with approbation and thankfulness, when the better times shal hisse thee and thy associats out of the Church, the quintessence of you al do come short to the meane croatchet of his learning, judgement, integrity & eloquence."

⁵² *Humble Remonstrance* (1640, pp. 37-38): "What a death it is, to think of the sport, and advantage these watchfull enemies will be sure to make of our sins, and shame? What exprobrations, what triumphs of theirs, will hence ensue?" *A Survey* (1641), p. 17: "Meantime what a death it is to thinke of the sport and advantage our watchfull enemies will be sure to make of our self-confession, that we have the same publike worship which in them we doe condemne as heresie, as idolatrie? what exprobrations, what triumph of theirs will hence ensue?" Milton's charge here that Hall himself wrote *Modest Confutation* is hardly proved by this evidence, and elsewhere he himself considers his opponent as someone close to Hall, even his son.

⁵³ The italicized passages come from *A Survey* (1641), pp. 3, 32.

⁵⁴ *Animadversions*, above, p. 668, referred to Bacon's statement (*A Wise and Moderate Discourse*, 1641, pp. 10-11): "Nevertheless I note, there is not an indifferent hand carried towards these pamphlets as they deserve. For the one sort flieth in darknesse, and the other is uttered openly"; but ignores the sentence following, "Wherein I might advise that side [i.e., the bishops] out of a wise writer, who hath set it downe, that *punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas*." ("Reputation increases with the quality of the punishment.") *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 3-4, quotes two passages from the same pamphlet in favor of the bishops. Milton is right in denying misallegation; but Bacon is not urging freedom for either side.

⁵⁵ Refers to the second of the Bacon quotations just mentioned: "*I hope as-*

he contradicted himselfe, how could I assoil⁵⁶ him here, more then a little before, where I know not how by entangling himselfe, he leaves an aspersion upon *Job*, which by any else I never heard laid to his charge. For having affirm'd that *there is no greater confusion then the confounding of jest and earnest*, presently he brings the example of *Job glancing at conceits of mirth, when he sate among the people with the gravity of a Judge upon him*.⁵⁷ If jest and earnest be such a confusion, then were the people much wiser then *Job*, for *he smil'd, and they believ'd him not*. To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was farre from my purpose.⁵⁸ I had not so little share in good name, as to give another that advantage against [27] my selfe. The summe of what I said, was that a more free permission of writing at some times might be profitable, in such a question especially wherein the Magistrates are not fully resolv'd; and both sides have equall liberty to write, as now they have.⁵⁹ Not as when the Prelats bore sway, in whose time the bookes of some men were confuted, when they who should have answer'd were in close prison, deny'd the use of pen or paper. And the *Divine right of Episcopacy*⁶⁰ was then valiantly asserted, when he who would have bin respondent, must have bethought himselfe withall how he could refute the *Clink*, or the *Gate-house*.⁶¹ If now therefore they be persu'd with bad words, who persecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to lessen tumult

surely that my Lords of the Clergie have no intelligence with these other Libellours, but do altogether disallow, that their dealing should be thus defended"

⁵⁶ "Acquit" *NED*. Milton can't dodge the fact that his quotation is wrested from the context.

⁵⁷ What Bacon said about *Job* follows (*A Wise and Moderate Discourse*, 1641, p. 8): "*Job* speaking of the majesty and gravity of a Judge in himselfe, saith, *If I did smile, they beleaved me not*: as if he should have said. If I diverted or glanced with conceit of mirth, yet men's mindes were so possessed with a reverence of the action in hand, as they could not receive it." Milton's attack on Bacon here is by putting together two statements that are two paragraphs apart in Bacon's writing; thus the "aspersion" is hardly justifiable.

⁵⁸ *Modest Confutation* (1642), Section 2, p. 3, begins, "Not to tarry longer in your Preface; the intent of it was, as of other passages in your book, rather to maintain and defend libelling, than to give any pretended satisfaction." Milton's *Apology* has no Section 2 following Section 1.

⁵⁹ *Amadversons*, above, p. 669.

⁶⁰ Hall's pamphlet *Episcopacie by Divine Right* appeared in 1640; *Works* (1863), IX, 142-281.

⁶¹ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, explains that the *Clink* was a prison in Clink Street, Southwark, and the *Gate-House* another in Westminster. Davies, *Early Stuarts*, p. 73, and Gardiner, IX, 236, recount the imprisonment of Puritan writers.

rather than to encrease it; as anger thus freely vented spends it selfe, ere it break out into action, though *Machiavell* whom he cites, or any *Machiavillian* Priest think the contrary.⁶²

Sect. 3. Now Readers I bring ye to his third Section; wherein very cautiously, and no more then needs, lest I should take him for some Chaplaine at hand, some Squire of the body to his Prelat, one that serves not at the Altar only, but at the Court cup board, he will bestow on us a pretty modell of himselfe; and sobs me out halfe a dozen tizicall¹ mottoes where ever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour the agony of his wit, having scapt narrowly, instead of well siz'd periods, he greets us with a quantity of thum-ring posies. *He has a fortune therefore good, because he is content with it.*² This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit-trencher; ³ as if content were the measure of what is good or bad in the guift of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a good fortune, because he may be oft times content with it for many reasons which have no affinity with vertue, as love of ease, want of spirit to use more, and the like. *And therefore content*, he sayes, *because it neither goes before, nor comes behinde his merit.* Belike then if his fortune should go before his merit, he would not be content, but resign, if we believe him, which I do the lesse, because he implyes that if it came behinde his merit, he would be content as little. Whereas if

⁶² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 5, has a marginal note referring to "*Mach discourses upon Livie, lib. l c. 8.*" Though apparently derogating Machiavelli here, Milton "had studied Machiavelli, and with admiration, in spite of the divergence between their creeds," according to Hanford, *Handbook*, p. 86; see also pp. 131, 241, 273. There are nineteen citations from Machiavelli in *CPB*.

¹ From "phthisic," asthma; as in an earlier passage (see above, p. 873, n. 20), Milton is deriding the style of the Confuter.

² This section is occupied with attacking the following quotation from the *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 6: "Only first let me satisfie you concerning my engagements and dependencie, which perhaps you may possibly think might have wrought me to this vindication. I am free, as you, or any true subject may or need be: I have a fortune therefore good, because I am content with it: and therefore content with it, because it neither goes before, nor comes behind my merit. God hath given me a soul, eager in the search of truth; and affections so equally tempered, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth, before it be fully examined, nor too lazily afterward. Such excesse fills the world with furious, hot-brained Hereticks, Schismaticks, &c. the defect with cold speculative Atheists. I have alwayes resolved that neither person nor cause shall improper me, further than they are good; and so far it is my duty to give evidence." This passage constitutes the bulk of the *Modest Confutation's* Section 3, and Milton quotes nearly all of it and attacks it piecemeal.

³ "A wooden tray, formerly used as a dessert-plate." *NED* cites this passage.

a wise mans content should depend upon such a *Therefore*, because his fortune came not behinde his merit, how many wise men could have content in this world? In his next pithy symbol ⁴ I dare not board him, for he passes all *the seven wise Masters of Greece* ⁵ attributing to himselfe that which on my life [28] *Salomon* durst not; *to have affections so equally temper'd, that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth, before it be fully examin'd, nor too lazily afterward.* Which unlesse he only were exempted out of the corrupt masse of *Adam*, borne without sinne originall, and living without actuall, is impossible.⁶ Had *Salomon* (for it behoves me to instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcendent Sage as this) had *Salomon* affections so equally temper'd, as *not adhering too lazily to the truth*, when God warn'd him of his halting in idolatry? ⁷ do we reade that he repented hastily? did not his affections lead him hastily from an examin'd truth, how much more would they lead him slowly to it? Yet this man beyond a *Stoick apathy* sees truth as in a rapture,⁸ and cleaves to it. Not as through the dim glasse of his affections which in this frail mansion of flesh are every unequally temper'd, pushing forward to error, and keeping back from truth oft times the best of men.⁹ But how farre this boaster is from knowing himselfe, let his *Preface* speake.¹⁰ Something I thought it was that made him so quick-sighted to gather such strange things out of the *Animadversions*, whereof the least conception could not be drawne from thence, of *Suburb sinks*, sometimes *out of wit and cloaths*, sometimes *in new Serge, drinking Sack, and swearing*, now I know it was this equall temper of his affections that gave him to see clearer then any fenell rub'd Serpent.¹¹ Lastly, he has

⁴ "A brief or sententious statement or motto, a maxim." *NED*.

⁵ The Seven Sages of Greece are associated with the period 620–550 B.C. and usually include Cleobulus, Periander, Pittacus, Bias, Thales, Chilon, and Solon of Athens. *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, ed. Harry T. Peck (New York, 1897).

⁶ Probably alluding to I Corinthians 15, especially verses 39–46.

⁷ I Kings 11:1–11.

⁸ Perhaps an allusion to Hall's professed following of the Stoics; see *Heaven upon Earth*, ed. Kirk, pp. 19–51, and Philip A. Smith, "Bishop Hall; 'Our English Seneca,'" *PMLA*, LXIII (1948), 1191–1204.

⁹ "Dim glasse" may allude to I Corinthians 13:2, "For now we see through a glass, darkly . . ." Cf. *Church-Government*, above, p. 758.

¹⁰ There follow further allusions to the *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 11–13, already quoted above, p. 908, n. 2.

¹¹ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 847, explains: "According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 8, 99), snakes shed their winter-begrimed skins, and shine like spring, by means of fennel

resolv'd *that neither person, nor cause shall improper him*. I may mistake his meaning, for the word ye heare is *improper*. But whether if not a person, yet a good Personage, or Impropriation¹² bought out for him would not *improper* him, because there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a Canonist to resolve.

Sect. 4. And thus ends this Section, or rather dissection of himselfe, short ye will say both in breath, and extent, as in our own praises it ought to be, unlesse wherein a good name hath bin wrongfully attainted.¹ Right, but if ye looke at what he ascribes to himselfe, *that temper of his affections* which cannot any where be but in Paradise, all the judicious *Panegyricks* in any language extant are not halfe so prolix. And that well appears in his next removall. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this description of himselfe, and what with adventuring presently to stand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margent, which is the sluice most commonly, that feeds the drouth of his text,² he comes so lazily on in a Similie, with [29] *his arme full of weeds*, and demeanes himselfe in the dull expression so like a dough kneaded thing, that he has not spirit enough left him so farre to look to his *Syntaxis*, as to avoide nonsense.³ For it

juice. Prescribed for the eyes by old medical writers . . .” Ebenezer C. Brewer, *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (rev. ed., Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1931), explains that fennel was thought to be an inflammatory herb, citing Falstaff on Poins (*Henry IV*, Part II, II, iv). “He . . . eats conger and fennel” Fennel, besides being able to clear the sight, was said to be the favorite food of serpents, with the juice of which they restore their sight when dum.

¹² *NED* explains “improper”: “To annex (an ecclesiastical benefice) to a corporation or person as . . . private property.” “Personage” is here a pun for parsonage, or benefice. Neumann, “Milton's Prose Vocabulary,” comments (p. 119) that Milton here sneers at syntactical freedom, despite his own frequent liberties.

¹ Milton seemingly has to qualify the statement in view of his long praise of himself, above, pp. 882–93, which exceeded the Confuter's brief Section 3, pp. 5–6.

² *Modest Confutation* (1642) Section 3, has no marginal notes, but elsewhere they are very numerous; below, p. 921, Milton again derides them.

³ The following passage from the *Modest Confutation* (1642) is the source of Milton's ensuing quotations (p. 6): “He that shall weed a field of corn, bind the weeds up in sheaves, and present them at once to the eye of a stranger, that is ignorant how much good wheat the field bears, beside those weeds, may very well be deceived in censuring that field; especially if he which presents them hath put into the heap such weeds as came from elsewhere. Thus it fares with men, when the evill actions of the best are picked and culled out from their virtues, and all presented in grosse together to the eye or ear of him who is otherwise ignorant of the persons whose vices or faults they are; what monsters do they seem! This and more have you done to our Prelate: This, in pinning upon his sleeve the faults of others: More, in that those which you pretend faults are indeed virtues.”

must be understood there that *the stranger*, and not *he who brings the bundle* would be deceav'd in censuring the field, which this hip-shot ⁴ *Grammarian* cannot set into right frame of construction, neither here in the similitude, nor in the following *reddition* ⁵ thereof, which being to this purpose, that *the faults of the best pickt out, and presented in grosse, seeme monstrous*, this saith he, *you have done, in pinning on his sleeve the faults of others*; as if to pick out his owne faults, and to pin the faults of others upon him, were to do the same thing. To answer therefore how I have cull'd out the evill actions of the Remonstrant from his vertues, I am acquitted by the dexterity and conveyance ⁶ of his nonsense, loosing ⁷ that for which he brought his parable. But what of other mens faults I have pinn'd upon his sleeve, let him shew. For whether he were the man who term'd the Martyrs *Foxian* confessors, ⁸ it matters not; he that shall step up before others to defend a Church-government, which wants almost no circumstance, but only a name to be a plaine Popedome, a government which changes the fatherly and evertaching discipline of Christ into that Lordly and uninstructing jurisdiction which properly makes the Pope Antichrist, makes himselfe an accessory to all the evill committed by those, who are arm'd to do mischief by that undue government; which they by their wicked deeds, do with a kinde of passive and unwitting obedience to God, destroy. But he by plausible words and traditions against the Scripture obstinately seeks to maintaine. They by their owne wickednesse ruining their owne unjust authority make roome for good to succeed. But he by a shew of good upholding the evill which in them undoes it selfe, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifest crimes serve to bring forth an ensuing good and hasten a remedy against themselves, and his seeming good tends to reinforce their selfe-punishing crimes and his owne, by doing his best to delay all redresse. ⁹ Shall not all the mischief which other men do, be layd to his charge, if they doe it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Christ saith, *he that is not with me is against me, and he that*

⁴ "Lame, clumsy, disabled, out of joint." *NED*, citing this use.

⁵ "Application of a comparison." *NED*. Refers to the part of the quotation given above, p. 910, n. 3, beginning, "Thus it fares."

⁶ "Cunning management or contrivance, underhand dealing" *NED*

⁷ Losing or letting go.

⁸ *Anmadversions*, above, p. 678. *Modest Confutation* (1642) pp. 6-7, denies the charge.

⁹ A sentence no less complex than the one Milton has just objected to; the following sentence seems to explain his meaning.

*gathers not with me scatters.*¹⁰ In what degree of enmity to Christ shall we place that man then, who so is with him, as that it makes more [30] against him, and so gathers with him, that it scatters more from him? shall it avail that man to say he honours the Martyrs memory and treads in their steps? No; the Pharisees confest as much of the holy Prophets.¹¹ Let him and such as he when they are in their best actions even at their prayers looke to heare that which the Pharisees heard from *Iohn the Baptist* when they least expected, when they rather lookt for praise from him. *Generation of Vipers who hath warn'd ye to flee from the wrath to come?*¹² Now that ye have started back from the purity of Scripture which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions, now that ye have either troubl'd or leven'd¹³ the people of God, and the doctrine of the Gospell with scandalous ceremonies and masse-borrow'd Liturgies,¹⁴ doe ye turne the use of that truth which ye professe, to countenance that falshood which ye gaine by? We also reverence the Martyrs but relye only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to relye upon the Martyrs I shall be content with such reasons as my confuter himselfe affords me; who is I must needs say for him in that point as officious¹⁵ an adversary as I would wish to any man. For *first, saith he, there may be a Martyr in a wrong cause, and as courageous in suffering as the best: sometimes in a good cause with a forward ambition displeasing to God. Otherwhiles they that story of them out of blind zeale, or malice may write many things of them untruly.*¹⁶ If this be so, as ye heare his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the Martyrs as *Patrons of his cause*,¹⁷ when as any of those who are alleg'd for the approvers of our Liturgy or Prelaty might have bin though not in a wrong cause Martyrs, yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misrepresented, or misunderstood, in those their opinions God only knowes. The testimony of what we believe in religion must be such as the con-

¹⁰ Matthew 12:30 and Luke 11:22.

¹¹ See Matthew 23:29–31; cf. Luke 11:47–50.

¹² Matthew 3:7, Luke 3:7; cf. Matthew 12:34, 23:33.

¹³ "To debase or corrupt by admixture." *NED*. Cf. Matthew 16:6: "Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees."

¹⁴ See below, pp. 935–43, for Milton's extended discussion of the liturgy.

¹⁵ "Attentive, obliging, kind." *NED*; note Milton's irony.

¹⁶ Milton is summarizing a long passage on p. 7 of *Modest Confutation* (1642).

¹⁷ The phrase refers to Hall, *A Short Answer*, 1641, pp. 53–54; *Works*, 1863, IX, 420–21; cf. *Humble Remonstrance* (1640, p. 17; *Works*, 1863, IX, 287).

science may rest on to be infallible, and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.¹⁸

Sect. 5. His fifth Section finds it selfe agriev'd that the Remonstrant should be taxt with the illegall proceedings of the high Commission,¹ and oath *Ex officio*; ² And first *whether they were illegall or no, tis more then he knowes*.³ See this malevolent Fox? that tyranny which the whole Kingdome cry'd out against as stung with Adders, and Scorpions,⁴ that tyranny which the Parlament in compassion of the Church and Commonwealth hath dissolv'd, and fetch't up by the roots, for which it hath receav'd [31] the publick thanks and blessings of thousands,⁵ this obscure thorn-eater of malice and detraction, as well as of *Quodlibets* and *Sophisms* ⁶ knowes not whether it were illegall or not. Evill, evill, would be your reward ye worthies of the Parlament, if this Sophister and his accomplices had the censuring, or the sounding forth of your labours. And that the Remonstrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercis'd by the Prelats, is past doubting. They scourg'd the confessors of the Gospell, and he held the scourgers garments.⁷ They executed their rage, and he, if he did nothing else, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies

¹⁸ This final sentence contains the essence of Milton's rejection of Episcopacy.

¹ *Animadversions*, above, p. 674. An ecclesiastical court dealing in heresy, schism, recusancy, etc.; see Gardiner, I, 34-36, and Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp 76-77.

² "It was an oath tendered to an accused person, that he would give true answers to such questions as might be put to him. He was forced not only to accuse himself, but he was liable to bring into trouble his friends." Gardiner, I, 36 Abolished with the High Commission, July 5, 1641. *Ibid*, IX, 404, and Davies, *Early Stuarts*, p. 101. See below, p 999.

³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p 8: "If that Court hath been illegall, either in the constitution of it, or in its proceedings, it is more than I know: but if so, the Remonstrant is as guiltlesse of such illegalities, as I am ignorant."

⁴ Possibly alluding to Deuteronomy 8.15.

⁵ See above, p. 908, n. 2.

⁶ *Quodlibets* are scholastic arguments usually on theology; a sophism is "a specious but fallacious argument, either used deliberately . . . to deceive . . . or employed as a means of displaying ingenuity." *NED*, which offers no help for "thorn eater" Matthew 13 7 does mention the uselessness of thorns, but the meaning may be simply one who can swallow sharp things, such as malice and detraction. That is, one who has the "throat" for it, as we say a person has the "stomach" for something repugnant

⁷ There seems to be an imperfectly worked out parallel with Pilate in this passage (Matthew 27:24-27). There is a reference to the washing of hands. The Remonstrant, like Pilate, stood by and gave passive help. Holding the scourgers' garments may be figurative, or Milton may have thought of the soldiers and that they gave their gear to someone while they scourged Jesus.

which were the cause of it: does he think to be counted guiltlesse?

Sect. 6. In the following Section I must foretell ye, Readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the bating of a *Satir*. And if the work seeme more triviall or boistrous then for this discourse, let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word passe, but he must make all this blaze of it. I had said that because the Remonstrant was so much offended with those who were tart against the Prelats, sure he lov'd toothlesse Satirs, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekstone.¹ This Champion from behind the Arras cries out² that those toothlesse Satyrs were of the Remonstrants making; and armes himselfe here tooth and naile and *horne*, to boot,³ to supply the want of teeth, or rather of gumms in the Satirs. And for an onset tels me that the simily of a Sleekstone *shewes I can be as bold with a Prelat as familiar with a Laundresse*.⁴ But does it not argue rather the lascivious promptnesse of his own fancy, who from the harmlesse mention of a Sleekstone could neigh out the remembrance of his old conversation among the *Viraginian* trollops?⁵ For me, if he move me, I shall claime his owne oath, the oath *Ex officio*⁶ against any Priest or Prelat in the kingdome to have ever as much hated such pranks as the best and chastest of them all. That exception which I made against toothlesse Satirs the Confuter hopes I had from the *Satirist*, but is farre deceav'd: neither had I ever read the hobbling *distick*⁷ which he means. For this good hap I had from a carefull education to be inur'd and season'd betimes with the best and elegantest authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an eare that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating; rather nice and humorous⁸ in what was tolerable, then patient to read every draw-[32]ling versifier. Whence lighting upon this title of *tooth-*

¹ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 670. "Toothlesse Satirs" refers to Hall's book; see above, p. 880, n. 64.

² The "Champion from behind the Arras" is reminiscent of Polonius, *Hamlet*, III, iv, as noted in Bohn, III, 140 n.

³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 9-10, pedantically discusses teeth and horns.

⁴ A quotation from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 9.

⁵ Referring to one of the regions in *Mundus Alter et Idem*; see above, p. 887, n. 107.

⁶ See above, p. 913, n. 2.

⁷ *Modest Confutation*, p. 9, quotes two lines of the six-line Latin verses, "De suis Satyris" (Hall, *Works*, 1863, IX, 563; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 21) and denies that the Satires are "improper" or "bullish."

⁸ As explained by Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, "fastidious and humouring (from a superior level)"

lesse Satirs, I will not conceale ye what I thought, Readers, that sure this must be some sucking Satir, who might have done better to have us'd his corall,⁹ and made an end of breeding,¹⁰ ere he took upon him to weild a Satirs whip. But when I heard him talk of *scouring the rusted swords of elvish Knights*,¹¹ doe not blame me, if I chang'd my thought, and concluded him some desperate Cutler. But why *his scornefull muse could never abide with tragick shoos her ankles for to hide*,¹² the pace of the verse told me that her maukin¹³ knuckles were never shapen to that royall buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth Satyr of his Second book I was confirm'd; where having begun loftily *in heavens universall Alphabet* he fals downe to that wretched poorenesse and frigidity as to talke of *Bridge street in heav'n, and the Ostler of heav'n*,¹⁴ and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat,¹⁵ (for certaine he was in the frozen *Zone*¹⁶ miserably benumm'd) with thoughts lower then any Beadle betakes him to whip the signe posts of *Cambridge Alehouses*, the ordinary subject of freshmens tales, and in a straine as pittifull.¹⁷ Which for him who would be counted *the first English Satyr*,¹⁸ to abase himselfe to, who might have learnt better among the Latin, and Italian Satyrists, and in our own tongue from

⁹ "A toy made of polished coral, given to infants to assist them in cutting their teeth." *NED*, citing this passage.

¹⁰ That is, grown up.

¹¹ "His Defiance of Enuy," l. 49 (*Hall, Works*, 1863, IX, 578; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 18).

¹² Satire I, Book I, ll 9-10 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 583; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 23):

Nor euer could my scornfull Muse abide
With Tragick shooes her ankles for to hide.

¹³ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848: "morkin (diseased, scabrous)." But *NED* quotes under "malkin": "an untidy female, a slut, slattern, drab; occasionally, a lewd woman," marking this use as "attributive."

¹⁴ Milton is quoting from Satire VII, Book II, ll. 1, 36, 40 (*Hall, Works*, 1863, IX, 604-05; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, pp. 42-43).

¹⁵ "To become inspired" Cf. *NED*, "catch" 44, "to catch fire."

¹⁶ i.e., heaven Cf. *Defence of Himself*, "among the clouds, should be frozen to death."

¹⁷ The passage might be paraphrased: "with thoughts lower than a campus policeman has when he beats on the door of beer joints to drive out students, as freshmen often describe"

¹⁸ The "Prologue" to Book I of Hall's *Satires* (*Works*, 1863, IX, 581; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, p. 22) begins,

I first adventure, with foolhardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despoight.
I first adventure: follow me who list,
And be the second English Satyrist.

the *vision and Creed of Pierce plowman*,¹⁹ besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak, and unexamined shoulders. For a Satyr as it was borne out of a *Tragedy*, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creepe into every blinde Taphouse that fears a Constable more then a Satyr. But that such a Poem should be toothlesse I still affirme it to be a bull,²⁰ taking away the essence of that which it calls it selfe. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a Satyr, and if it bite either, how is it toothlesse, so that toothlesse Satyrs are as much as if he had said toothlesse teeth. What we should do therefore with this learned Comment upon *teeth* and *horns* which hath brought this confutant into his *Pedantick* kingdome of *Cornucopia*, to reward him for glossing upon *hornes* even to the *Hebrew root*,²¹ I know not unlesse we should commend him to be Lecturer in East-cheap upon S. *Lukes* day, when they send their tribute to that famous hav'n by Detford.²² But we are not like to scape him so. For now the worme of *Criticisme* works in him, he will tell us the derivation of *German* [33] *rutters*,

¹⁹ Attributed to William Langland and written about 1360–1399. See below, p. 946, for Milton's quotation from Gower.

²⁰ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 670. Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, is right in denying the Bohn note (III, 141) that Milton was the first user of the word in the sense of "a self-contradictory proposition," but *NED*, which does cite earlier examples, first cites Milton's use in *Of True Religion*, "a meer contradiction, one of the Popes Bulls."

²¹ Another jibe at the pedantic discussion, *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 9–10, of teeth and horns; see above, p. 914, n. 3. *Cornucopia*, of course, involves a Latin pun, fullness of horns.

²² Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, explains as follows: "'Lecturer in East-cheap . . . Detford': alludes to proceedings at the annual *Horn Fair*, held on Oct. 18, and probably succeeding days. This was originated by King John, who made the grant of a fair to the inhabitants of Charlton, at first intended for the sale of goods made of *horn*, it came to be associated with horns on the head, and cuckolds. There was an old saying, 'All's fair at Horn Fair,' which meant that any kind of practical joke was allowed. The atmosphere was one of licentious ribaldry. A procession of holiday-makers started from Cuckold's point (near Deptford, also called Cuckold's Haven) and marched through Deptford and adjoining townships. Another procession paraded Eastcheap and its environs. 'Tribute' presumably means the toll paid to the King on the sale of goods in the Fair. In the Middle Ages on feast days displays of learning were common in the pulpits of Festival churches; hence the reference to 'lecturer'. If the lecturing in this case took place in a church, that church was almost certainly St. Clement's in Clement's Lane; but more probably, it took place in the open air." The source of this account has not been found.

of meat, and of ink,²³ which doubtlesse rightly apply'd with some gall in it may prove good to heale this tetter²⁴ of *Pedagoguisme* that be-spreads him, with such a *tenasmus*²⁵ of originating, that if he be an Arminian and deny originall sinne, all the *etymologies* of his book shall wnesse that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

Sect. 7. His seventh section labours to cavill out the flaws which were found in the Remonstrants logick; ¹ who having layd downe for a generall proposition, that *civill polity is variable and arbitrary*, from whence was inferr'd logically upon him that he had concluded the

²³ Milton is referring to pp 11–13 of the *Modest Confutation* but neglects the issue, his own attempted justification of the Smectymnuan slip of *Areopagi*, see *Animadversions*, above, p 666. "Rutters" were cavalry soldiers, "especially German." *NED*.

²⁴ "A general term for any . . . eruption of the skin" *NED*; cf. *Of Reformation*, above, p. 551.

²⁵ Variant of "tenesmus": "a continual inclination to void the contents of bowels or bladder, accompanied by straining, but with little or no discharge" *NED*

¹ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 671. *Humble Remonstrance* had said (1640, p. 8). "Since, if antiquity may be the rule, the civill Polity hath sometimes varied; the sacred, never; And if originall authority may carry it, that came from arbitrary imposers, this, from men inspired, and from them in an unquestionable clearnesse derived to us" The Smectymnuans attacked this in their *An Answer* (1641), pp 4–5; Hall replied in his *A Defence* (1641), pp 4–5 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 300–01); the Smectymnuans attacked it again in *A Vindication* (1641), pp. 6–8; Hall replied in his *Short Answer*, pp. 4–9 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 396–97). The *Modest Confutation* sets up the following syllogism (p 14):

Da- *Civill Polity in generall notion is variable and arbitrary*; you subsume, *But*

ri- *The Polity of our Kingdome is Civill Polity*: Ergo,

i. *The Polity of our Kingdome is variable, &c.*

and then a little below comments on it: "For look upon your syllogism; there is in the major proposition, *fallacia ad plures interrogationes*: For either we ask, what is possible only; or what is possible and lawfull. The Remonstrant answers; It is possible Civill Polity may vary; or, It is in generall notion left of God to a various administration; subject to divers forms, Monarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy. You answer; It may be lawfully done at any time, or by any whatever undertakers: For so much is inferred in your conclusion.

*Civill Polity is at any time, or by any undertakers
variable and subject to a lawfull alteration*

But the Polity of England, &c. Ergo,
It is at any time, by any undertakers, &c.

This makes the Treason, this you must and do inferre, or else you charge him with Treason unjustly. In this sense, *as lawfull*, and, *at any time*, and, *by any undertakers*, the Remonstrant denies the particular to be inferred upon his generall. But in his own he grants it, *viz* That it is *possible*, subject to a condition of variation, though it be Treason against the highest Majesty of heaven, whose substitute the King is, in him or them who do attempt a change."

polity of England to be arbitrary, for generall includes particular, here his defendant is not ashamed to confesse that the Remonstrants proposition was sophisticall *by a fallacy call'd ad plures interrogationes* which sounds to me somewhat strange that a Remonstrant of that pretended sincerity should bring deceitfull and double dealing propositions to the Parliament. The truth is he had let slip a shrewd passage ere he was aware, not thinking the conclusion would turne upon him with such a terrible edge, and not knowing how to winde out of the briars, he or his substitute seems more willing to lay the integrity of his Logick to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his owne *Major*² where none is, then be forc't to uphold the inference. For that distinction of *possible and lawfull* is ridiculous to be sought for in that proposition; no man doubting that it is possible to change the forme of civill polity; and that it is held lawfull by that *Major*, the word *arbitrary* implyes. Nor will this helpe him, to deny that it is arbitrary *at any time or by any undertakers* (which are two limitations invented by him since)³ for when it stands as he will have it now by his second edition *civill polity is variable but not at any time or by any undertakers*, it will result upon him, belike then at some time, and by some undertakers it may. And so he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with something in Sir Francis Bacon,⁴ then he takes heart againe and holds his *Major* at large. But by and by as soon as the shadow of Sir Francis hath left him, he fals off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himselfe in diameter:⁵ and denies flatly that it is *either variable or arbitrary, being once settl'd*. Which third shift is no lesse a piece of laughter. For before the polity was settl'd how could it be variable when as it was no polity at all, but either an *Anarchy* or a

² Major premise of the syllogism just quoted.

³ Milton has noted that these words in the *Modest Confutation's* defense (1642, p. 14), do not appear in any of Hall's three pamphlets.

⁴ i.e., the revision the Confuter made in Hall's original statements, as Milton has just pointed out. See preceding note. There was only one edition of *Modest Confutation*.

⁵ Refers to a quotation in *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 15, from Bacon's *Certaine Considerations* (1640, see above, pp. 25-26), sig. B3, p. [9]: "All *civill governments* are restrained from God unto the generall grounds of Justice and manners, but the policies and formes of them are left free." To which the *Modest Confutation* says: "free, and to the arbitrement of a people, met together and consenting by the secret impression and instinct of God."

⁶ "Diametrically." *NED*; cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xxi Milton is referring to the statement in the paragraph following that just quoted, *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 15. "The Kings hold is divine; he hath a *deputed sovereignty*."

Tyranny. That limitation therefore of [34] *after setting* is a meere *tautology*. So that in fine his former assertion is now recanted and *civill polity is neither variable nor arbitrary*.

Sect. 8. What ever else may perswade me that this confutation was not made without some assistance or advice of the Remonstrant, yet in this eighth Section that his hand was not greatly intermixt, I can easily believe. For it begins with this surmise, that *not having to accuse the Remonstrant to the King, I do it to the Parliament*,¹ which conceit of the man cleanly shoves the King out of the Parliament, and makes two bodies of one.² Whereas the Remonstrant in the Epistle to his last *short answer*, gives his *supposall that they cannot be sever'd in the rights of their severall concernments*.³ Mark, Readers, if they cannot be sever'd in what is severall (which casts a Bulls eye⁴ to go yoke with the toothlesse Satyrs) how should they be sever'd in their common concernments, the wellfare of the land, by due accusation of such as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonstrant to be one. And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parliament, it was the same as to accuse him to the King. Next he casts it into the dish of I know not whom that *they flatter some of the House and libell others whose consciences made them vote contrary to some proceedings*.⁵ Those some proceedings can be understood of nothing else but the *Deputies* execution.⁶ And can this private concocter of malcontent, at the very instant when he pretends to extoll the Parliament, afford thus to blurre over, rather then to mention that publick triumph of their justice and constancy so high, so glorious, so reviving to the fainted Common-wealth with such a suspicious and murmuring expression as

¹ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 15: "You, not having anything to accuse the Remonstrant to the King, do it to the Parliament." Referring to *Anmadversions*, above, p. 667.

² Since bills passed by both houses could become laws only by consent of the king, Milton rightly thinks of them as one body.

³ As he says, Milton is quoting from Hall's *A Short Answer* (1641), sig. a^v (*Works*, 1863, IX, 389).

⁴ Probably not in the modern sense of the center of a target but in the sense above, p. 916, of "an Irish Bull." "Go Yoke," to be linked or tied to.

⁵ Speaking of "the Remonstrant and his faction," *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 16: "It is not the Parliament they make head against, but you and your furious complices, . . . (witness your Libels against so many of them, as their consciences made Vote contrary to some proceedings) are like to over-turn all."

⁶ Bohn, III, 143 n, "The Earl of Strafford's execution in 1640." Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, repeats this inaccuracy. Strafford's trial took place in March-April, 1641, and the execution May 12, 1641; see above, pp. 87-92.

to call it *some proceedings*? and yet immediately hee falls to glozing,⁷ as if hee were the only man that rejoyc't at these times. But I shall discover to ye Readers, that this his praising of them is as full of nonsense and Scolastick foppery, as his meaning he himselfe discovers to be full of close malignity. His first *Encomium* is *that the Sun looks not upon a braver nobler convocation then is that of King, Peers, and Commons*.⁸ One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye beare any zeale to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd *Decorum*⁹ in the writing of praise, especially on such a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloister'd Lubber¹⁰ according to his deserts. Where didst thou learne to be so agueish, so pusillanimous, thou lozel¹¹ Bachelour of Art, as [35] against all custome and use of speech to terme the high and sovrain Court of Parliamt, a Convocation?¹² was this the flower of all thy *Synonyma's* and voluminous *Papers* whose best *folios* are predestin'd to no better end then to make winding sheetes in Lent for Pilchers?¹³ Could'st thou presume thus with one words speaking to clap as it were under hatches¹⁴ the King with all his Peeres and Gentry into square Caps, and Monkish hoods? How well dost thou now appeare to be a Chip of the old block that could finde *Bridge street and Alehouses in heav'n*;¹⁵ why didst thou not to be his perfect imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour, & the

⁷ "Glossing or explaining away, extenuation, palliation." *NED*, citing passage; cf. *Comus*, l 161, and *Paradise Lost*, IX, 549.

⁸ Exactly quoted from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 16.

⁹ The preface to Book II, *Church-Government*, in its attack on "Poetasters" explains this word, above, p. 801. See also Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New Haven, 1924), pp. 105-15, for the classic sources.

¹⁰ "A big, clumsy, stupid fellow; a lout. Frequently applied in early quotations to a monk." *NED*

¹¹ "Losel. worthless, good for nothing" *NED*, which quotes this

¹² Because the convocation that was called with the Short Parliament continued to sit and pass canons after Parliament itself was dismissed by the king, it was the target for sharp attack by the Long Parliament; see Masson, II, 194-95; Gardiner, IX, 142-47. Cf. *Of Reformation*, above, p. 540, and *Animadversions*, above, p. 673.

¹³ Pilchers are small sea fish (*NED*) which Milton says will be wrapped in the book pages which the Confutant has used to assist him in his writing. Cf. Milton's similar ridicule of Salmasius in *Second Defence* (1654), p. 28.

¹⁴ "Literally, below deck, a nautical term; figuratively, down in position or circumstances, in a state of depression, humiliation, subjection or restraint." *NED*; cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVII (1649, p. 220). "to have kept us still under hatches."

¹⁵ Alluding to the "Toothless Satires", see above, p. 915, n. 14

Lords to the Doctors.¹⁶ Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable residence of justice and liberty, by such an odious name as now a *Convocation* is become; which would be nothing injur'd, though it were stil'd the house of bondage, whereout so many cruell tasks, so many unjust burdens, have been laden upon the brused consciences of so many Christians throughout the land.¹⁷ But which of those worthy deeds, whereof we and our posterity must confesse this Parlament to have done so many and so noble, which of those memorable acts comes first into his praises? none of all, not one. What will he then praise them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chastise his leud and insolent *compriests*.¹⁸ Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind.¹⁹ For the rest of his oratory that followes, so just is it in the language of stall epistle non sense,²⁰ that if he who made it can understand it, I deny not but that he may deserve for his pains a cast Doublet.²¹ When a man would looke he should vent something of his owne, as ever in a set speech the manner is with him that knowes any thing, he, lest we should not take notice enough of his barren stupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and referres us to odde remnants in his topicks.²² Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he

¹⁶ That is, liken the king to the head of the university, and the Lords to the faculty.

¹⁷ See above, p. 920, n. 12

¹⁸ *Modest Confutation*, speaking (1642), p. 16, of Parliament, "the Convocation," as Milton has mentioned "whose equall Justice, and wise moderation, shall eternally triumph, in that they have hitherto deferred to do, what the sowre exorbitancies on one hand, and eager solicitations on the other, not permitting them to consult with reason, would have prompted them to." Masson, II, 398, feels that this refers to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill (passed February 5 by the Lords and accepted by the king February 13), and he therefore concludes that the *Modest Confutation* "must have been written before February 1641-2."

¹⁹ This may refer to the passage of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill or to the impeachment of the twelve bishops, December 30, 1641; see Gardiner, X, 122-25

²⁰ *NED* cites this passage as a "nonce-use" of "stall epistle," an open letter or pamphlet sold on the streets.

²¹ "Cast off or discarded counterfeit jewel or coat." *NED*.

²² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 16, has four long marginal notes lettered to correspond with phrases in the text. These notes intrude into the text itself, as Milton says in the next sentence. Other similar "docks and creeks" are to be found on pp. 2, 12, 13, 21, of the *Modest Confutation* (1642) as well as in all of Hall's pamphlets as the Remonstrant. See above, p. 910, n. 2, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 822, where Milton derides "marginal stuffings." Cf. "Marginal Prynn" in the Cambridge MS. version of "On the New Forcers of Conscience."

must cut out large docks and creeks into his text to unlade the foolish frigate of his unseasonable authorities, not wherewith to praise the Parliament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man either letter'd, or unletter'd will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be so dealt with.

Now although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, yet [36] because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others then to make triall my selfe, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smother string, awhile to entertaine my selfe and him that list, with some more pleasing fit,²³ and not the lest to testifie the gratitude which I owe to those publick benefactors of their country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labours, I shall be so troublesome to this declamer for once, as to shew him what he might have better said in their praise. Wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more then that to a digression may not be granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great merits,²⁴ I perceave how hopelesse it will be to reach the height of their prayes at the accomplishment of that expectation that weights²⁵ upon their noble deeds, the unfinished²⁶ whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertaine opinion; nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdom, deliberat vertue, and deere affection to the publick good, I shall begin at that which made them likeliest in the eyes of good men to effect those things for the recovery of decay'd religion and the Commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wisht for, but few, as the times then were desperat, had the courage to hope for.²⁷ First

²³ "A part or section of a poem or song, a canto; a strain of music, stave." *NED*. Here begins Milton's eulogy of the Long Parliament.

²⁴ The course of events was to prevent such a panegyric.

²⁵ Waits; "expectation" in the sense of "ground or warrant for expecting"; cf. Psalms 62:5. *NED*.

²⁶ "What is left unfinished." *NED* quotes as a rare form. Milton has in mind, probably, the settling of the church government, not yet undertaken by the Parliament

²⁷ The failure of the Short Parliament in the spring of 1640 hardly gave much promise for the calling of the Long Parliament in the fall of the same year; see Gardiner, IX, 117-18.

therefore the most of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at least of knowne and well reputed ancestry, which is a great advantage towards vertue one way, but in respect of welth, ease, and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way, the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthiest of their progenitors, and the evill which assaulted their younger yeares by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usuall bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remisse, through the strength of an inbred goodnesse, and with the helpe of divine grace, that had markt them out for no meane purposes, they nobly overcame.²⁸ Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places, which were intended to be the seed plots of piety and the Liberall Arts, but were become the nurseries of superstition, and [37] empty speculation,²⁹ as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idlenesse and superfluity,³⁰ so were they happy in working off the harmes of their abused³¹ studies and labours; correcting by the clearnesse of their owne judgement the errors of their mis-instruction, and were as *David* was, wiser then their teachers.³² And although their lot fell into such times, and to be bred in such places, where if they chanc't to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learn't it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custome and ill example of their elders, so farre in all probability was their youth from being misled by the single power of example, as their riper years were knowne to be unmov'd with the baits of preferment,³³ and undaunted for any discouragement and terror³⁴ which appear'd often to those that lov'd religion, and their native liberty. Which two things God hath inseparably knit together, and hath disclos'd to us that they

²⁸ A somewhat involved sentence. Bohn, III, 145–46 n, attributes the idea of the dangers of noble birth to Aristotle.

²⁹ Earlier Milton has shown his contempt for the universities (see above, p. 854). Later (p. 934) Milton attacks the shallow learning of some graduates.

³⁰ Connected with their noble birth.

³¹ Either "obsolete" or "misused." NED. In the light of the rest of Milton's comments, the former meaning appears to be what he has in mind.

³² Psalms 119.98–99.

³³ Possibly this may refer to Charles's offer to Pym of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer; see Gardiner, X, 127. See also Gardiner, IX, 416, Charles's use of preferment for his supporters.

³⁴ Charles's attempted *coup d'état* by the arrest of the Five Members might be instanced as a "terror." See Gardiner, X, 129–41.

who seek to corrupt our religion are the same that would inthrall our civill liberty.³⁵ Thus in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their countrey)³⁶ having given proofe of themselves to be better made and fram'd by nature to the love and practise of vertue, then others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice,³⁷ and having in all the trialls of a firme ingrafted honesty not oftner buckl'd³⁸ in the conflict, then giv'n every opposition the foile, this moreover was added by favour from heav'n, as an ornament and happinesse to their vertue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipt for want of matter equall to illustrat it selfe; God and man consenting in joynt approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the restorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceave that expectation which with the eyes and desires of their countrey was fixt upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe³⁹ of brightnesse and efficacy, but encountring the dazl'd resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and suttile, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatall block.⁴⁰ With one stroke winning againe our lost liberties and Charters, which our forefathers after so many battels could scarce maintaine.⁴¹ And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of tyranny [38] (for she was growne an ambiguous monster, and to be slaine in two shapes) guarded with superstition which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither were taken with her miter'd hypocrisie, nor terrifi'd with the push of her bestiall hornes, but breaking them immediately forc't her to unbend the pontificall brow, and recoil. Which

³⁵ The petition of the Twelve Bishops, which led to their impeachment; Gardiner, X, 122-25 They urged that all action of the Parliament was "null and void" since they found it impossible to attend the sessions because of the London mobs.

³⁶ Referring to the fact that several members imprisoned for their part in the closing sessions of the 1629 Parliament were members of the Long Parliament; see Masson, I, 182, and II, 159-73, Gardiner, IX, 223, 407.

³⁷ Probably the bishops.

³⁸ "To give way, submit; to cringe, truckle." *NED*

³⁹ In a figurative sense. "a complete or perfect body, a 'full-orbed' combination" *NED*, which quotes this

⁴⁰ Another allusion to the execution of Strafford. See above, p. 919, n. 6

⁴¹ Milton, like modern historians, saw that the death of Strafford terminated his policy of "thorough" by which Charles had dispensed with Parliamentary rule, 1629-1640, Davies, *Early Stuarts*, pp 98-99.

repulse only, given to the Prelats (that we may imagine how happy their removall would be) ⁴² was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the Church, that if I should compare them with those exployts of highest fame in Poems and *Panegyricks* of old, I am certaine it would but diminish and impaire their worth, who are now my argument. For those ancient worthies deliver'd men from such tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the minde be as free as it could. But these have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny that offer'd violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty Nations and Cities of men good and bad mixt together: but these opening the prisons and dungeons cal'd out of darknesse and bonds, the elect Martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer. ⁴³ They restor'd the body to ease and wealth; but these the opprest conscience to that freedome which is the chiefe prerogative of the Gospell; taking off those cruell burdens impos'd not by necessity, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulnesse and wantonnesse of a needlesse and jolly persecuter call'd Indifference. ⁴⁴ Lastly, some of those ancient deliverers have had immortall praises for preserving their citizens from a famine of corne. But these by this only repulse of an unholy *hierarchy* almost in a moment replenisht with saving knowledge their countrey nigh famisht for want of that which should feed their souls. ⁴⁵ All this being done while two armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such noblenesse quietly gave back, and dislodg'd; the other spight of the unrulinesse, and doubted fidelity in some regiments, was either perswaded or compell'd to disband and retire home. ⁴⁶ With such a majesty had their wisdome begirt it selfe,

⁴² Although the Root and Branch Bill to abolish bishops had been passed by the House in June, 1641, it had failed in the Lords. The "repulse" here might refer to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill and the impeachment and imprisonment; see above, p. 921, n. 18. Laud's impeachment, December 18, 1640, however, may also be referred to; see Gardiner, IX, 248-49.

⁴³ Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, Leighton, and Lilburne, all Puritan writers, were released from prison by one of the earliest acts of the Long Parliament. See Gardiner, IX, 236.

⁴⁴ The bishops argued against the Puritan complaints about the liturgy and hierarchy that they were "things indifferent." See *Of Reformation*, above, p. 585; cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 689.

⁴⁵ Another Puritan complaint was the lack of preaching; there was no specific action taken, but the encouragement of preaching is mentioned in the *Grand Remonstrance* of December, 1641, see Masson, II, 326-27.

⁴⁶ The Scottish and English armies, respectively, are referred to; the former was

that whereas others had levied warre to subdue a nation that sought for peace, they sitting here in peace could so many miles extend the force of their single words as to overawe the dissolute stoutnesse of an armed power secretly stirr'd up and almost hir'd against them.⁴⁷ And having by a so-[39]lemne protestation⁴⁸ vow'd themselves and the kingdome anew to God and his service, and by a prudent foresight above what their Fathers thought on, prevented the dissolution and frustrating of their designs by an untimely breaking up,⁴⁹ notwithstanding all the treasonous plots against them, all the rumours either of rebellion, or invasion,⁵⁰ they have not bin yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fearlesly of their owne safeties, and hopefully of the Common-wealth. Which hath gain'd them such an admiration from all good men, that now they heare it as their ord'nary surname, to be saluted the Fathers of their countrey; and sit as gods among daily Petitions and publick thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability and curteous acceptance they both receive and returne that tribute of thanks which is tender'd them; testifying their zeale and desire to spend themselves as it were peice-meale upon the grievances and wrongs of their distressed Nation. Insomuch that the meanest artizans and labourers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants assembling with their complaints, and that sometimes in a lesse humble guise then for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meannesse would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemn'd, nor yet their urgency distasted either by the dignity, wisdom, or moderation of that supreme Senate; nor did they depart unsatisfi'd.⁵¹ And indeed, if we consider the generall

the chief source of the Long Parliament's power (Gardiner, IX, 219) and disbanded with the English army in the late summer and early fall, 1641 (*ibid.*, X, 6-7).

⁴⁷ Various "plots" involving the Irish army and members of the English army threatened the Parliament in the spring of 1641; see *ibid.*, IX, 289, 313-14, 399. All leaked out and were abortive.

⁴⁸ Of May 3, 1641; see above, pp. 94-95.

⁴⁹ The Bill for Triennial Parliaments (originally one for annual parliaments) was finally accepted by the king February 15, 1641. See Gardiner, IX, 262-63, 273-74, 290.

⁵⁰ In the middle of March, 1642, there were rumors that French troops were to be used against the English; *ibid.*, X, 177. In May, 1641, similar rumors had been prevalent, however; see *ibid.*, IX, 356-57.

⁵¹ The "artificers" of London and Westminster presented a petition on January 31, 1642, and on February 4 there was a petition from the women; see *ibid.*, X, 162-63. Masson, II, 398 n., mentions the women's petition in discussing the dating

concourse of suppliants, the free and ready admittance, the willing and speedy redresse in what is possible, it will not seeme much otherwise, then as if some divine commission from heav'n were descended to take into hearing and commiseration the long remedlesse afflictions of this kingdome; were it not that none more then themselves labour to remove and divert such thoughts, lest men should place too much confidence in their persons, still referring us and our prayers to him that can grant all, and appointing the monthly return of publick fasts and supplications.⁵² Therefore the more they seeke to humble themselves, the more does God by manifest signes and testimonies visibly honour their proceedings; and sets them as the mediators of this his cov'nant which he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily conspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing,⁵³ rebellion rages in our Irish Province, but with miraculous and losselesse victories of few against [40] many is daily discomfited and broken; if we neglect not this early pledge of Gods inclining towards us, by the slacknesse of our needfull aids.⁵⁴ And whereas at other times we count it ample honour when God voutsafes to make man the instrument and subordinate worker of his gracious will, such acceptation have their prayers found with him, that to them he hath bin pleas'd to make himselfe the agent, and immediat performer of their desires; dissolving their difficulties when they are thought inexplicable, cutting out wayes for them where no passage could be seene; as who is there so regardlesse of Divine providence, that from late occurrences will not confesse.⁵⁵ If therefore it be so high a grace when men are preferr'd to be but the inferior officers of good things from God, what is it when God himselfe condescends, and workes with his owne hands to fulfill the requests of men; which I

of the *Apology*; elsewhere, pp. 348–49, he discusses the Parliamentary reception of the women's petition and those of the "Prentices and Sailors of London and of the Street Porters."

⁵² *Husbands, An Exact Collection* (1643), pp. 48–49, prints the "Proclamation for a Generall Fast throughout this Realm of *England*," dated the "eighth day of January," to which this seems to refer.

⁵³ In addition to the plots mentioned above Charles's attempt to arrest the Five Members (January 4) may be alluded to here, see Gardiner, X, 132–51.

⁵⁴ *Husbands, An Exact Collection* (1643), pp. 141–43, prints the "Petition of the Lords and Commons, presented to His Majesty . . . April 8, 1642," which mentions as one of the reasons against the king's going to Ireland "the manifold successes which God hath given against them," i.e., the Irish Rebels. See also Gardiner, X, 172–75.

⁵⁵ Perhaps alluding to the attempted arrest of the Five Members; see above, pp. 183–86.

leave with them as the greatest praise that can belong to humane nature. Not that we should think they are at the end of their glorious progresse,⁵⁶ but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leading, who seems to have thus cov'nanted with them, that if the will and the endeavour shall be theirs, the performance and the perfeting shall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wise men have miscarried in praising great designes before the utmost event, because I see who is their assistant, who their confederat, who hath ingag'd his omnipotent arme, to support and crowne with successe their faith, their fortitude, their just and magnanimous actions, till he have brought to passe all that expected good which his servants trust is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfet reformation of his Church.

Thus farre I have digrest, Readers, from my former subject; but into such a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightfull then the rode way I was in. And how to break off suddenly into those jarring notes, which this Confuter hath set me, I must be wary, unlesse I can provide against offending the eare, as some Musicians are wont skilfully to fall out of one key into another without breach of harmony.⁵⁷ By good luck therefore his ninth Section is spent in mournfull elegy, certaine passionat soliloquies, and two whole pages of intergatories that praise the Remonstrant even to the sonetting of *his fresh cheeks, quick eyes, round tongue, agil hand, and nimble invention*.⁵⁸ [41]

In his tenth Section he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes. *I am no Bishop*, he sayes, *I was never borne to it*; ⁵⁹ let me tell therefore this wizzard since he calculats so right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among those who nothing admire his Idol a Bishop-

⁵⁶ The exclusion of the bishops from the Lords still left them within the church, and Milton is clearly looking forward to the passage of the Root and Branch Bill.

⁵⁷ Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, p. 49, notes this passage indicates Milton's possession of technical knowledge of music. As earlier in the case of Section 2 of the *Modest Confutation* (see above, p. 907, n. 58), *An Apology* has no subdivision for Section 9 or Section 10 of the *Modest Confutation*, although mention is made of both parts.

⁵⁸ The quotations are from p. 17, *Modest Confutation* (1642), Section IX of which extends from p. 17 through p. 21. "Intergatories," i.e., interrogations or questions, are numerous in *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 18-20.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22: "Forsooth you would give the world to know these two things; First, that you are no Bishop: Secondly, that you can pray *ex tempore*. Surely a man of strong parts, and a mortified ambition!" See *Animadversions*, above, p. 682, to which the Confutant is referring.

rick, and hold that it wants so much to be a blessing, as that I rather deeme it the meerest, the falsest, the most unfortunate giuft of fortune. And were the punishment and misery of being a Prelat Bishop terminated only in the person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole Diocesse, if I would wish any thing in bitterness of soule to mine enemy, I would wish him the biggest and the fattest Bishoprick. But hee proceeds; and the familiar ⁶⁰ belike informs him, that *a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me*; whereby I perceave him to be more ignorant in his art of divining then any Gipsy.⁶¹ For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not bin unexpensive in learning, and voyaging about, so long as it shall please him to lend mee what he hath hitherto thought good, which is anough to serve me in all honest and liberall occasions, and something over besides, I were unthankfull to that highest bounty, if I should make my selfe so poore, as to sollicite needily any such kinde of *rich hopes* ⁶² as this Fortune-teller dreams of. And that he may further learne how his Astrology is wide all the houses of heav'n ⁶³ in spelling mariages, I care not if I tell him thus much profestly, though it be to the losing of my *rich hopes*, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in prudence and elegance of spirit would choose a virgin of mean fortunes honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow.⁶⁴ The feind therefore that told our *Chaldean* ⁶⁵ the contrary was a lying feind. His next venome

⁶⁰ Has three possible meanings: an officer of the Inquisition, an intimate friend or associate, and a familiar spirit *NED*. The quotation which follows refers to the words immediately after the passage quoted in preceding note: "But we will not think so uncharitably of you; A rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, contents you"

⁶¹ Milton's only other reference to gipsy fortune-telling occurs in *A Defence*, Chapter V.

⁶² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 22, continues after the "rich Widow" passage quoted above: "To the first you make way, by a long, tedious, theatricall big-mouthed, astounding Prayer, put up in the name of the three Kingdomes; not so much either to please God, or benefit the weal-publike by it, as to intimate your owne good abilities to her that is your *rich hopes*."

⁶³ "The whole sky, excluding those parts that never rise and that never set, being thus divided into twelve houses" *NED*

⁶⁴ See Masson, II, 408-09, who says this is "a marriage-advertisement." Tillyard, *Milton*, p. 139, feels this may refer to Mary Powell. See also Burns Martin, "The Date of Milton's First Marriage," *SP*, XXV (1928), 457-62, and B. A. Wright, "Milton's First Marriage," *MLR*, XXVI (1931), 383-400, and XXVII (1932), 6-32.

⁶⁵ See Daniel 2:2, "the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans."

he utters against a prayer which he found in the animadversions,⁶⁶ angry it seems to finde any prayers but in the Service Book. He dislikes it, and I therefore like it the better. It was *theatricall*, he sayes. And yet it consisted most of Scripture language: it had no *Rubrick*⁶⁷ to be sung in an antick Coape upon the Stage of a High Altar. It was *big-mouth'd* he sayes; no marvell; if it were fram'd as the voice of three Kingdomes: neither was it a prayer so much as a hymne in prose frequent both in the Prophets, and in humane authors; therefore the stile was greater then for an ordinary prayer: ⁶⁸ *It was an astounding prayer*. I thank him for that confession, so it was intended to [42] astound and to astonish the guilty Prelats; and this Confuter confesses that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which followes, he does not play the Soothsayer but the diabolick slanderer of prayers. *It was made*, he sayes, *not so much to please God, or to benefit the weale publick* (how dares the Viper judge that) *but to intimate*, saith he, *your good abilities, to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla*.⁶⁹ How hard it is when a man meets with a Foole to keepe his tongue from folly.⁷⁰ That were miserable indeed to be a Courter of *Maronilla*, and withall of such a haplesse invention, as that no way should be left me to present my meaning but to make my selfe a canting⁷¹ Probationer of orisons, The Remonstrant when he was as young as I could

*Toothlesse Teach each hollow Grove to sound his love
Satyrs, Wearying eccho with one changelesse word.*⁷²

⁶⁶ Visiak, *Milton*, p. 848, despite Milton's identification of the passage as in *Animadversions* (see above, p. 928, n. 59), refers to *Of Reformation*, the prayer at the close; in this Visiak is quite clearly in error. Milton begins to take up the passage already quoted, above, p. 929, n. 62.

⁶⁷ "Direction for the conduct of Divine service inserted in liturgical books, and properly printed in red." *NED*. Milton is attacking the emphasis on form in the church service.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Church-Government*, above, p. 682.

⁶⁹ A rich widow in Martial, *Epigrams*, Book I, No. 10, according to Visiak, *Milton*, p. 849. *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 22, follows the passage quoted above, p. 929, n. 62, with two lines in Latin, in which the name occurs.

⁷⁰ Seemingly referring to Proverbs 26.4.

⁷¹ "Speaking in a sing-song tone; whining." *NED*.

⁷² These lines and those a little below are from "His Defiance to ENW," from *Virgidemiarum* (Hall, *Works*, 1863, X, 579-80; Schulze, *Die Satiren Halls*, pp. 19-20). This passage is part of the following four lines (81-84):

To teach each hollow grove, and shrubby hill,
Each murmuring brooke, each solitary vale
To sound our love, and to our song accord,
Wearying Eccho with one changelesse word.

And so he well might, and all his auditory ⁷³ besides with his *teach each*.

*Toothlesse Whether so me list my lovely thoughts to sing,
Satyrs, Come dance ye nimble dryads by my side,
Whiles I report my fortunes or my loves.*⁷⁴

Delicious! he had that whole bevie at command whether in morrice ⁷⁵ or at May pole. Whilst I, by this figure-caster must be imagin'd in such distresse as to sue to *Maronilla*, and yet left so impoverisht of what to say, as to turne my Liturgy into my Ladies Psalter. Believe it graduat, I am not altogether so rustick, and nothing so irreligious,⁷⁶ but as farre distant from a Lecturer,⁷⁷ as the meere Laick, for any consecrating hand of a Prelat that shall ever touch me. Yet I shall not decline the more for that, to speak my opinion in the controversie next mov'd. *Whether the people may be allow'd, for competent judges of a ministers ability.*⁷⁸ For how else can be fulfill'd that which God hath promis'd, to power ⁷⁹ out such abundance of knowledge upon all sorts of men in the times of the Gospell? how should the people examine the doctrine which is taught them, as Christ and his Apostles continually bid them do? ⁸⁰ how should they *discerne and beware of false Prophets*,⁸¹ and *try every spirit*,⁸² if they must be thought unfit to judge of the ministers abilities: the Apostles ever labour'd to perswade the Christian flock that they *were call'd in Christ*

⁷³ "Both an audience and, as an adjective, pertaining to the sense of hearing."
NED.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 930, n. 72; these lines are 97-98, 102. Omitted are ll. 99-101:

Ye gentle wood-Nymphs come & with you bring
The willing Faunes that mought your musick guide.
Come Nymphs & Faunes, that haunt those shady groves.

⁷⁵ Morris dance; cf. *Comus*, l. 116.

⁷⁶ Modern usage would have, "and not nearly so irreligious."

⁷⁷ "One of a class of preachers in the Church of England . . . supported by voluntary contributions, whose duty consists mainly in delivering afternoon or evening lectures" NED.

⁷⁸ Not a quotation from *Modest Confutation* but a summary of the main points covered, pp. 22-24, where the Confuter quotes freely from *Animadversions*. A sample of this discussion in *Modest Confutation* is the following (1642, p. 23): "Who but you, against the command of God himself, dare bring not the Congregation onely, but the very beasts of the people, within the borders of the Mount?"

⁷⁹ Pour. Possibly an allusion to Joel 2:28-29. Cf. Isaiah 44:3; Acts 2:18.

⁸⁰ No specific passage but implied in the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew 5-7.

⁸¹ Matthew 7:15, "Beware of false prophets."

⁸² I John 4:1, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God."

to all perfectnesse of spirituall knowledge,⁸³ and full assurance of understanding in the mystery of God.⁸⁴ But the non-resident and plurality-gaping Prelats the gulphs and whirle pools of benefices, but the dry [43] pits of all sound doctrine, that they may the better preach what they list to their sheep, are still possessing them that they are sheepe indeed, without judgement, without understanding, *the very beasts of Mount Sinai*,⁸⁵ as this Confuter calls them; which words of theirs may serve to condemne them out of their owne mouths; and to shew the grosse contrarieties that are in their opinions. For while none thinke the people so void of knowledge as the Prelats think them, none are so backward and malignant as they to bestow knowledge upon them; both by suppressing the frequency of Sermons, and the printed explanations of the English Bible. No marvell if the people turne beasts, when their Teachers themselves as *Isaiah* calls them, *Are dumbe and greedy dogs that can never have enough, ignorant, blind, and cannot understand, who while they all look their own way every one for his gaine from his quarter*,⁸⁶ how many parts of the land are fed with windy ceremonies instead of sincere milke; ⁸⁷ and while one Prelat enjoyes the nourishment and right of twenty Ministers, how many waste places are left as darke as *Galile of the Gentiles, sitting in the region and shadow of death*; ⁸⁸ without preaching Minister, without light. So little care they of beasts to make them men, that by their sorcerous doctrine of formalities they take the way to transforme them out of Christian men into *Judaizing* beasts. Had they but taught the land, or suffer'd it to be taught, as Christ would it should have bin,⁸⁹ in all plenteous dispensation of the word, then the poore mechanick might have so accustom'd his eare to good teaching, as to have discern'd betweene faithfull teachers and false. But now with a most

⁸³ No exact passage fits; see I Corinthians 1:2 and chap. 2.

⁸⁴ Colossians 2:2: " . . . of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgment of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ "

⁸⁵ See quotation given above, p. 931, n. 78.

⁸⁶ Isaiah 56:10-11. One of the three Biblical passages cited by Harris Fletcher in *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1929), p. 96, as occurring in *An Apology*. He noted that the passage does not agree with any known translation

⁸⁷ The phrase "sincere milk" occurs in I Peter 2:2.

⁸⁸ A paraphrase of Matthew 4 15-16; cf. Isaiah 9:1-2.

⁸⁹ See Matthew 28:19; cf. Mark 16:15. "*Judaizing Beasts*" in preceding sentence may be another allusion to the story of Stephen, Acts 7; see above, p. 894, n. 145.

inhumane cruelty they who have put out the peoples eyes reproach them of their blindness. Just as the Pharisees their true Fathers were wont; who could not indure that the people should be thought competent judges of Christs doctrine, although we know they judg'd farre better then those great Rabbies. Yet *this people*, said they, *that knowes not the law is accurst*.⁹⁰ We need not the authority of *Pliny*⁹¹ brought to tell us, the people cannot judge of a minister. Yet that hurts not. For as none can judge of a Painter, or Statuary but he who is an Artist, that is, either in the *Practick* or the *Theory*, which is often separated from the practick, and judges learnedly without it,⁹² so none can judge of a Christian teacher, but he who hath, either the practize, or the knowledge of Christian religion, though not so artfully digested in him.⁹³ And who [44] almost of the meanest Christians hath not heard the Scriptures often read from his childhood, besides so many Sermons and Lectures more in number then any student hath heard in Philosophy, whereby he may easily attaine to know when he is wisely taught and when weakly. Whereof three wayes I remember are set downe in Scripture. The one is to reade often that best of books written to this purpose, that not the wise only but the simple and ignorant may learne by them;⁹⁴ the other way to know of a minister, is by the life he leads, whereof the meanest understanding may be apprehensive.⁹⁵ The last way to judge aright in this point is when he who judges, lives a Christian life himselfe.⁹⁶ Which of these three will the Confuter affirme to exceed the capacity of a plaine artizan? And what reason then is there left wherefore he should be deny'd his voice in the election of his minister, as not thought a competent discernor? It is but arrogance therefore, and the pride of a *metaphysicall*⁹⁷ fume, to thinke that *the mutinous rabble* (for so he calls the Christian con-

⁹⁰ The quotation is from John 7:49; the preceding sentence summarizes John 7.40-48.

⁹¹ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 23, cites Pliny among others, but Milton rejects such a pagan authority in favor of the Bible.

⁹² Similar ideas occur twice in *Animadversions*, above, pp. 691, 719. The second passage cites Xenophon writing to Socrates.

⁹³ Milton seemingly concedes Pliny's artistry.

⁹⁴ See Isaiah 34:16: "Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read." Cf. Colossians 4:16 and I Thessalonians 5:27.

⁹⁵ See I Timothy 3 and 4; Titus 1.

⁹⁶ See Matthew 7:1-5; Luke 6:37; cf. Romans 2:1 and James 4:11.

⁹⁷ *NED*'s first citation is dated 1646: "Applied with more or less of reproach to reasoning, ideas, etc. which are considered over-subtle, or too abstract."

gregation) *would be so mistaken in a Clerk of the Vniversity* that were to be their minister.⁹⁸ I doubt me those Clerks that think so,⁹⁹ are more mistaken in themselves, and what with truanting and debauchery, what with false grounds and the weaknesse of naturall faculties in many of them (it being a maxim in some men to send the simplest of their sonnes thither) perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted judgements both in doctrine and life, as in any other two Corporations of like bignesse. This is undoubted that if any Carpenter, Smith, or Weaver, were such a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custome. And should he exercise his manufacture,¹⁰⁰ as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art: and should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would marre all the worke he took in hand. How few among them that know to write, or speak in a pure stile, much lesse to distinguish the *idea's*, and various kinds of stile: ¹⁰¹ in Latine barbarous, and oft not without *solecisms*, declaming in rugged and miscellaneous geare blown together by the foure winds,¹⁰² and in their choice preferring the gay ranknesse of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any moderne fustianist, before the native *Latinisms* of *Cicero*.¹⁰³ In the Greek tongue most of them unletter'd, or unenter'd to any sound proficiency in those *Attick* maisters of morall wisdom and eloquence.¹⁰⁴ In the He-[45]brew text, which is so necessary to be understood except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcised.¹⁰⁵ No lesse are they out of the way in philosophy; pestring their

⁹⁸ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 24: "Go you then to your mutinous rabble, and if you can appease their furies, enthrone their sage wisdomes upon some stall or bench, and cite before them the Clerks of either University."

⁹⁹ Here begins Milton's long attack against the universities, which continues through to the end of this section. See Hanford, *Handbook*, Appendix A, for a discussion.

¹⁰⁰ Milton apparently means "skill," though *NED* has no such definition. "Talents," a little later in the sentence, of course refers to Matthew 25:14-30.

¹⁰¹ See above, p. 899, n. 19, for use of "ideas."

¹⁰² Cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 677: "barbarous sophistry," and *Church-Government*, above, p. 854.

¹⁰³ Cicero was much admired by Milton and his times for the purity of his Latin; Apuleius (ca. 123 A.D.) and Arnobius (ca. 305 A.D.) cannot compare in style. "Fustianist": cf. *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 24): "nothing . . . writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian."

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Milton's praise of Xenophon and Plato, above, p. 891.

¹⁰⁵ For Milton's knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, see Conklin, *Biblical Criticism*, pp. 40-51. "Not spiritually chastened or purified, irreligious, heathen." *NED*, citing

heads with the saplesse dotages of old *Paris and Salamanca*.¹⁰⁶ And that which is the main point, in their Sermons affecting the comments and postils ¹⁰⁷ of Friars and Jesuits, but scorning and slighting the reformed writers. In so much that the better sort among them will confesse it a rare matter to heare a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches; ¹⁰⁸ and that such as are most humm'd ¹⁰⁹ and applauded there, would scarce be suffer'd the second hearing in a grave congregation of pious Christians. Is there cause why these men should overween, and be so queasie of the rude multitude, lest their deepe worth should be undervalu'd for want of fit umpires? No my *matriculated confutant* there will not want in any congregation of this Island, that hath not beene altogether famisht, or wholly perverted with Prelatish leven,¹¹⁰ there will not want divers plaine and solid men, that have learnt by the experience of a good conscience, what it is to be well taught, who will soone look through and through both the lofty nakednesse of your *Latinizing* Barbarian, and the finicall goosery ¹¹¹ of your neat Sermon-actor. And so I leave you and your fellow *starres*, as you terme them, of *either horizon*,¹¹² meaning I suppose either *hemisphere*, unlesse you will be ridiculous in your astronomy. For the rationall horizon in heav'n is but one, and the sensible horizons in earth are innumerable; so that your allusion was as erroneous as your starres. But that ¹¹³ you did well to prognosticat them all at lowest in the horizon, that is either seeming bigger then they are through the mist and vapour which they raise, or else sinking, and wasted to the snuffe ¹¹⁴ in their westerne socket.

Sect. 11. His eleventh Section intends I know not what unlesse to clog us with the residue of his phlegmatick sloth, discussing with a Tindale (1526), Acts 7:51, "Ye stiff necked and of uncircumcised hertes and eares."

¹⁰⁶ Two famous medieval universities; *CPB* includes a comment about Paris from Sleidan (above, p. 381).

¹⁰⁷ "Marginal notes or comments upon a text of Scripture or a series of such notes." *NED*.

¹⁰⁸ St. Mary's (Oxford) and Great St. Mary's (Cambridge).

¹⁰⁹ "Applauded." *NED*.

¹¹⁰ See I Corinthians 5:6-7.

¹¹¹ "Over-nice or affectedly fastidious silliness such as is attributed to the goose." *NED*, which cites this passage as the first use of "goosery."

¹¹² Milton is quoting from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 24.

¹¹³ Modern usage would omit "that."

¹¹⁴ "A candle end; in comparisons used to describe what is faint, feeble or at the point of extinction." *NED*.

heavie pulse the *expedience of set formes*:¹ which no question but to some, and for some time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be usefully set forth by the Church a common *directory* of publick prayer, especially in the administration of the Sacraments.² But that it should therefore be inforc't where both minister and people professe to have no need, but to be scandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every sensible Christian will deny. And the reasons of such deniall the confuter himselfe, as his bounty still is to his adversary, will give us out of his affirmation. First [46] saith he, *God in his providence hath chosen some to teach others and pray for others, as ministers and Pastors*.³ Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath set apart to his ministry, are by him endu'd with an ability of prayer; because their office is to pray for others. And not to be the lip-working deacons of other mens appointed words. Nor is it easily credible that he who can preach well should be unable to pray well; when as it is indeed the same ability to speak affirmatively, or doctrinally and only by changing the mood to speak prayingly. In vaine therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can finde utterance to preach. And if prayer be the guift of the Spirit, why do they admit those to the Ministry, who want a maine guift of their function, and prescribe guifted men to use that which is the remedy of another mans want; setting them their tasks to read, whom the Spirit of God stands ready to assist in his ordinance with the guift of free conceptions.⁴

¹ Not an exact quotation but a reference to *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 24–25, where the opening remarks concerning liturgy include the following slightly condensed quotation from I Corinthians 10.23, the bracketed phrase being omitted: "All things are lawfull [for me], but all things are not expedient"

² Such an admission of the need for "set forms" is not to be found in the long discussion of liturgy in *Animadversions*, above, pp. 677–92; and *Church-Government* says, above, p. 854. "The service of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confesses to be perfect freedom, but her works and her opinions declare that the service of Prelaty is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falshood."

³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 25 (speaking of God and "the government of his Church"): "In which it hath pleased his divine wisdome so to order the matter, that . . . he hath made some to be Apostles, some Ministers, Pastors, Teachers; whereas had he not had respect to this, and purposed to go along with this weaknesse of mans nature, he could as well have infused abilitie (I mean supernaturall) into the brest and brain of the most ignorant despicable member of the Church."

⁴ The entire sentence seems to allude to John 14:17, 16:13; and I John 2.20, 27. Cf. *Church-Government* (above, p. 821): "that eternall Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases."

What if it be granted to the infirmity of some Ministers (though such seeme rather to be halfe ministers) to help themselves with a set forme, shall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous graces of others? and let it be granted to some people while they are babes in Christian guifts, were it not better to take it away soone after, as we do loitering⁵ books, and *interlineary* translations from children; to stirre up and exercise that portion of the spirit which is in them, & not impose it upon congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troublesome and offensive refuse it. Another reason which he brings for liturgie, is *the preserving of order, unity, and piety*,⁶ and the same shall be my reason against Liturgy. For I Readers, shall alwayes be of this opinion, that obedience to the Spirit of God, rather then to the faire seeming pretences of men, is the best and most dutifull order that a Christian can observe. If the Spirit of God manifest the guift of prayer in his Minister, what more seemely order in the congregation, then to go along with that man in our devoutest affections? for him to abridge himselfe by reading, and to forestall himselfe in those petitions, which he must either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a shew of order, is the greatest disorder. Nor is unity lesse broken, especially by our Liturgy, though this author would almost bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgicall words.⁷ For what other reformed Church holds communion [47] with us by our liturgy, and does not rather dislike it? ⁸ and among our selves who knowes it not to have bin a perpetuall cause of disunion. Lastly, it hinders piety rather then sets it forward, being more apt to weaken the spirituall faculties, if the people be not wean'd from it in due time; as the daily powring in of hot waters quenches the naturall heat.⁹ For

⁵ Cf. *Areopagitica* (1644, p. 28). "interlinearies, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear."

⁶ The third point in the discussion of liturgy in *Modest Confutation* (1642, pp. 28-30) begins: "3 Most expedient to attain the end such worship drives at; Order, Unity, Piety, and the best advancement of Gods glory."

⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 29: "What order can ever be expected? what uniformity looked for? what consent and harmony betwixt Church and Church, when every one shall differ in that which should make them truly one? a Communion of Saints, even their community of Prayers? How, while some are starved, shall others be pampered? and then what likeness? . . . It is a requisite in the Church of Christ, that the particular Congregations which are the members of that mysticall body, be of one heart and minde, especially in their Prayers to, and Praises of God."

⁸ The most obvious example was the rioting that accompanied Laud's attempted introduction of the liturgy in Scotland; see Davies, *Early Stuarts*, p. 85.

⁹ For such medical metaphors, see above, p. 885, n. 90.

not only the body, & the mind, but also the improvement of Gods Spirit is quickn'd by using.¹⁰ Whereas they who will ever adhere to liturgy, bring thēselves in the end to such a passe by overmuch leaning as to loose even the legs of their devotion. These inconveniencies and dangers follow the compelling of set formes: but that the toleration of the English Liturgy now in use, is more dangerous then the compelling of any other which the reformed Churches use, these reasons following may evince.¹¹ To contend that it is fantastick, if not senselesse in some places, were a copious argument,¹² especially in the *Responsories*.¹³ For such alternations as are there us'd must be by severall persons; but the Minister and the people cannot so sever their interests, as to sustaine severall persons; he being the only mouth of the whole body which he presents.¹⁴ And if the people pray he being silent, or they ask one thing & he another, it either changes the property, making the Priest the people, and the people the Priest by turnes, or else makes two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one. Which if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintnesse in ordinary prayer. The like, or worse may be said of the *Litany*, wherein neither Priest nor people speak any intire sense of themselves throughout the whole I know not what to name it; only by the timely contribution of their parted stakes,¹⁵ closing up as it were the *schisme* ¹⁶ of a slic't prayer, they pray not in vaine, for by this means they keep life betweene them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep downe the sawcinesse of a continuall rebounding nonsense. And hence it is that as it hath been farre from the imitation of any warranted ¹⁷ prayer, so we all know it hath bin obvious to be the pattern of many a Jig.¹⁸ And he who hath but read in good books of devotion ¹⁹ and no

¹⁰ A similar idea occurs earlier; see above, p. 922.

¹¹ Milton's reform is to prohibit the existing liturgy, as the remainder of the section brings out.

¹² As is often the case: "topic."

¹³ Modern usage would have "as far as the Responsories are concerned." They are "anthems said or sung after the lesson by a soloist and choir alternately." *NED*.

¹⁴ That is, the minister speaks for the congregation; see, among other places, Romans 12:4-5 and I Corinthians 12:12-31.

¹⁵ "Division into shares." See *NED*, "part."

¹⁶ Neumann, "Milton's Prose Vocabulary," p. 108, n. 6: "in the sense of 'a rent or tear,' its original meaning in Greek"

¹⁷ The Lord's Prayer; see Matthew 6:9-13 and Luke 11:2-4.

¹⁸ "A song or ballad of lively, jocular, or mocking (often scurrilous) character. In 17th century applied in mockery to metrical versions of the Psalms." *NED*.

¹⁹ Inasmuch as Hall was the author of a large number of devotional books, there may be a veiled jibe here at the Remonstrant.

more, cannot be so either of eare or judgement unpractiz'd ²⁰ to distinguish what is grave, *patheticall*, devout, and what not, but will presently perceave this Liturgy all over in conception leane and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion, or any heighth whereto the soule might soar upon the wings of zeale, destitute and barren: besides er-[48]rors, *tautologies*, impertinences, as those thanks in the womans Churching for her delivery from Sunburning and Moonblasting, ²¹ as if she had bin travailing not in her bed, but in the deserts of *Arabia*. So that while some men cease not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of judgement, and tast in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a complayable matter. ²² But when we remember this our liturgy where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, still serving to all the abominations of the Antichristian temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demurre whether it should be done away or no, and not rather feare we have highly offended in using it so long. It hath indeed bin pretended to be more ancient then the Masse, but so little prov'd, that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had withall such a seeming antiquity, as that their publishers have ventur'd to ascribe them with their worst corruptions either to *S. Peter*, *S. James*, *S. Mark*, or at least to *Chrysostome*, or *Basil*, ours hath bin never able to find either age, or author allowable, on whom to father those things therein which are least offensive, ²³ except the two Creeds, for *Te Deum* has a

²⁰ Modern usage would precede this word with the earlier "so" and follow it with "as not."

²¹ Until revised in 1661, the prayer book service for the churching of women, i.e., "Thanksgiving for her Safe Delivery in Childbirth," incorporated Psalm 121. Leighton Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1905), p. 247. Verse 6 of that Psalm reads as follows in the Prayer Book: "So that the sunne shal not burne thee by daye; neither the moone by nyghte." *The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI* (Everyman's Library, 1910). The King James Version has "smite" for "burne." "Moonblasting" thus is Milton's own word. According to *NED*, "moonburnt" commonly means "moonstruck," and "blast" means to "blight" or, in a figurative sense, "to curse, to wield a pernicious influence on." Cf. *Doctrine of Divorce*, I, x: "blasting all the content of their mutuall society," and the first line of "On the Death of a Fair Infant". "O fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted." The note in Bohn, III, 158, is in error in asserting the service is no longer used.

²² Milton now turns to the most telling argument against the liturgy. its taint of Roman Catholicism, which he summarizes in the next sentence.

²³ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 678. Hall's *Short Answer* (1641) summarizes the Smectymnuan argument, pp. 47-48 (*Works*, 1863, IX, 417-18). The liturgy

smach²⁴ in it of *Limbus Patrum*.²⁵ As if Christ had not *open'd the kingdome of heaven* before he had *overcome the sharpnesse of death*.²⁶ So that having receav'd it from the Papall Church as an originall creature, for ought can be shewn to the contrary, form'd and fashion'd by work maisters ill to be trusted,²⁷ we may be assur'd that if God loathe the best of an Idolaters prayer,²⁸ much more the conceited fangle²⁹ of his prayer. This Confuter himselve confesses that a community of the same set forme in prayers, is that which *makes Church and Church truly one*; ³⁰ we then using a Liturgy farre more like to the Masse-book then to any Protestant set forme, by his owne words must have more communion with the *Romish Church*, then with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curse and vengeance of their superstition, to whom we come so neere in the same set forme and dresse of our devotion? do we thinke to sift the matter finer then we are sure God in his jealousie will? who detested both the gold and the spoile of Idolatrous Cities,³¹ and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols.³² Are we stronger then he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not surely because we think that praieres are no where to be had but at [49] *Rome*; that were a foule scorne and indignity cast upon all the reformed Churches, and our own; if we imagine that all the godly Ministers of England are not able to new mould a better and more pious Liturgy then this which was conceav'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother: how basely were that to esteeme of Gods Spirit, and all the holy blessings and priviledges of a true Church above a false? Heark ye Prelats, is this your glorious called "Syrian" is also known as that of St. James, that of Alexandria bears the name of St. Mark, and the "Byzantine" liturgy appears in two forms, that of Constantinople as remodeled by St. Chrysostom and that of the province of Pontus, associated with St. Basil. John E. Field, *The English Liturgies of 1549 and 1661* (London, 1920), pp. 25-30.

²⁴ Smack or taste.

²⁵ Limbo see above, p 894, n. 139. The region where the martyrs and pre-Christian fathers await the resurrection; denied by non-Catholics Cf *Paradise Lost*, II, 495 ff.

²⁶ See, e.g., Matthew 25.34, "the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

²⁷ Probably because they were bishops.

²⁸ Perhaps alluding to the punishment of Solomon. I Kings 11.

²⁹ "A fantastic, foppish, or silly contrivance." *NED*. "Conceited" in the sense of having many "conceits" in it.

³⁰ See above, p. 937, n. 7, for the passage from *Modest Confutation*.

³¹ See the story of Achan, Joshua 7:10-26, and also Deuteronomy 7:25-26.

³² See Acts 15.29, 21:25.

Mother of England,³³ who when as Christ hath taught her to pray, thinks it not enough unlesse she adde thereto the teaching of Anti-christ? ³⁴ How can we believe ye would refuse to take the stipend ³⁵ of Rome, when ye shame not to live upon the almes-basket of her prayers? will ye perswade us that ye can curse Rome from your hearts when none but Rome must teach ye to pray? *Abraham* disdain'd to take so much as a thred or a shoo latchet from the King of *Sodome*, though no foe of his, but a wicked King,³⁶ and shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies? whose guifts are no guifts, but the instruments of our bane? Alas that the Spirit of God should blow as an uncertaine wind, should so mistake his inspiring, to misbestow his guifts promis'd only to the elect,³⁷ that the idolatrous should finde words acceptable to present God with and abound to their neighbours, while the true professors of the Gospell can find nothing of their own worth the constituting, wherewith to worship God in publick. Consider if this be to magnifie the Church of England, and not rather to display her nakednesse to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this Romish Liturgy is a provocation to God, and a dishonour to our Church, so is it by those ceremonies, those purifyings and offrings at the Altar, a pollution and disturbance to the Gospell it selfe; and a kinde of driving us with the foolish *Galatians* to another gospell.³⁸ For that which the Apostles taught hath freed us in religion from the *ordinances of men*,³⁹ and commands that *burdens be not laid* ⁴⁰ upon the redeemed of Christ, though the formalist will say, what no decency in Gods worship? ⁴¹ Certainly Readers, the worship of God singly in it selfe, the very act of prayer and thanksgiving with those free and unimpos'd expressions which from a sincere heart unbidden come into the outward gesture, is the greatest decency that can

³³ Hall called himself "A dutifull Sonne of the Church" on the title page of the *Humble Remonstrance* and calls the church "Mother" at a number of points.

³⁴ Commonplace as the name of the Roman church; from I John 2:18, 22, and II John 7.

³⁵ "The normal term for the pay of a clergyman." *NED*.

³⁶ Genesis 14:23.

³⁷ The idea of election is to be found in Mark 13:20, Luke 18:7, Romans 8:29-30, and I Thessalonians 1:4, among other places

³⁸ Alluding to Galatians 3.

³⁹ Perhaps alluding to Ephesians 2:15 or Colossians 2:14, 20.

⁴⁰ Perhaps alluding to Acts 15:28; cf. Matthew 11:30

⁴¹ See Hale, *Of Reformation*, p. 79, n. 6.11, for references to this common plea of the bishops for the established liturgy.

be imagin'd. Which to dresse up and garnish with a devis'd bravery abolisht in the law, and disclam'd by the Gospell addes nothing but a deformed ugliness.⁴² And hath ever afforded a co-[50]lourable pretense to bring in all those traditions and carnalities that are so killing to the power and vertue of the Gospell. What was that which made the Jewes figur'd under the names of *Aholah* and *Aholibah* go a whooring after all the heathens inventions, but that they saw a religion gorgeously attir'd and desirable to the eye? ⁴³ What was all, that the false Doctors of the Primitive Church, and ever since have done, but *to make a faire shew in the flesh*, as *S. Pauls* words are? ⁴⁴ If we have indeed given a bill of divorce to Popery and superstition, why do we not say as to a divors't wife; those things which are yours take them all with you, and they shall sweepe after you? ⁴⁵ Why were not we thus wise at our parting from Rome? Ah like a crafty adultresse she forgot not all her smooth looks and inticing words at her parting; yet keep these letters, these tokens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so greedy of what is mine, let them preserve with you the memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, once faire and lovely in your eyes.⁴⁶ Thus did those tender hearted reformers dotingly ⁴⁷ suffer themselves to be overcome with harlots language. And she like a witch, but with a contrary policy did not take something of theirs that she might still have power to bewitch them, but for the same intent left something of her own behind her.⁴⁸ And that her whoorish cunning should prevaile to work upon us her deceitfull ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindness, that we deserve. For we are deepe in dotage. We cry out *Sacriledge and misdevotion* against those who in zeale have demolish't the dens and cages of her uncleane wallowings.⁴⁹ We stand for a Popish Liturgy as for the ark of our Cov'nant.⁵⁰

⁴² See Ecclesiastes 5:2 and Matthew 6:5-7.

⁴³ Ezekiel 23:1-49.

⁴⁴ Galatians 6:12.

⁴⁵ Deuteronomy 24.1-4 prohibits a husband from remarrying his divorced wife.

⁴⁶ This description of the "crafty adultresse" seems to have no source, despite the vividness of the picture drawn.

⁴⁷ From "dote, doat"; "to be silly, deranged, or out of one's wits." *NED*, which quotes Cranmer, *Catechism*, 123b, "Thei dotingly loved all that was their awne."

⁴⁸ Based on the widespread belief that a witch must obtain something from the person upon whom a spell is to be cast.

⁴⁹ See II Peter 2:22, where false teachers are likened to "the sow that was washed" which has returned "to her wallowing in the mire." Revelation 18:2 speaks of Babylon (often the Puritan name for Rome) that it "is become the

And so little does it appeare our prayers are from the heart, that multitudes of us declare, they know not how to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly invent a prayer of their own to the Parliament,⁵¹ that they may still ignorantly read the prayers of other men to God. They object that if wee must forsake all that is Rome's, we must bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had bin of the Apostles; for so it beares title. But if it be hers let her take it. We can want no Creed, so long as we want not the Scriptures.⁵² We magnifie those who in reforming our Church have inconsideratly and blamefully permitted the old leaven⁵³ to remaine and soure our whole lump. But *they were Martyrs*; ⁵⁴ True and he that looks well into the book of Gods providence, if he read there that God for [51] this their negligence and halting, brought all that following persecution upon this Church, and on themselves, perhaps will be found at the last day not to have read amisse.

Sect. 12. But now, Readers, we have the Port within sight; his last Section which is no deepe one, remains only to be foarded, and then the wisht shoare. And here first it pleases him much, that he hath discri'd me, as he conceaves, to be unread in the Counsels.¹ Concerning which matter it will not be unnecessary to shape him this answer; That some years I had spent in the stories of those Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily spoken: ² when coming in the method of time to that age wherein the

habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird " Parliament ordered, January 23, 1641, the destruction of "relics of idolatry out of all churches and chapels" (Masson, II, 195), to which the cry might well have been "Sacriledge and misdevotion" on the part of the bishops.

⁵⁰ Hebrews 9:1-11 denies the need for the ark.

⁵¹ The form of the *Humble Remonstrance* is that of a prayer.

⁵² Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter XXVII, where the same idea is expressed.

⁵³ I Corinthians 5:6-7 speaks of the "old leaven"; here the metaphor is in its original meaning of yeast.

⁵⁴ See *Animadversions*, above, p. 678.

¹ Section 12, *Modest Confutation* (1642) pp. 34-40, opens: "I was glad at my heart when I heard you cry out (*set the grave Counsels upon their shelves, string them hard*) for from such your flighting of them, I conjectured your ignorance in that kind of learning to be, though not so ingenuously confessed, yet altogether as much and great as mine." The Confuter's quotation is from *Animadversions*, above, p. 684.

² Cf. above, p. 884, n. 85. The course of reading described here is discussed in Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 251-314.

Church had obtain'd a Christian Emperor,³ I so prepar'd my selfe, as being now to read examples of wisdom and goodnesse among those who were formost in the Church, not else where to be parallell'd: But to the amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in some very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion: in so much that I could not but love the Historian *Socrates*,⁴ who in the proem to his fifth book professes, *He was faine to intermixe affaires of State, for that it would be else an extreame annoyance to heare in a continu'd discourse the endlesse brabbles & counterplottings of the Bishops*. Finding therefore the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of strife and yet flat of spirit, and the summe of their best counsels there collected, to be most commonly in questions either triviall and vaine, or else of short, and easie decision without that great bustle which they made, I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a Councell it would be much more; and if the compendious recitall of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to sit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a losse of time irrecoverable.⁵ Besides that which I had read of *S. Martin*, who for his last sixteene yeares could never be perswaded to be at any Councell of the Bishops.⁶ And *Gregory Nazianzen*⁷ betook him to the same resolution affirming to *Procopius*,⁸ *that of any Councell, or meeting of Bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evill in the Church, but rather an increase. For, saith he, their contentions and desire of Lording no tongue is able to expresse*. I have not therefore I confesse read more of the Councils

³ Constantine, who is condemned for his "donation" in *Of Reformation*, above, p. 578; cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 697.

⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, born ca. 408 at Constantinople. See above, pp. 376-77. There are six entries from his writings in *CPB* prior to the writing of this *Apology* (Hanford, "Chronology," p. 261) but not this quotation, although the same book is cited (see above, p. 417). Socrates is mentioned in *Of Reformation*, above, p. 577.

⁵ Milton's contempt for the councils recurs again and again in the other anti-prelatical pamphlets. See *Of Reformation*, above, p. 569; *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, above, p. 629; cf. *Animadversions*, above, pp. 684, 685, 691, and *Church-Government*, above, p. 790.

⁶ St. Martin, Bishop of Tours (316-396 A.D.), whose life was written by Sulpicius Severus in *Sacred History*. See *Opera Omnia* (Leyden, 1635), p. 333, where the incident is mentioned.

⁷ Bishop of Sasima and Constantinople (ca. 325-392 A.D.).

⁸ An officer of the imperial court commissioned by Theodosius to summon Gregory Nazianzen to the Council at Constantinople, 382.

save here and there, I [52] should be sorry to have bin such a prodigall of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this Confuter; I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of *Muraena* was answer'd by *Cicero to Sulpitius* the Lawyer.⁹ If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert counsellist. For be not deceav'd, Readers, by men that would overawe your eares with big names and huge Tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cramme a margent with citations.¹⁰ Do but winnow their chaffe from their wheat,¹¹ ye shall see their great heape shrink and wax thin past beliefe. From hence he passes to enquire wherefore I should blame the vices of the Prelats only, seeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as faulty.¹² To which let him heare in briefe; that those Priests whose vices have been notorious, are all Prelaticall, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remisnesse of that government. We hear not of any which are call'd *Nonconformists* that have been accus'd for scandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at least sober men. Which is a great good argument, that they are in the truth and Prelats in the error. He would be resolv'd next *What the corruptions of the Universities concerne the Prelats?*¹³ and to that let him take this, That the Remonstrant having spok'n as if learning would decay with the removall of Prelats, I shew'd him that while books were extant, and in print, learning could not

⁹ *Oxford Classical Dictionary* explains: "Lucius Licinius Murena. After his election to the consulship in 63 B.C., he was charged of bribery by Cato and Sulpicius. His guilt was obvious, but it was not expedient that the consul-elect should be condemned during the Catilinarian crisis. Cicero therefore defended him, and secured his acquittal by cleverly ridiculing the pedantry of the accusers. See Cicero, *Pro Murena* (ed. W. E. Heitland, 1874)."

¹⁰ See above, p. 910, n. 2, and p. 921, n. 22, for other attacks on "marginal stuffings."

¹¹ Both Matthew 3:12 and Luke 3:17 refer to the process of winnowing.

¹² *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 35, after attacking a "lewd, vicious, or lying Prophet" and admitting that "nor Priest nor Prelate, but some of them hath been and is so," continues: "Is it the office, or the man, that bears this cursed fruit? you say the office. I ask of Prelacy only: why is it then that the inferiour Clergy is most faulty? how can they be so lewd, if no Prelates? or if lewd, why is not their order abolished? why are not all the Prelates alike vicious?" Cf. *Animadversions*, above, p. 717.

¹³ *Modest Confutation* (1642), pp. 35-36, after quoting *Animadversions*, above, p. 718, defends the charge that the bishops have corrupted the universities, in part as follows: "If either they fail, or be pudled, you cannot blame Episcopacy for either."

readily be at a worse passe in the Universities then it was now under their government.¹⁴ Then he seeks to justify the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld sovereignty,¹⁵ when as all Christian sovereignty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the dissolution of law which only sets up sov'ranty, and the erecting of an arbitrary sway according to privat will, to which they would enjoyne a slavish obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant, and a tyranniz'd people.¹⁶ A little beneath he denies that great riches in the Church are the baits of pride & ambition:¹⁷ of which error to undeceive him, I shall allege a reputed divine authority, as ancient as *Constantine*, which his love to antiquity must not except against;¹⁸ and to adde the more waight, he shall learne it rather in the words of our old Poet *Gower* then [53] in mine, that he may see it is no new opinion, but a truth deliver'd of old by a voice from heav'n, and ratify'd by long experience,

This Constantine which heal¹⁹ hath found
 Within Rome anon let²⁰ found
 Two Churches which he did make
 For Peter and for Pauls sake:
 Of whom he had a vision,
 And yafe²¹ therto possession
 Of Lordship and of worlds good;

¹⁴ See *Animadversions*, above, pp. 718–21.

¹⁵ *Modest Confutation*, p. 36, quotes *Animadversions*, above, p. 718, and says in part: "What is that which you call flattery? standing up by the King. Is it not their duty? and yours too, were ye not so great Patrons of popularity? If the Kings Sovereignty be inviolable, may it not lawfully be published?"

¹⁶ The insistence here that sovereignty rests in law is to be elaborated in *The Tenure* (1649, p. 12), where the same definition of tyranny is also to be given. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, XII, 24–39, the account of Numrod, and Milton's attack on Charles as a tyrant in *Eikonoklastes*, Chapter VI.

¹⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 36, again quotes from the same page of *Animadversions* and says, in part: "It is one of those young Scholars that asks your Eldership, whether there were not birds and beasts of prey, that did devour your flock, before ere the Church were so much beholding to the bounty of Princes and Nobles as now she is?" Milton's attacks on the Confuter as youthful are apparently based on this passage.

¹⁸ The voice in the quotation that follows.

¹⁹ Salvation.

²⁰ Caused to be.

²¹ Gave.

But how so that his will was good
 Toward the Pope and his Franchise ²²
 Yet hath it proved otherwise
 To see the working of the deed,
 For in Cronick thus I read
 Anon as he hath made the yeft ²³
 A voice was heard on high the left ²⁴
 Of which all Rome was adrad ²⁵
 And said this day venim is shad ²⁶
 In holy Church, of temporall
 That medleth with the spirituall
 And how it stant ²⁷ in that degree
 Yet may a man the sooth ²⁸ see.
 God amend it whan he will
 I can ²⁹ thereto none other skill.³⁰

But there were beasts of prey, saith he, before wealth was bestow'd
 on the Church.³¹ What though? because the Vulturs had then but
 small pickings; shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? ³² if
 they for lucre use to creepe into the Church undiscernably,³³ the
 more wisdom will it be so to provide that no reuennu there may ex-
 ceed the golden mean. For so, good Pastors will be content, as having
 need of no more, and knowing withall the precept and example of

²² Freedom.

²³ Gift.

²⁴ Lifte, in the sky.

²⁵ Fearful, aghast.

²⁶ Poison is shed.

²⁷ Stands.

²⁸ Truth.

²⁹ Know.

³⁰ The passage is from Book II of John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (1532), ll. 3475-96; see George C. Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower* (4 vols., Oxford, 1901), II, 223-24. The glossary is in Volume III.

³¹ Referring to the quotation given above, p. 946, n. 17.

³² In the passage from the *Anmadversions* to which the *Modest Confutation* has referred occurs the phrase, "the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come, and gorge upon the Church." "Gorge" as a noun means "a meal for a hawk." *NED*, citing this passage. There is a possible allusion to Isaiah 34:15. "Then shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate."

³³ Cf. "Lycidas," l. 115: "Creepe and intrude, and climb into the fold."

Christ and his Apostles,³⁴ and also will be lesse tempted to ambition. The bad will have but small matter whereon to set their mischiefes a work.³⁵ And the worst and sutlest heads will not come at all, when they shall see the [54] crop nothing answerable to their capacious greedinesse. For small temptations allure but dribling offenders; but a great purchase will call such as both are most able of themselves, and will be most inabl'd hereby to compasse dangerous projects.³⁶ But saith he, *A widows house will tempt as well as a Bishops Palace.*³⁷ Acutely spok'n. Because neither we, nor the Prelats can abolish widows houses³⁸ which are but an occasion taken of evill without the Church, therefore we shall set up within the Church a Lottery of such prizes as are the direct inviting causes of avarice and ambition, both unnecessary and harmefull to be propos'd, and most easie, most convenient, and needfull to be remov'd. *Yea but they are in a wise dispensers hand.*³⁹ Let them be in whose hand they will, they are most apt to blind, to puffe up and pervert the most seeming good. And how they have bin kept from Vultures, what ever the dispensers care hath bin, we have learnt by our miseries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein, or humor took him, when he let drop into his paper. I that was ere while the ignorant, the loyterer, on the sudden by his permission am now granted to *know something*: And that *such a volley of expressions* he hath met withall, *as he would never desire to have them better cloth'd.*⁴⁰ For me, Readers, although I cannot say

³⁴ See Matthew 10:7-10 for Christ's instructions to his Disciples.

³⁵ Archaic for "to work." Cf. II Chronicles 11:18, "overseers to set the people a worke." NED.

³⁶ The thought here is to be found in I Timothy 6:6-10

³⁷ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 36, "Whether the Devill can allure never a Cobler from his *awl* and last under a fat Prebendary? whether a Widows house be not as tempting as a Bishops Palace?" An allusion to the earlier charge about Milton's ambition; see above, p. 930, n. 69.

³⁸ From the context the meaning seems to be "houses of ill fame." Cf. *Eikonoklasts*, Chapter XXIV (1649, pp. 196-97): "your *sweet Sippets* in Widdows houses." But see Matthew 23:14: "But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses."

³⁹ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 37: "But in good earnest Sir, for Bishopricks and Denaries [*sic*], they are in too wise a Dispencers hands to be given to Vultures; had it been otherwise, perhaps yours and your fellows mouths ere this had been stopt."

⁴⁰ After quoting *Animadversions* about "heathen Philosophers" and "virtue" (above, p. 719), the Confuter writes (1642, p. 37): "Now I see you know somewhat and were I not assured that other passions distracted you, I could easily be enclined to think that this volley of expressions proceeded from a love of good-

that I am utterly untrain'd in those rules which best Rhetoricians have giv'n, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongu,⁴¹ yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the serious and hearty love of truth: And that whose mind so ever is fully possest with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words (by what I can expresse) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well order'd files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our discours. Christ refus'd great riches, and large honours at the Devils hand. But why, saith he, *as they were tender'd by him from whom it was a sin to receive them.*⁴² Timely remember'd: why is it not therefore as much a sin to receive a Liturgy of the masses giving, were it for nothing else but for the giver? *But he could make no use of such a high estate,* quoth the Confuter; opportunely. For why then should the servant take upon him to use those things which his master had unfitted him-[55] selfe to use, that hee might teach his ministers to follow his steps in the same ministry. But *they were offer'd him to a bad end.* So they prove to the Prelats; who after their preferment most usually change the teaching labour of the word,⁴³ into the unteaching ease of Lordship over consciences, and purses. But hee proceeds, *God entic't the Israelites with the promise of Canaan.*⁴⁴ Did not the Prelats bring as slavish mindes with them, as the Jewes brought out of Egypt,⁴⁵ they had left out that instance. Besides that it was then the time, when as the best of them, as Saint Paul saith, *was shut up unto the faith under the Law* their School-maister,⁴⁶ who was forc't to intice them as chil-

nesse: indeed so much the more easily inclined, by how much I would fain have it so For were there no guile in them, as I do continually nourish such thoughts, so would I never desire to have them better cloathed: if at any time a floud of eloquence becomes us, it is when we expresse such a love, or such an indignation!"

⁴¹ See a similar passage earlier, p. 890. For the background of the following sentence, see above, p. 900.

⁴² *Modest Confutation*, pp. 37-38 (misnumbered 39), shortly after the quotation just given. There are other quotations by Milton from this passage in the ensuing sentences.

⁴³ See Matthew 28:19-20.

⁴⁴ *Modest Confutation*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ See Exodus 14:11-12.

⁴⁶ The italicized words are in Galatians 3:23; verses 24-25 bring in the idea of the law as "Schoolmaster."

dren with childish enticements. But the Gospell is our manhood, and the ministry should bee the manhood of the Gospell, not to looke after, much lesse so basely to plead for earthly rewards.⁴⁷ *But God incited the wisest man Salomon with these means.*⁴⁸ Ah Confuter of thy selfe, this example hath undone thee, *Salomon* askt an understanding heart, which the Prelats have little care to ask. He askt no riches which is their chiefe care: therefore was the prayer of *Salomon* pleasing to God; hee gave him wisdome at his request, and riches without asking: ⁴⁹ as now hee gives the Prelats riches at their seeking, and no wisdome because of their perverse asking. But hee gives not over yet, *Moses had an eye to the reward.*⁵⁰ To what reward, thou man that looks't with *Balaams* eyes,⁵¹ to what reward had the faith of *Moses* an eye to? He that had forsaken all the greatnesse of *Egypt*, and chose a troublesome journey in his old age through the Wildernesse, and yet arriv'd not at his journies end: His faithfull eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible reward, promis'd to *Abraham* and his seed in the *Messiah*,⁵² hee sought a heav'nly reward which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to such a reward every good man may have a respect. But the Prelats are eager of such rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worse. *Iacob* a Prince borne, vow'd, that if God would *but give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, then the Lord should be his God.*⁵³ But the Prelats of meane birth, and oft times of lowest, making shew as if they were call'd to the spirituall and humble ministry of the Gospell, [56] yet murmur, and thinke it a hard service, unlesse contrary to the tenour of their profession, they may eat the bread and weare the honours of Princes.⁵⁴ So much more covetous and base they are then *Simon Magus*, for he proffer'd a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be

⁴⁷ The idea here would seem to be based on I Corinthians 13.11 and 14.20; cf. also Ephesians 4:14 and Hebrews 5:12-14.

⁴⁸ Another quotation from *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 38.

⁴⁹ See I Kings 3.9-13.

⁵⁰ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 38.

⁵¹ Probably not the Balaam mentioned in Numbers 22.22-35 because there he received his eyes from the Lord and in Chapter 24 prophesies the future of Israel. See II Peter 2:12-16.

⁵² Among other places, see Genesis 18.18, 22.18, 26:4; Acts 3:25; Galatians 3.8-18.

⁵³ See Genesis 28:20-22.

⁵⁴ A comma after "unlesse" makes the meaning clearer. The charge here was a commonplace (see Brooke, *A Discourse* [1641], pp. 38-39), and Hall's own origin was humble.

meanly hir'd to.⁵⁵ But saith he, *Are not the Clergy members of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike?*⁵⁶ Carnall textman! As if worldly thriving were one of the priviledges wee have by being in Christ, and were not a providence oft times extended more liberally to the Infidell then to the Christian. Therefore must the Ministers of Christ not be over rich or great in the world, because their calling is spirituall, not secular; because they have a speciall warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many impediments: because their Maister Christ gave them this precept, and set them this example, told them this was the mystery of his comming, by meane things and persons to subdue mighty ones:⁵⁷ and lastly because a middle estate is most proper to the office of teaching. Whereas higher dignity teaches farre lesse, and blindes the teacher.⁵⁸ Nay, saith the Confuter, fetching his last indeavour, *The Prelats will be very loath to let go their Baronies, and votes in Parlament, and calls it Gods cause, with an unsufferable impudence. Not that they love the honours and the means, good men and generous, but that they would not have their countrey made guilty of such a sacrilege and injustice.*⁵⁹ A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends! That which hee imputes as sacrilege to his countrey, is the only way left them to purge that abominable sacrilege out of the land, which none but the Prelats are guilty of.⁶⁰ Who for the discharge of

⁵⁵ See Acts 8.9-11, 18-24. "Magus" means magician, but in Acts he is called "the sorcerer."

⁵⁶ *Modest Confutation*, p. 38, after quoting two passages from *Animadversions* about "A true Pastor of Christ's sending" and about God and "the sons of Nobles," above, p. 721, says (p. 39, misnumbered 38): "Hath God impropriated all the riches of the earth for the use of Lay men only? are not Clergy-men members of the body of Christ, why should not each member thrive alike? if these must be poor and naked, so let the rest be; and though there be in this but little wisdom, yet will there be some indifferency."

⁵⁷ Alluding probably to the parable of the mustard seed, Matthew 13:31, Mark 5:31-32.

⁵⁸ See Milton strictures on the greed of the bishops (above, pp. 947-48), ideas which anticipate his opposition to any state-supported clergy.

⁵⁹ *Modest Confutation*, p. 40, quotes *Animadversions* on the bishops who "would tugge for a Barony, to sit and vote in Parliament," above, p. 722, and answers in part: "Yes marry, what else? That man that was and could have still been content without those honours, will be very loath now to let them go; yet not so much that he loves the honours or means that accompany them, as that he would not have his countrey made guilty of so shameful a depriving him of them." Clearly this passage was written prior to the king's acceptance of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill; see above, p. 921, n. 18.

⁶⁰ This passage hardly sounds as though it could have been written after the

one single duty receive and keepe that which might bee enough to satisfie the labours of many painefull Ministers better deserving then themselves. Who possesse huge Benefices for lazie performances, great promotions, only for the execution of a cruell disgospelling jurisdiction. Who ingrosse many pluralities under a *non-resident* and slubbring⁶¹ dispatch of soules. Who let hundreds of parishes famish in one *Diocesse*, while they the [57] Prelats are mute, and yet injoy that wealth that would furnish all those darke places with able supply, and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earles, and yet hoard up. They who chase away all the faithfull Shepheards of the flocke, and bring in a dearth of spirituall food, robbing thereby the Church of her dearest treasure, and sending heards of souls starvling⁶² to Hell, while they feast and riot upon the labours of hireling Curats, consuming and purloynning even that which by their foundation is allow'd, and left to the poore, and to reparations of the Church. These are they who have bound the land with the sinne of Sacrilege, from which mortall ingagement wee shall never be free, till wee have totally remov'd with one labour as one individuall thing Prelaty and Sacrilege.⁶³ And herein will the King be a true defender of the Faith,⁶⁴ not by paring or lessning, but by distributing in due proportion the maintenance of the Church, that all parts of the Land may equally partake the plentifull and diligent preaching of the faith, the scandall of Ceremonies thrown out, that delude and circumvent the faith. And the usurpation of Prelats laid levell, who are in words the Fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will best confirme him in that glorious title. Thus yee have heard, Readers, how many shifts and wiles the Prelats have invented to save their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetousnesse are the sure markes of those false Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude these to bee as great seducers, as any of the latter times.⁶⁵ For betweene this and the judgement day, doe not looke for

king's acceptance of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, February 14, 1642. See Masson II, 353, 398.

⁶¹ From "slubber," "to run or skim over hurriedly and in a careless or slovenly manner." *NED*.

⁶² "Variant of starving." *NED*.

⁶³ Milton wants the total elimination of bishops; see above, p. 951, n. 56.

⁶⁴ *Modest Confutation* (1642), p. 40, uses the phrase in the sentence after that quoted above, p. 951, n. 59.

⁶⁵ See Romans 16:18 and II Peter 2:1-3.

any arch deceavers who in spight of reformation will use more craft, or lesse shame to defend their love of the world, and their ambition, then these Prelats have done. And if yee thinke that soundnesse of reason, or what force of argument soever, will bring them to an ingenuous silence, yee think that which will never be. But if ye take that course which *Erasmus* was wont to say *Luther* tooke against the Pope and Monks, if yee [58] denounce warre against their Miters and their bellies, ye shall soon discerne that *Turbant* ⁶⁶ of pride which they weare upon their heads to be no *helmet of salvation*,⁶⁷ but the meere mettle and horn-work ⁶⁸ of Papall jurisdiction; and that they have also this guift, like a certaine kinde of some that are possest, to have their voice in their bellies, which being well drain'd and taken downe, their great Oracle, which is only there, will soone be dumbe, and the *Divine right of Episcopacy* ⁶⁹ forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and disputes.

⁶⁶ "Applied to the head dress of the ancient Jewish high priest." *NED*.

⁶⁷ See Ephesians 6:17.

⁶⁸ "Work done in horn, articles of horn." *NED*, quoting this; but later under "Fortifications": "A single fronted outwork . . . It is thrown out to occupy advantageous ground which it would have been inconvenient to include in the original enceinte." "Mettle" in the sense of "stuff" or substance of which the thing is made

⁶⁹ Alluding to Hall's pamphlet, *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (1640); *Works* (1863), IX, 142-281.

The End

APPENDIX A

LEGAL INDEX

PREFACE AND NOTES BY MAURICE KELLEY

TRANSLATION BY RUTH MOHL

THE *Legal Index* translated below was first ascribed to Milton in the Columbia edition,¹ where it was printed in the text as an "addition" to Milton's authentic *Commonplace Book*. Here, however, it is relegated to an appendix because its right to inclusion in the Milton canon has yet to be clearly established.

This *Index* is found in the Columbia Manuscript, a notebook once owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps² and now preserved under the press mark X823M64/S52 in the Columbia University Library. Bound in vellum, the manuscript is a narrow volume of 78 leaves, measuring approximately 15¼ x 5¾ inches. It contains the work of two seventeenth-century scribes³ who began at opposite ends of the notebook and worked

¹ Columbia, XVIII, 221-26, 509-10.

² According to information kindly supplied by Phillip Robinson of William H. Robinson, Ltd., and A. N. L. Munby, Librarian of King's College, Cambridge, Phillipps seems to have purchased the manuscript about 1828 from Thomas Thorpe of 38 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London. Earlier, in 1703-06, the manuscript was in the possession of Bernard Gardiner, Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford; and later, in 1921, it was purchased by Nicholas Murray Butler for the Columbia University Library. For notices and discussions, see *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart.* (Medio-Montanis, 1837) No. 3993: *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S. VI (1836), 462; Auguste Geffroy, *Étude sur les Pamphlets Politiques et Religieux de Milton* (Paris, 1848), p. 242; *N&Q*, 4 Ser., IV (1869), 263, and VIII (1871), 46, and CLXXIII (1937), 66; *Book-Auction Records*, XVIII (1920-21), 534; *Autograph Prices Current*, VI (1921-22), 12; *ELH*, IV (1937), 311; *Columbia*, XIII, 594-95, and XVIII, 501, 509-10, 519-20, 556, 644-45; J. Milton French, *Milton in Chancery* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1939), p. 151; Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's* (1948), p. 176.

³ In addition to the work of these two scribes, Phillipps has entered his press-mark, signature, and notes on what is now p. [1]; and Gardiner has used the inside of what is now the back cover and pp. [156]-55, 153, 151-[48], 143-[40], [138], [136], [134], [132], [130]-[126] for accounts, notes, a list of addresses, and a catalogue of his library.

towards the center. Their entries, listed according to the modern pagination of the book,⁴ are as follows:

SCRIBE I⁵

"Of Statues & Antiquities."	pp. 3-[4]
"A breif descripcion of Genoa."	pp. [4]-5
"The difference of all degrees & y ^e order of their going by Tho Sherer . . ."	pp. 5-[6]
"The State of a Secretaries place written by y ^e Earle of Salisbury."	pp. [6]-7
"Some particulars settled by y ^e wisdome of former tmes & ratified by long custome concerning y ^e office of Requests."	pp. 7-[8]
"of y ^e office of a Constable of England"	pp. [8]
"The office & jurisdicon of y ^e Constable & Marshall of Engl. & their Antiquity."	pp. 9-[12]
"Series ordinum omnium procerum magnatum et nobilium . . . per Nobilissimum Jasperem Ducem Bedford . . ."	pp. [12]
"Of y ^e L ^d . Chancellors originall, his power &c"	pp. 13-[16]
"The manner of Proceeding att this day in Chancery."	pp. [16]-17
"Sir Rob. Cotton touching y ^e Spanish Ambassador"	pp. 17-19
"Proposalls of certaine expedients . . . by J. M."	pp. 19-21
Version of "A Letter to a Friend Occasioned by the Ruptures in the Commonwealth", signed "J. M. Octob. 20th 1659."	pp. 21-23
Transcripts of 156 Letters of State composed by John Milton.	pp. 23-79

SCRIBE II

"Injuria."	(p. 7) p. [144]
"Testamentum "	(p. 6) p. 145

⁴ The modern pagination consists of pencilled odd numbers on the bottom of the recto of the leaves. I have designated the unnumbered versos by even numbers enclosed in square brackets. The only seventeenth-century pagination is the numbers 1-7 written in ink in the upper outer corners of what are now pp. [150]-[44]. In the table of contents above, these seven numbers are indicated by parentheses. They run counter to the modern pagination because after one scribe had worked on the manuscript, the second scribe reversed the volume on its horizontal axis and began writing on what then became the first pages of the book. Thus, today, the modern pagination stands inverted at the top of the pages bearing seventeenth-century page numbers

⁵ This designation of the scribes as I and II should not be taken to imply the priority of Scribe I to Scribe II in the preparation of the manuscript. The document itself furnishes no clear evidence of priority, and the numbers I and II merely indicate the order in which one meets the two hands if he follows the modern pagination of the document. The Columbia Milton assertion (XVIII, 509) that Scribe II was prior to Scribe I apparently depends on the fact that the seventeenth-century pagination appears in Scribe II's work. But this pagination is not for the whole notebook, but only for the *Legal Index* and begins on the fourth, rather than the first, leaf. The date affixed to the end of "A Letter to a Friend," p. 23, indicates that Scribe I did not make his transcript earlier than October 20, 1659. There is no hint as to when Scribe II made his entries other than that they were made earlier than Gardiner's notes, 1703-06.

"Causa Civilis et criminalis."	(p. 5)	p. [146]
"Materia et Materiatum."	(p. 4)	p. 147
"Sententia."	(p. 3)	p. [148]
"Judicium."	(p. 2)	p. 149
"Relegatus "	(p. 1)	p. [150]
A table of the Legal Index		p. [152]
"English Phrases derivd from y ^e Latine Tongue &c."		p. 154

Appearance of the *Legal Index* in a manuscript likewise containing three recognized Milton items⁶ seems the basic reason for attributing this *Index* to Milton. Co-presence in the same manuscript, however, is not invariable proof of identity of authorship, especially when this particular document is a miscellaneous collection and contains a number of items that clearly belong to other authors.⁷ Neither of the two scribes, furthermore, has yet been established as a known amanuensis of Milton. The Columbia Milton⁸ identified Scribe I as the amanuensis who affixed Milton's procurational signature to the *Paradise Lost* contract of April 27, 1667, but this identification is highly uncritical; it ignores the contrasting general appearance of the two hands as well as idiosyncrasies in the formation of individual letters.⁹ And finally, the form of the notes and table of the *Index* differs markedly from that of Milton's authentic *Commonplace Book*.¹⁰ Thus, nothing in the manuscript precludes any number of suppositions other than that followed in the Columbia Milton. For example, the Scribe I items may have been made at Milton's direction and the Scribe II entries by a later owner. The notebook may have been the property of a friend or relative of Milton, such as Christopher Milton or Richard Powell, Jr.,¹¹ who prepared the *Legal Index* and later

⁶ *Proposalls of certaine expedients*, pp. 19-21; version of "A Letter to a Friend," pp. 21-23; and the transcript of the 156 Letters of State, pp. 23-79.

⁷ Sir Thomas Sherer, pp. 5-[6]; the Earl of Salisbury, pp. [6]-7; Sir Robert Cotton, pp. 17-19.

⁸ Columbia, XIII, 594.

⁹ This identification was apparently made by comparison of the procurational signature with the initials "J.M." affixed to the Milton items on pp. 19 and 23. The handwriting of the signature is much less angular and shows taller supralinear loops than the handwriting of Scribe I. The "J" of Scribe I shows a short and flat infralinear loop, which is not brought through the perpendicular staff of the letter; the "J" of the signature shows a longer infralinear loop, which is brought up through the staff. The initial semioval with which the "M" of the signature begins does not drop below the line as it regularly tends to do in the Scribe I handwriting.

¹⁰ Note in the two documents, for instance, the different methods of alignment of lines on the left margin. The index page of *Commonplace Book*, furthermore, is not set up alphabetically as is the table of the *Legal Index*.

¹¹ Both Milton's brother and brother-in-law should be investigated as possible owners of the Columbia manuscript. Both were associated with the Middle Temple and consequently interested in the law; and the manuscript first appears at All Souls', a college with which the Powell family long had business dealings.

had the Scribe I materials entered in the manuscript. Or the document may have had two successive owners, neither of whom was Milton.¹² In short, the evidence of the manuscript is ambiguous; and until these three and other possibilities are eliminated, the case for Milton's authorship of the *Legal Index* should not be taken as proved.

Compiled by someone interested in legal matters, the notes derive for the most part from materials easily consulted today in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*; and in the translation below, pertinent sections of the *Corpus*, along with the volume and page numbers in the Krueger-Mommsen edition (Berolini, 1902-04) are cited in square brackets. Certain other sources, indicated by references, apparently, to a work on canon law (page 3), to a gloss (page 4), and to a Summa on the Institutes of Justinian (page 7, note 2), have yet to be identified.

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¹² For instance, the transcript of the Letters of State made at the instigation of the Danish Resident (Thomas Birch, *Works*, 1753, I, lxxiii), has yet to be found and identified.

LEGAL INDEX

(from the Columbia Manuscript)

[Contents of the Legal Index]

Civilis causa et criminalis, 5.
Judicium 2.
Injuria. 7.
Materia et materiatum 4.
Ordo Judi
Relegatus 1.
Sententia 3.
Testamentum. 6.

[P.] 1

EXILE

A^N exile can make a will. L[ex] 5. D[igest] de reb[us] dubiis (concerning doubtful matters). [D. 34. 5. 5; *CIC*, I, 492]

[P.] 2

TRIAL

In the Dominion, to wit, the Holy Roman Empire, the law may proceed without the form of a trial, in conformity with the Emperor's decree after "all the truth of the facts has been looked into," especially in civil cases.

A trial is so called from the summons to the end of the judgment, and comprises the matter in dispute, the case, and the duration of proceedings in its meaning.

A trial is the administration of justice, which is rendered by a judge in a case put before him. Which case is either civil or criminal.

If the parties wish to dispense with the court routine entirely, they can, and a hearing and award follow; however, this is not permitted in some actions.

[P.] 3

JUDGMENT

The decision of the judge is not pronounced as it ought to be unless it is written by itself. L[ex] I C[odex] de sententiis ex periculo rec[itandis] (concerning the reading out of judgments from a lawsuit). [C. 7. 44; *CIC*, II, 315] In Canon law it has validity even without writing. Chap[ter] 43. Extract concerning those making wills and witnesses. Ans.

[P.] 4

MATERIAL AND PRODUCT

What is ordained concerning raw material is not usually thought to be established concerning the product. L[ex] 18 section 3, D[igest] de pign[eraticia] act[i]one (concerning a mortgage case). [D. 13. 7. 18. 3; *CIC*, I, 183] Otherwise, if the same procedure governs both, as where the sale of grain is forbidden outside the territory, it is forbidden for flour also. Hel: ad C[odex] ad liberandum 17. Col[umn] 2 de Judaeis.

[P.] 5

CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASE

The continuance of criminal cases does not last more than two years, civil cases within three years; with the exception of those which relate to public revenue and affairs of state, to bequests entrusted to a guardian's care, and to questions of freedom, which must be ended within a year from the time of the introduction of the lawsuit—L[ex] properandum C[odex] de iudiciis (Law for hastening. Codex on trials). [C. 3. 1. 13; *CIC*, II, 120]

A civil case is so called when it is brought to trial mainly for private advantage, whether it results from a crime or from a contract; a case is called criminal when it is tried mainly for public advantage, namely, for a crime.

Where a criminal indictment concerning punishment arises, there a lawsuit also in the matter is of importance; where a civil suit does not arise, there nothing criminal is involved either. Sometimes both are completed together, by the office, namely, of the judge who enforces reparation; the two suits are not originally brought together. L[ex] I D[igest] de concuss[i]one (concerning concussion) Law in fin (fine?) Digest de his qui effuderint aut deiecerint (of those who squandered or dispossessed). [D. 47. 13. 1; *CIC*, I, 787; D. 9. 3; *CIC*, I, 131]

It is possible to bring a criminal suit even though a civil suit has

been brought before that, if the one suit concerns punishment, the other a private affair, and if the one is ended before the other is begun. *Lex unica* C[odex] Quando Civilis A[cti]o (when it is a civil action). [C. 9. 31. 1; *CIC*, II, 385]

[P.] 6

WILL

A first will is annulled by a second. L[ex] Sancimus Cod[ex] de test[amentis] (concerning witnesses) [C. 6. 23. 27; *CIC*, II, 256]; unless a clause is put in the first that it should not be annulled. L[ex] 12: section 3. D[igest de] Leg[atis et fideicommissis] I (of deputies and guardians). [D. 30. 12. 3; *CIC*, I, 416]

[P.] 7

PERSONAL INJURY

In a complaint of a personal injury, an added statement as to place and time is required with the usual pleas, L[ex] Libellorum D[igest] de accus[ationibus] (concerning accusations), unless this is settled by the confession of the party, or if it be in a case of blasphemy. [D. 48. 2. 3; *CIC*, I, 791]

The plaintiff assesses the amount of injury by oath; the judge assigns a third part to the plaintiff and two thirds to the court; formerly he assigned all to the plaintiff. Sections in *Summa Inst[itutio] de injur[iis]* (Digest of the law concerning injuries).

The assigning should be done according to the nature of the injury to the one injured, the place, and the time.

APPENDIX B

A POSTSCRIPT

PREFACE AND NOTES BY DON M. WOLFE

MASSON was the first to suspect that *A Postscript* to the Smectymnuan *An Answer* was written or compiled by Milton.¹ This judgment Masson based upon what he calls Milton's "virtual acknowledgment of the authorship" in *Animadversions*.² To Hall's charge that "you thinke to garnish your worke with a goodly *Pasquin* borrowed (for a great part) out of *Sion's Plea*; and the Breviate consisting of a rhapsodye of Histories,"³ Milton replies, "The collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique authors in this kinde as any in a Bishops library; and the collector of it sayes moreover that, if the like occasion come againe, hee shall lesse need the help of breviate, or historicall rhapsodies, than your reverence to eek out your sermonings shall need repaire to *Postills*, or *Polianthea's*."⁴ Milton's words, "the collector of it," are the key to this "virtual acknowledgment," which Masson calls "distinct proof." Masson notes, as have later scholars, that the violent language of *Animadversions* becomes most fierce and personal in Milton's discussion of Hall's comments on *A Postscript*.

Masson's judgment had no additional verification until 1916, when Will T. Hale in his edition of *Of Reformation* pointed to a number of parallels between the phraseology of *A Postscript* and passages in *Of Reformation*. At that time Hale wrote, "Milton was probably the author of the *Postscript*. At least, it must be conceded that he compiled the examples from English history enumerated in it. This is obvious from a comparison of its ideas and wording with those in *Of Reformation*. The spirit of the two is the same. The historical allusions, for the most part, are identical. They are used to illustrate the same points. And, in general, there is an agreement in the wording that could not have been accidental."⁵ Two of the key passages cited by Hale are as follows:

¹ Masson, II, 244.

² *Ibid.*, II, 261.

³ Hall, *A Defence* (1641), p. 163; Masson, II, 261.

⁴ Above, p. 730.

⁵ Hale, p. liii.

*A Postscript**Of Reformation*

Whence perhaps it is that the Sea of *Canterbury* hath affected a Patriarchy in our dayes

hee a Patriarch-dome . . . as the French Cardinall of late, and the *See* of *Canterbury* hath plainly affected

For *Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester* perswading the King to displace English Officers and substitute Poictivines, and telling the Lords to their faces that there were no Peeres in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might do what he would, and by whom he would, became a firebrand to the civill warres that followed⁶

When the *Bishop of Winchester* durst tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realme, that there were no Peeres in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might doe what hee pleas'd⁷

On the basis of these passages Hale concluded that the sources cited in *A Postscript* Milton had also used in *Of Reformation*.

The present edition adds new evidence to that of Masson and Hale that Milton was the author or compiler of *A Postscript*. This proof is based in part upon the page references cited by Milton. It is apparent from the *Commonplace Book* that Milton had read very carefully Holinshed, Speed, and Stow. The page references to Holinshed fit the 1587 edition of the *Chronicles*, those to Speed the 1627 edition of the *Historie*, and those to Stow the 1615 edition of the *Annales*. In *A Postscript* there are thirty-two page references to the 1587 Holinshed, twenty-one references to the 1627 Speed, and one page reference to the 1615 Stow. These page references are accurate. In checking them one by one, I have not discovered a single error. Of the thirty-two page references to Holinshed in *A Postscript*, five are identical with those in the *Commonplace Book*. Of the twenty-one page references from Speed cited in *A Postscript*, two identical ones are cited in the *Commonplace Book*. Moreover, comparison of page references to Speed Holinshed in *A Postscript* and the *Commonplace Book* reveals some striking parallel concentration on particular sections of the two histories. For example, such Speed references in *A Postscript* as pages 442, 448, 529, and 530 run closely parallel to Speed references in the *Commonplace Book*, pages 435, 447, 449, 532, 537.

As pointed out by Hale, Hanford, and Mohl,⁸ Milton often uses the same references (even some of the same phrasing) in later prose works that he had incorporated in the *Commonplace Book*. It is significant that Milton's reference to Anselm in the *Commonplace Book* appears also in

⁶ Below, p. 970.

⁷ Above, pp. 529, 581.

⁸ Hale, pp. l-iii; Hanford, "Chronology," pp. 267-68; Mohl, above, p. 358.

A Postscript with the same page reference to Holinshed nearby and a mention of Stow. The reference to Anselm in the *Commonplace Book* is accompanied in the same paragraph with a reference to the whoredom of John Cremensis. In *A Postscript* the two references are within a page of each other. "John Cremensis beeing detected himselfe of whoredom"⁹ and "*Cremonensis* . . . taken with a strumpet the same night"¹⁰ are parallels that could hardly have been accidental. What is especially significant of Milton's hand is that near each naming of Cremensis appears the reference to Anselm's prohibition of marriage. Cremensis is also mentioned in *A Postscript* as "the declamor against matrimony."¹¹ Parallels may be traced also between *A Postscript* and Milton's later works (not always with page references), such as the mention of the slaughter of the monks of Bangor, which appears in both *A Postscript* and *History of Britain*.¹²

Another kind of evidence, as pointed out in the introduction to this volume, is the fiery diction of *A Postscript*, which is in sharp contrast to the moderate, restrained vocabulary of the Smectymnuans. Words and phrases such as the following appear to me to be authentically Miltonian:

inhumane butcheries
suspected fornicatour
affected a Patriarchy
vext with one Prelat
unchristian jangling
the King made them shrink
Bishop of Elie was notorious
firebrand of the civill warres
deficiencie of zeale and courage
insulting over the Dukes

haughty pride of *Beaufort*
first nipping of their courage
wide wounds, that *Wickleffe* made in their sides
taken with a strumpet the same night
Beckets pride and outrageous treasons
murthuring Priests from the temporall sword
above a hundred murthers since *Henry* the seconds crowning
intollerable pride, extortion, bribery, luxurie of *Wolsey* . . . who can bee ignorant of

vomit
odious pride
riotous servant
blood-sheddings
insolent traytor
bleede afresh
who knowes not
bloodie brawles
pompous out-side
excessive extortion
his tongue so swelling

Such phrases suggestive of Milton's diction cannot be considered important evidence of Milton's hand unless they are coupled with actual parallels in the prose works. Readers familiar with Milton's style, how-

⁹ CPB, p. 109.

¹⁰ Below, p. 968.

¹¹ Below, p. 968.

¹² Below, p. 966; *History of Britain* (1670), p. 144.

ever, find phrase after phrase in *A Postscript* close to the diction of Milton's stinging epithets in *Of Reformation* and *Animadversions*. The only two contemporaries who might have written the phrases cited are Leighton and Prynne, who sometimes equal Milton in forcefulness and bluntness, but not in his skill of interpolating correlative ideas in his stream of thought in images and phrases of overwhelming intensity and compression.

The various kinds of evidence brought forth thus far to prove that Milton wrote or compiled *A Postscript* may be summarized as follows:

1. The rough parallel between the chronological account of English bishops in *Of Reformation* and that of *A Postscript*.
2. Milton's "virtual acknowledgment" of his authorship of *A Postscript* in *Animadversions*.
3. Parallels in phrasing of *Of Reformation* and *A Postscript*.
4. Page references in *A Postscript* showing that the editions of Holinshed, Speed, and Stow cited there are those used by Milton in the *Commonplace Book*.
5. The references to Anselm and Cremensis used together in both *A Postscript* and *Commonplace Book*.
6. The Miltonic diction of *A Postscript* without reference to exactly parallel phrases in other prose works.

Of these types of evidence, 1 is unimportant. Types 2, and 3, though important, are correlative and indirect. The most nearly conclusive are 3, 4, and 5. Let us consider these in order. Since *An Answer* appeared around March 21, 1641, it is conceivable that Milton could have read *A Postscript* and unconsciously incorporated some of the phrasing in *Of Reformation*. We know, however, that Milton did not depend upon contemporary pamphlets, however close to his views, for his historical knowledge. The parallels in phrasing, then, based upon the same sources, Holinshed, Speed, and Stow, are formidable evidence of Milton's participation in the actual writing. The page references to three main source editions which Milton used are to me even more compelling evidence of Milton's hand. The chances that any other author than Milton would have used in *A Postscript* the same editions of three historians cited in the *Commonplace Book* are extremely slight. Other editions available were the Holinshed of 1577, the Speed of 1611, 1614, 1631, 1633, the Stow of 1592, 1601, 1605, 1618. Finally, the parallel Cremensis and Anselm references in *A Postscript* and the *Commonplace Book* are the most striking single bit of evidence that Milton was the compiler of *A Postscript*.

The present text of *A Postscript* is taken from the Yale University Library copy of *An Answer*, M/Sm31. The text has been collated with other

copies of *An Answer*, as follows: "B," McAlpin Collection 1641/H15; "C," McAlpin Collection 1641/S64; "D," Yale Medical Library copy; "D," New York Public Library *KC p.v. 31. A collation of the various copies reveals no difference in the wording of *A Postscript* and only slight differences in typography and punctuation.

In some copies of *An Answer*, *A Postscript* begins on page 85, in other copies on page 95. Collation of the various copies shows that there were two printings of the pamphlet, each containing fifty-two leaves. In the first printing, sigs. gg, gg², gg⁴, ggg, and ggg² were interpolated by the printer without changing the pagination that followed. In the second printing, although the pages of type remained identical, the interpolated signatures were removed and the remainder of the pamphlet given new signatures and pagination. In the first printing signature H4 (page 61) becomes in the second printing K (page 71). *A Postscript*, which in the first printing begins at sig. M, in the second printing begins at sig. N.

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A POSTSCRIPT

THOUGH we might have added much light and beauty to our Discourse, by inserting variety of Histories upon severall occasions given us in the *Remonstrance*, the answer whereof wee have undertaken; especially where it speaks of the *bounty* and *gracious Munificence* of *Religious Princes* toward the *Bishops*,¹ yet unwilling to break the thread of our discourse, and its connexion with the *Remonstrance*, by so large a digression, as the whole series of History producible to our purpose, would extend unto: Wee have chosen rather to subjoyne by way of *appendix*, an historicall Narration of those bitter fruits, *Pride*, *Rebellion*, *Treason*, *Unthankfulness*, &c. which have issued from *Episcopacy*, while it hath stood under the continued influences of Sovereigne goodnesse. Which Narration would fill a volume, but we wil bound our selves unto the Stories of this Kingdome, and that revolution of time which hath passed over us since the erection of the *See* of *Canterbury*. And because in most things the beginning is observed to be a presage of that which followes, let their Founder *Austin* the *Monk* ² come first to be considered. Whom wee may justly account to have beene such to the English, as the Arrian Bishops ³ were of old to the Goths, and the Jesuits now among the Indians, who of Pagans have made but Arrians and Papists. His ignorance in the Gospell which he preached is seene in his idle and Judaicall Consultations with the Pope, about things cleane and uncleane; his proud demeanour toward the British Clergy, appears in his counsell called about no solid point of faith, but celebration of Easter, where having troubled & threatned the Churches of Wales, and afterwards of Scotland, about Romish Ceremonies, hee is said in fine to have beene the stirrer up of *Ethelbert*, by meanes of the Northumbrian King, to the slaughter of twelve hundred of those poore laborious Monks of Bangor.⁴ His Successors busied in nothing but urg-

¹ See Hall, *Humble Remonstrance* (1640), p. 14.

² "A Historie of England," p. 191, in Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1587).

³ (M) Bed. Holinsh. Speed. (*Church History*, in Commelin, *Rerum Britannicarum* [Heidelberg, 1587], pp 172-78; "A Historie of England", p. 191, in *Chronicles*, 1587; *Historie*, 1627, p. 347).

ing and instituting Ceremonies, and maintaining precedence we passe over.

Till *Dunstan*, the Sainted Prelate, who of a frantick Necromancer, and suspected fornicatour, was shorne a Monk, and afterwards made a Bishop.⁵ His worthy deeds are noted by *Speed* to have beene the cheating King *Edred* of the treasure committed to his keeping; the prohibiting of marriage, to the encreasing of all filthinesse in the Clergie of those times; ⁶ as the long Oration of King *Edgar* in *Stow* ⁷ well testifies.

In *Edward* the Confessors ⁸ dayes, *Robert* the Norman no sooner Archbishop of Canterbury, but setting the King and Earle *Godwine* at variance for private revenge broached a civill warre, till the Archbishop was banisht.⁹

Now *William* the Conquerour ¹⁰ had set up *Lanfrank* Bishop of Canterbury, who to requite him, spent his faithfull service to the Pope *Gregorie*, in perswading the King to subject himselfe and his state to the Papacy as himselfe writes to the Pope, *Suasi, sed non persuasi*.¹¹

The treason of *Anselm* to *Rufus* ¹² was notorious, who not content to withstand the King, obstinately in money matters made suit to fetch his Pall or investiture of Archiepiscopacie from Rome, which the King denying as flat against his regall Soveraigntie, he went without his leave, and for his Romish good service received great honour from the Pope, by being seated at his right foot in a Synod, with these words, *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro tanquam alterius orbis Papam*. Whence perhaps it is that the Sea of Canterbury hath affected a Patriarchy in our dayes.¹³ This *Anselm* also condemned the married Clergie.¹⁴

⁴ Holinshed, "A Historie of England", p 104, in *Chronicles* (1587). Cf. Milton, *History of Britam* (1670), p 144.

⁵ (M) *Holinsh* out of *Capgrave*. *Osborn, Higden*. (See "A Historie of England," pp 165-166, in *Chronicles*, 1587)

⁶ *Speed* (1627), pp. 344-45, 386-87.

⁷ *Stow, Annales* (1615), p. 84.

⁸ (M) *Edw. Conf.* (This is the first of Milton's marginal notes identifying the reign about which he is writing.)

⁹ (M) *Holinsh* 191 ("A Historie of England," p. 191, in *Chronicles*, 1587).

¹⁰ (M) *Will Conq.*

¹¹ (M) *Speed*. pag. 442. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 442).

¹² (M) *Will. Ruf.* (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 24, 26).

¹³ Cf. "Patriarch-dome . . . the See of Canterbury hath plainly affected," above, p. 529.

¹⁴ Cf. "forbidden to marry by Anselme," *CPB*, p. 109.

Henry the first ¹⁵ reigning, the same *Anselm* deprived those Prelats that had beene invested by the King, and all the Kingdome is vext with one Prelat, who the second time betakes himselfe to his old fortesse at Rome, till the King was faine to yeeld. Which done, and the Archbishop returned, spends the rest of his dayes in a long contention and unchristian jangling with *York* about Primacie. Which ended not so, but grew as hot betweene *York* and *London*, as Dean to Canterbury, striving for the upper seat at dinner, till the King seeing their odious pride, put them both out of dores.¹⁶

To speak of *Ralf*, and *Thurstan*,¹⁷ the next Archbishops, pursuing the same quarrell, were tedious, as it was no final molestation to the King and Kingdome, *Thurstan* refusing to stand to the Kings doome, and wins the day, or else the King must be accurs't by the Pope; which further animates him to try the mastry with *William* next Archbishop of Canterbury, and no man can end it but their Father the Pope, for which they travel to Rome.¹⁸ In the mean while, marriage is sharply decreed against, *Speed* 448 ¹⁹ and the Legate *Cremonensis*, the declamor against matrimony taken with a strumpet the same night.

In King *Stephens* ²⁰ Reigne, the haughty Bishops of Canterbury and Winchester bandy about precedencie; and to Rome to end the duell. *Theobald* goes to Rome against the Kings will; interdicts the Realme, and the King forc't to suffer it; till refusing to Crowne *Eustace* the Kings sonne, because the Pope had so commanded, he flies againe.²¹

Becket's pride and outrageous treasons are too manifest; ²² resigning the Kings gift of his Archbishoprick to receive it of the Pope; requiring the Custody of Rochester Castle, and the Tower of London, as belonging to his Seignorie.²³ Protects murthering Priests from the

¹⁵ (M) *Henry* I.

¹⁶ (M) *Holinsh.* 37. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 37).

¹⁷ (M) *Holinsh.* 38. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 38).

¹⁸ (M) *Holinsh.* 42. 43. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 42, 43). In *CPB*, p. 109, Milton cites Holinshed, p. 42, and Stow as authority for "John Cremensis beeing detected himselfe of whordom." See above, p. 962.

¹⁹ *Historie* (1627), p. 448.

²⁰ (M) *K. Stephen*.

²¹ (M) *Holinsh.* 57. 58. 59 (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 57, 58, 59).

²² (M) *Henry* 2.

²³ Cf. "Becket durst challenge the custody of *Rotchester Castle* and the Tower of *London*, as appertaining to his Signory," above, p. 580.

temporall sword; ²⁴ standing stify for the liberties and dignities of Clerkes, but little to chastise their vices, which besides other crying sinnes, were above a hundred murthers since *Henry* the seconds crowning, till that time: to maintaine which, most of the Bishops conspire, till terror of the King made them shrink; but *Becket* ²⁵ obdures, denies that the King of Englands Courts have authority to judge him. And thus was this noble King disquieted by an insolent traytor, in habit of a Bishop, a great part of his Reigne; the land in uproar; many excommunicate, and accursed.²⁶ France and England set to warre, and the King himselfe curbed, and controlled; and lastly, disciplin'd by the Bishops and Monks, first with a bare foot penance, that drew blood from his feet, and lastly, with fourescore lashes on his anointed body with rods.

In the same Kings time it was that the Archbishop of York, striving to sit above Canterbury, squatts him down on his lap, whence with many a cuffe hee was throwne downe.²⁷

Next the pride of *W. Longchamp*, Bishop of Elie ²⁸ was notorious, who would ride with a thousand horse, and of a Governour in the Kings absence, became a Tyrant; for which flying in womans apparell he was taken.²⁹

To this succeeds contention betweene Canterbury and York, about carriage of their crosses, and Rome appeal'd to: the Bishop of Durham buyes an Earldome.³⁰

No sooner another King,³¹ but *Hubert* another Archbishop to vex him, and lest that were not enough, made Chancellor of England. And besides him, *Geffry* of York, who refusing to pay a Subsidy within his Precincts, and therefore all his temporalities seiz'd; excommunicates the Sheriffe, beats the Kings Officers, and interdicts his whole Province. *Hubert* outbraves the King in Christmasse house-keeping: hin-

²⁴ (M) *Speed* 467. out of *Nubrigens*. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 467)

²⁵ (M) Yet this mans life is lately printed in English as a thing to be imitated. (No such "late" book about Becket is listed in *Short-Title Catalogue*, McAlpin, or Thomason).

²⁶ (M) *Holinsh.* 70. *Speed.* 469. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 70; *Historie*, 1627, p. 469).

²⁷ (M) *Hol. pag.* 98 (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 98).

²⁸ (M) *Richard* I.

²⁹ (M) *Pag* 129. 130. 132. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 129-32).

³⁰ (M) 144. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 144).

³¹ (M) *K John*.

ders King *John* by his Legantine power from recovering Normandy.³² After him *Stephen Langton*, set up by the Pope in spite of the King, who opposing such an affront, falls under an interdict, with his whole Land; and at the suit of his Archbishop to the Pope, is depos'd by Pall Sentence; his Kingdome given to *Philip* the French King, *Langtons* friend, and lastly resignes and enfeuds his Crowne to the Pope.³³

After this tragicall *Stephen*, the fray which *Boniface*³⁴ the next Archbishop but one had with the Canons of Saint *Bartholmews* is as pleasant; ³⁵ the tearing of Hoods and Cowles, the miring of Copes, the flying about of wax Candles, and Censors in the scuffle, cannot be imagined without mirth; as his oathes were lowd in this bickering, so his curses were as vehement in the contention with the Bishop of *Winchester* for a slight occasion.³⁶ But now the Bishops had turned their contesting into base and servile flatteries, to advance themselves on the ruine of the Subjects. For *Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester* perswading the King to displace English Officers and substitute Poictivines, and telling the Lords to their faces, that there were no Peeres in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might do what he would, and by whom he would, became a firebrand to the civill warres that followed.³⁷

In this time *Peckam* Archbishop of *Can.*³⁸ in a Synod was tempering with the Kings liberties, but being threatned desisted.³⁹ But his successor *Winchelsey* on occasion of Subsidies demanded of the Clergie, made answer, That having two Lords, one Spirituall, the other Temporall, he ought rather to obey the Spirituall governour the Pope,⁴⁰ but that he would send to the Pope, to know his pleasure, and so persisted even to beggerie.⁴¹ The Bishop of *Durham* also cited by the King flies to *Rome*.

³² (M) *Speed*. 503. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 503). Cf. "by their rebellious opposition against King *John*, Normandy was lost," above, p. 581.

³³ (M) *Speed*. 509. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 509).

³⁴ (M) *Hen*. 3.

³⁵ (M) *Stow* 188. (*Stow, Annales*, 1615, p. 188).

³⁶ (M) *Hol*. 247. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 247)

³⁷ (M) *Speed* 529. 530. (*Historie*, 1627, pp. 529-30). Cf. "no Peeres in *England*," etc., above, p. 962, also "fire-cross to civil war," p. 962.

³⁸ (M) *Edward* I.

³⁹ (M) *Hol*. 280. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 280).

⁴⁰ (M) *Hol*. 301. (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 301)

⁴¹ (M) *Hol*. 315 (*Chronicles*, 1587, III, 315).

In the deposing of this King who more forward, then the Bishop of *Hereford*?⁴² wisse his Sermon at *Oxford*, My head, my head aketh concluding that an aking, and sick head of a King was to be taken off without further Physick.⁴³

John the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,⁴⁴ suspected to hinder the Kings glorious victories in *Flanders*, and *France*, by stopping the conveyance of moneys committed to his charge, conspiring therein with the Pope.⁴⁵ But not long after was constituted that fatall *pramunire*, which was the first nipping of their courage, to seeke aide at *Rome*.⁴⁶ And next to that, the wide wounds, that *Wickleffe* made in their sides. From which time they have beene falling, and thenceforth all the smoke, that they could vomit, was turned against the rising light of pure doctrine.

Yet could not their pride misse occasion to set other mischief on foot.⁴⁷ For the Citizens of *London* rising to apprehend a riotous servant of the Bishop of *Salisbury* then Lord Treasurer, who with his fellowes stood on his guard in the Bishops house, were by the Bishop, who maintained the riot of his servant, so complained of, that the King therewith seized on their liberties, and set a Governour over the Citie.⁴⁸ And who knowes not, that *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was a chiefe instrument, and agent in deposing King *Richard*, as his actions and Sermon well declares.⁴⁹

The like intended the Abbot of *Westminster* to *Henry* the fourth,⁵⁰ who for no other reason, but because hee suspected, that the King did not favour the wealth of the Church, drew into a most horrible conspiracie the Earles of *Kent*, *Rutland*, and *Salisbury*, to kill the King in a turnament at *Oxford*,⁵¹ who yet notwithstanding was a man that professed to leave the Church in better state then hee found it. For all this, soone after⁵² is *Richard Scroop* Archbishop of *York* in

⁴² (M) *Edward* 2.

⁴³ (M) *Speed* 574. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 574).

⁴⁴ (M) *Edward* 3.

⁴⁵ (M) *Speed* 586. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 586).

⁴⁶ (M) *Hol.* 409 (*Chronicles*, III, 409).

⁴⁷ (M) *Richard* 2.

⁴⁸ (M) *Hol.* 478 (*Chronicles*, III, 478).

⁴⁹ (M) *Pag.* 506. (*Chronicles*, III, 506).

⁵⁰ (M) *Henry* 4.

⁵¹ (M) *Pag.* 514. (*Chronicles*, III, p. 514).

⁵² (M) *Speed* 631. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 631).

the field against him, the chiefe attractor of the rebellious party.⁵³

In these times ⁵⁴ *Thomas Arundell* a great persecutor of the Gospel preached by *Wifclefs* [*sic*] followers, dies a fearefull death, his tongue so swelling within his mouth, that hee must of necessity starve. His successor *Chickeley* nothing milder diverts the King, that was looking too neerely into the superfluous revenewes of the Church, to a bloody warre.⁵⁵

All the famous conquests which *Henry* the fifth had made in *France*, were lost by a civill dissension in *England*,⁵⁶ which sprung first from the haughty pride of *Beaufort* Bishop and Cardinall of *Winchester*,⁵⁷ and the Archbishop of *York* against the Protector, *Speed* 674.⁵⁸ In the civill warres the Archbishop sides with the Earle of *Warwick*,⁵⁹ and *March* in *Kent*, *Speed* 682.⁶⁰

Edward the fourth,⁶¹ *Mountacute* Archbishop of *Yorke*, one of the chiefe conspirators with *Warwicke* against *Edward* the fourth, and afterwards his Jaylor, being by *Warwicks* treason committed to this Bishop.⁶²

In *Edward* the fifts ⁶³ time, the Archbishop of *York* was, though perhaps unwittingly (yet by a certaine fate of of Prelacie) the unhappy instrument of pulling the young Duke of *Yorke* out of Sanctuary, into his cruell Unckles hands.

Things being settled in such a peace,⁶⁴ as after the bloodie brawles was to the afflicted Realme howsoever acceptable, though not such, as might bee wished: *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, enticing the Duke of *Buckingham* to take the Crowne, which ruin'd him, opened the vaines of the poore subjects to bleede afresh.

The intollerable pride, extortion, bribery, luxurie of *Wolsey* Archbishop of *Yorke* ⁶⁵ who can bee ignorant of? selling dispensations by

⁵³ (M) *Hol.* 529. (*Chronicles*, III, 529).

⁵⁴ (M) *Henry* 5.

⁵⁵ (M) *Speed* 638. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 638).

⁵⁶ (M) *Henry* 6.

⁵⁷ (M) *Hol.* 596. (*Chronicles*, III, 596).

⁵⁸ *Historie*, 1627, p. 674.

⁵⁹ (M) *Pag.* 620. (*Chronicles*, 1587, p. 620).

⁶⁰ *Historie*, 1627, p. 682.

⁶¹ (M) *Edward* 4.

⁶² (M) *Speed* 699. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 699).

⁶³ (M) *Edward* 5.

⁶⁴ (M) *Richard* 3.

⁶⁵ (M) *Henry* 8.

his power Legantine for all offences, insulting over the Dukes and Peeres,⁶⁶ of whom some hee brought to destruction by bloodie policie, playing with State affaires according to his humour, or benefit: causing *Turnay*⁶⁷ got with the blood of many a good Souldier, to be rendred at the French Kings secret request to him, not without bribes; with whom one while siding, another while with the Emperour, hee sold the honour and peace of *England* at what rates hee pleased; and other crimes to bee seene in the Articles against him, *Hol.* 912.⁶⁸ and against all the Bishops in generall. 911.⁶⁹ which when the Parliament sought to remedie, being most excessive extortion in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, the Bishops cry out; sacriledge, the Church goes to ruine, as it did in *Bohem*, with the Schisme of the *Hussites*, *Ibid.*⁷⁰ After this, though the Bishops ceased to bee Papists; for they preached against the Popes Supremacie, to please the King, yet they ceased not to oppugne the Gospel, causing *Tindals* translation to be burnt,⁷¹ yet they agreed to the suppressing of Monasteries, leaving their revenewes to the King, to make way for the six bloodie Articles, which proceedings with all crueltie of inquisition are set downe *Holinsh.* pag. 946.⁷² till they were repealed the second of *Edward* the sixth,⁷³ stopping in the meane while the cause of reformation well begunne by the Lord *Cromwell*. And this mischief was wrought by *Steven Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*.⁷⁴ The sixe Articles are set downe in *Speed*, pag. 792.⁷⁵

The Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, his hindring of *Englands* and *Scotlands* Union, for feare of reformation, *Speed* 794.⁷⁶

As for the dayes of King *Edward* the sixth,⁷⁷ we cannot but acknowledge to the glorie of the rich mercie of God, that there was a great reformation of Religion made even to admiration. And yet not-

⁶⁶ (M) *Hol.* 845. 462.

⁶⁷ Cf. "the rendring up of *Tournay* by *Woolseyes* Treason," above, p. 581.

⁶⁸ *Chronicles*, 1587, III, 912.

⁶⁹ *Chronicles*, 1587, III, 911.

⁷⁰ *Chronicles*, 1587, III, 911.

⁷¹ (M) *Speed* 784. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 384).

⁷² *Chronicles*, III, 946.

⁷³ (M) *Hol.* 992. (*Chronicles*, III, 992).

⁷⁴ (M) *Speed* 792. (*Historie*, 1627, p. 792).

⁷⁵ (M) *Speed. Statut. Hen. 8 Anno. 35. cap. 5.* Cf. "their sixe bloodie Articles," above, p. 528.

⁷⁶ *Historie*, 1627, p. 794.

⁷⁷ (M) *Edward* 6.

withstanding we doe much dislike the humour of those, that crie up those dayes as a compleat patterne of reformation, and that endeavour to reduce our Religion to the first times of King *Edward*, which wee conceive were comparatively very imperfect, there being foure impediments which did much hinder that blessed work.

The three rebellions.⁷⁸ One in *Henry* the eighths time, by the Priests of *Lincolne* and *Yorkeshire*, for that reformation which *Cromwell* had made. The other two in King *Edwards* dayes. One in *Cornewall*, the other in *Yorkeshire*.

The strife⁷⁹ that arose suddenly amongst the Peeres emulating one anothers honour. *Speed* pag. 837.⁸⁰

The violent opposition of the Popish Bishops,⁸¹ which made *Martin Bucer* write to King *Edward* in his booke *de Regno Christi*. *Lib. 2 cap. 1.* and say, your Majestie doth see, that this restoring againe the Kingdome of Christ, which wee require, yea, which the salvation of us all requireth, may in no wise bee expected to come from the Bishops,⁸² seeing there be so few among them which doe understand the power and proper Offices of this Kingdome; and very many of them by all meanes (which possibly they can and dare) either oppose themselves against it, or deferre and hinder it.

The deficiencie of zeale⁸³ and courage even in those Bishops who afterwards proved Martyrs, witnesse the sharp contention of *Ridley* against *Hooper*, for the ceremonies. And the importunate suit of *Cranmer* and *Ridley* for toleration of the Masse⁸⁴ for the Kings sister, which was rejected by the Kings, not only reasons, but teares; whereby the young King shewed more zeale then his best Bishops. 839.⁸⁵

The inhumane butcheries, blood-sheddings, and cruelties of *Gardi-*

⁷⁸ (M) 1

⁷⁹ (M) 2

⁸⁰ *Historie*, 1627, p. 837.

⁸¹ (M) 3

⁸² Cf. *De Regno Christi* (Basle, 1557; UTSL), p. 83: "Primum haud dubito, Serenissime Rex, M T. ipsam videre hanc, quam requirimus, imò quam requirit salus omniū nostrū, Regni CHRISTI restitutionem, ab Episcopis nullo modo esse expectandam, dum adeò pauci inter eos sunt, qui uim huius regni & propria munia, planè ipsi cognoscant," etc. The translation is accurate.

⁸³ (M) 4

⁸⁴ Cf. "toleration for Masse were to be beg'd . . . *Cranmer* and *Ridley* must be sent," etc, above, p. 531.

⁸⁵ *Speed*, *Historie*, 1627, p. 839.

ner, Bonner, and the rest of the Bishops in Queene *Maries* dayes, are so fresh in every mans memory, as that we conceive it a thing altogether unnecessary to make mention of them. Onely wee feare least the guilt of the blood then shed, should yet remaine to be required at the hands of this Nation, because it hath not publicely endeavoured to appease the wrath of God by a generall and solemne humiliation for it.

What the practises of the Prelats have beene ever since, from the beginning of Queene *Elizabeth* to this present day, would fill a volume (like *Ezekiels roule*) with lamentation, mourning, and woe to record. For it hath beene their great designe to hinder all further reformation; to bring in doctrines of Popery, Arminianisme, and Libertinisme, to maintaine, propagate and much encrease the burden of humane ceremonies: to keepe out, and beate downe the Preaching of the Word, to silence the faithfull Preachers of it, to oppose and presecute the most zealous professors, and to turne all Religion into a pompous outside. And to tread downe the power of godlinesse. Insomuch as it is come to an ordinary Proverb, that when any thing is spoyled wee use to say, *The Bishops foot hath beene in it*. And in all this (and much more which might be said) fulfilling Bishop *Bonnors* Prophetie, who when hee saw that in King *Edwards* reformation, there was a reservation of ceremonies and Hierarchy, is credibly reported to have used these words; *Since they have begun to tast of our Broath, it will not be long ere they will eat of our Beeffe*.

Finis

[APPENDIX C]

THE
FIRST AND LARGE
PETITION
OF THE CITY OF LONDON
and of other Inhabitants thereabouts:

For a reformation in Church-govern-
ment, as also for the abolishment of
EPISCOPACY.

WITH
A R E M O N S T R A N C E
thereto annexed, of the many Pressures
and Grievances occasioned by the Bi-
shops, and the sundry inconveniences
incident to *Episcopacy,*

THE TYRANNY AND EXTORTION
practised in Ecclesiasticall Courts, to-
gether with the unlawfulness of the Oath
E X O F F I C I O: preferred to the
High and Honourable Court of
P A R L I A M E N T.

Printed *Anno Dom.* 1641.

TO THE RIGHT HO-
NOURABLE THE COM-
MONS HOUSE OF PAR-
LIAMENT.

THE HUMBLE PETITION
of many of his Majesties Subjects
in and about the City of London,
and severall Countreies of the
KINGDOME.

THAT whereas the government of Archbishops, and Lord Bishops, Deanes, and Archdeacons, &c, with their Courts and ministrations in them hath proved prejudiciall and very dangerous both to the Church and Common-wealth, they themselves having formerly held, that they have their jurisdiction or authority of humane authority, till of these later times being further perused about the unlawfulnessse that they have claimed their calling immediately from the Lord Jesus Christ, which is against the Lawes of this Kingdome, and derogatory to his Majesty, and His State Royall. And whereas the said government is found by wofull experience, to be a maine cause and occasion of many foule evils, pressures and grievances of a very high nature unto his Majesties subjects, in their owne consciences, liberties and estates; as in a Schedule of particulars hereunto annexed may in part appeare.

We therefore most humbly pray and beseech this honourable Assembly, the premisses considered, that the said government with all its dependances, rootes and branches may bee abolished, and all lawes in their behalfe made voide, and the government according to Gods word, may be rightly placed among us; and wee your humble Suppliants as in duty we are bound, will daily pray for his Majesties long and happy raigne over us, and for the prosperous successe of this high and Honourable Court of Parliament, &c.

*A Particular of the manifold
Evils, Pressures and Grievances, caused
practiced and occasioned by the Prelates
and their Dependants.*

I.

First, the subjecting and inclining all Ministers under them and their Authority, and so by degrees exempting of them from the Temporall power, whence followes:

II.

The faint-heartednesse of Ministers to preach the truth of GOD, lest they should displease the Prelates as namely, *the Doctrine of Predestination, of Free-grace, of Perseverance, of Originall since remaining after Baptisme, of the Sabbith, the Doctrine against universall Grace, Election, for faith fare-seene, Free will, against Antichrist, Nonresidents, humane Inventions of GODS worship*: All which are generally with-held from the peoples knowledge, because not relishing to the Bishops.

III.

The encouragement of Ministers to despise the Temporall Magistracie, the Nobles, and Gentry of the Land, to abuse the Subjects, and live contentiously with their neighbours, knowing that they being the Bishops creatures, they shall be supported.

IV.

The restraint of many godly and able men from the Ministry, and thrusting out of many Congregations their faithful, diligent and powerfull Ministers, who lived peaceably with them, and did them good, onely because they cannot in conscience, submit unto, and maintaine the Bishops needlesse devices; nay sometimes for no other cause but for their zeale in preaching, or great Auditories.

V.

The suppressing of that Godly designe set on foot by certaine Sects, and sugred with many great gifts by subdry well-affected persons, for the buying of Improprations, and placing of able Ministers in them, maintaining of Lectures, and founding of Free-schooles; which the Prelates could not endure, lest it should darken their glories, and draw the Ministers from their dependance upon them.

VI.

The great increase of Idle, lewd, and dissolute, ignorant and erroneous men in the Ministry, which swarme like the Locusts of Egypt over the whole Kingdome: and will they but weare a Canonick Coate, a Surplisse, a Hood, bow at the Name of Jesus, and be zealous of Superstitious Ceremonies, they may live as they list, confront whom they please, preach and vent what errours they will, and neglect preaching at their pleasures, without controule.

VII.

The discouragement of many from bringing up their Children in Learning, the many schismes, errours, and strange opinions which are in the Church; great corruptions, which are in the Universities; the grosse and lamentable ignorance almost every where among the people; the want of preaching Ministers in very many places both of England and Wales the loathing of the Ministry, and the generall defection to all manner of profanenesse.

VIII.

The swarming of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets, Play-bookes, and Ballads, as namely, *Ovids* fits of Love, the Parliament of Women came out at the dissolving of the last Parliament, *Barnes* Poems, *Parkers* Ballads in disgrace of Religion, to the increase of all vice, and withdrawing of people from reading, studying, and hearing the Word of God, and other good Bookes.

IX.

The hindring of godly Books to be printed, the blotting out or perverting those which they suffer, all or most of that which strikes either at Popery, or Arminianisme, the adding of what or where pleaseth them, and the restraints of reprinting Bookes formerly licensed, without relicensing.

X.

The publishing and venting of Popish, Arminian, and other dangerous Bookes and Tenets, as namely, that the Church of Rome is a true Church, and in the worst times never erred in Fundamentals, that the Subjects have no propriety in their Estates, but that the King may take from them what he pleaseth, that all is the Kings, and that he is bound by no Law, and many other, from the former whereof hath sprung.

XI.

The growth of Popery, and increase of Papists, Priests and Jesuites in sundry places, but especially about London since the Reformation, the frequent venting of Crucifixes and Popish pictures both engraven and printed, and the placing of such in Bibles.

XII.

The multitude of *Monopolies* and *Pattents*, drawing with them innumerable Periuries, the large increase of Customes and Impositions upon *Commodities*, the *Ship-moneys* and many other great burthens upon the *Common-wealth*, under which all groane.

XIII.

Moreover, the Offices and Jurisdictions of *Arch-bishops*, *Lord-bishops*, *Deanes*, *Arch-Deacons*, being the same way of *Church-Government* which is in the *Romish Church*, and which was in *England* in the time of *Poperie*, little change thereof being made (except onely the head from whence it was derived) the same Arguments supporting the Pope, which do uphold the *Prelates*, and overthrowing the *Prelates*, which do pull down the Pope & other reformed *Churches*, having upon their reiection of the Pope, cast the Prelates out also as Members of the Beast: Hence it is, that the Prelates here in *England* by themselves or their Disciples plead and maintain that the Pope is not *Antichrist*, and that the *Church of Rome* is a true *Church*, hath not erred in Fundamentall points, and that Salvation is attainable in that Religion, and therefore have restrayned to pray for the Conversion of our Soverain Lady the Queene. Hence also hath come,

XIV.

The great Conformity and likenesse both continued and increased of our Church to the Church of *Rome*, investures, postures, Ceremonies and Admiustrations; namely, as the Bishops Rotchets, and Lawn sleeves, the four cornered Cap, the Cope and Surplisse, the Tippet, the Hood, and the Canonical Coat, the Pulpit clothed, especially now of late with the Jesuites badge upon them every way.

XV.

The standing up at *Gloria Patri*, and at the reading the Gospel, praying towards the East, bowing at the name of Jesus, the bowing to the Altar towards the East, Crosse in Baptisme kneeling at the Communion.

XVI.

The turning of the Communion Tables Altar-wise, setting Images, Crucifixes, and conceits over them, and Tapers and Books upon them, and bowing, and adoring to or before them, the reading of the second Service at the Altar, and forcing people to come up thither to receive, or else denying the Sacrament to them, tearing the Altar to be the Mercy-feat, or the place of God Almighty in the Church, which is a plain device to usher in the Masse.

XVII

The Christening and Consecrating of Churches and Chappels, the Consecrating Fonts, Pulpits, Tables, Chalices, Churchyards, and many other

things, and putting holinesse in them; yea, reconsecrating upon pretended pollution, as though every thing were unclean without their Consecrating, and for want of this, sundry Churches have been interdicted and kept from use as polluted.

XVIII.

The Liturgie for the most parts framed out of the Romish *Breviarie Ritualium* Masse-book, also the Book of Ordination, for Archbishops and Ministers, framed out of the Roman Pontificall.

XIX.

The multitude of Canons formerly made, wherein, among other things, Excommunication, *ipso facto*, is denounced for speaking of a word against the devices abovesaid, or subscription thereunto, though no Law enjoined a restraint from the Ministry without such subscription and Appeale is denyed to any that should refuse subscription or unlawful conformity, though be never so much wronged by the inferiour Judge, also the Canons made in the late Sacred Synod, as they call it: wherein are many strange and dangerous devices to undermine the Gospel, and the Subjects liberties, to propagate Poperie to spoile Gods people, insnare Ministers & other *Students*, and thraldome to them and their government, spoiling both the King and the Parliament of their power.

XX.

The countenancing plurality of Benefices, prohibiting of Marriages without their lycense at certain times, almost half the yeare and lycensing of Marriages without Barnes asking.

XXI.

Prophanation of the Lords day pleading for it, and enioyning Ministers to read a *Declaration*, set forth, as it is thought, by their procurement for tolerating of sports upon that day, suspending and depriving many godly ministers for not reading the same onely out of Conscience, it was against the Law of God to doe, and no Law of the Land to enioyne it.

XXII.

The pressing of the strict observation of Saints Dayes, whereby great summes of Moneys are drawn out of Mens purses for working on them, a very high burthen on most people, who getting their living by their daily imploiments, must either omit them and be idle, or part with their money, whereby many poor families are undone, or brought behinde hand, yea many *Church-Wardens* are sued, or threatened to be sued by their trouble some Ministers, as periured persons for not presenting their parishioners who fayled in observing *Holy dayes*.

XXIII.

The great increase and frequency of whoredomes and Adulteries, occasioned by the *Prelates* Corrupt administration of justice, and such Cases, who taking upon them the punishment of it, doe turn all into moneyes for the filling of their purses, and lest their Officers should defraud them of their gain, they have in their late Canon, instead of remedying their vices, decreed that the *Commutation* of Penance, shall not be without the Bishops privity.

XXIV.

The generall abuse of that great ordinance of Excommunication, which GOD hath left in his Church to be used as the last and greatest punishment the Church can inflict upon obstinate and great offenders, and that the Prelates and their officers, who of right, have nothing to doe with it, doe daily excommunicate men either for doing that which is lawfull, or for vain idle and triviall matters, as working or opening a shop on a Holiday, for not appearing at every beck upon their summons, not paying a fee or the like, yea they have made it, as they do all other things, a hook or instrument wherewith to empty mens purses, and to advance their own greatness, and so that sacred ordinance of God, by their perverting of it becomes contemptible to all men, and seldome or never used against notorious offenders, who, for the most part, are their favorites.

XXV.

Yea further the pride and ambition of the *Prelates* being boundlesse, unwilling to be subject to either man or Lawes, they claime their Office and Jurisdiction to be *Iure divino*, exercise Ecclesiasticall authority in their own names and Rights, and under their own Seals, and take upon them Temporall dignities, places, and offices in the Common-wealth, that they may sway both swords.

XXVI.

Whence followes the taking Commissions in their own Courts and Consistories, and where else they sit in matters determinable of Right at Common Law, the putting of Ministers upon Parishes, without the Patrons and peoples consent.

XXVII.

The imposing of Oathes of various and triviall Articles yearly upon Church-wardens, and Side-men, which without perjury, unlesse they fall at jarres continually with their Ministers and Neighbours, and wholly neglect their owne calling.

XXVIII.

The exercising of the Oath *Ex Officio* and other proceedings by the way of *Inquisition* reaching even to mens thoughts, the apprehending, and detaining of men by *Pursivants*, the frequent suspending and depriving of Ministers, fining and imprisoning of all sorts of people, bringing up of mens houses and studyes, taking away mens Books, Letters, and other writings, seizing upon their Estates, removing them from their callings, separating betweene them and their wives against both their wills, the rejection of prohibitions with threatnings and the doing of many other out-rages, to the utter infringing the Laws of the Realm, and the Subjects liberties, and arraigning of them and their families, and of Latter time, the Judges of the Land are so awed with the power and greatnesse of the Prelates, and other wayes promoted, that neither prohibition, *Habeas Corpus* or any other lawfull remedy can be had or take place for the distressed Subjects in most cases, onely *Papists*, *Jesuits*, *Priests*, and such others as propagate Popery or *Arminianisme* are contenanaced, spared, and have much libertie, and from hence followed among others these dangerous Consequences.

I.

First the generall hope and expectation of the *Romish* part, that their *superstitious Religion* will ere long be fully planted in this Kingdom again, and so they are encouraged to persist therein, and to practice the same openly in divers places, to the high dishonour of God, and contrary to the Laws of the Realme.

II.

Secondly, the discouragement & destruction of all good Subjects, of whom all Multitudes both *Clothiers*, *Merchants*, and others being deprived of their Ministers, & overburthened with these pressures, have departed the Kingdome to *Holland* & other parts, & have drawn with them a great part of manufacture of *Cloth* and *Trading* out of the Land into other places, where they reside, whereby wooll, the great staple of the Kingdom, is become of small value and vends not, Trading is decayed, many poor people want work, Sea-men lose employment, and the whole Land much impoverished, to the great dishonour of this Kingdom, and blemishment to the government thereof.

III.

The present wars and commotions hapned between his Majesties & his subjects of *Scotland*, wherein his Majestie and all his Kingdom are indangered, and suffer greatly, and are like to become a prey to the common Enemy, in case the wars go on, which we exceedingly fear, will not onely go on, but also increase to an utter Ruine of all, unlesse the Prelates with their dependancies be removed out of *England*, and also they and their

practises, who, as we, under your Honours favour, do verily beleeve and conceive have occasioned the Quarrell.

All which we humbly refer to the consideration of this Honourable Assembly, desiring the Lord of Heaven to direct you in the right way to redresse all these evils.

FINIS

CONSTITUTIONS
AND
CANONS
Ecclesiasticall;

Treated upon by the ARCHBISHOPS of
Canterbury and *York*, Presidents of the Convoca-
tions for the respective Provinces of *Canter-*
bury and *York*, and the rest of the Bishops
and Clergie of those Provinces;

And agreed upon with the KING'S Majesties
Licence in their severall Synods begun
at *London* and *York*. 1640.

In the year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Charles*,
by the grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*,
France, and *Ireland*, the Sixteenth.

*And now Published for the due observation of them, by His Majesties
Authority under the Great Seal of England.*

L O N D O N :

Printed by ROBERT BARKER, Printer to the
Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the
Assignes of JOHN BILL. 1640.

[SELECTIONS]

Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall, treated upon by the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, Presidents of the Convocations for the respective Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergie of those Provinces: And agreed upon with the Kings Majesties Licence in their severall Synods begun at *London* and *York*. 1640.

In the yeer of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, the Sixteenth.

I.

Concerning the Regall power.

WHEREAS sundry Lawes, Ordinances, and Constitutions have been formerly made for the acknowledgment and profession of the most lawfull and independent authority of our dread Sovereign Lord, the Kings most Excellent Majestie, over the State Ecclesiasticall and Civil: We (as our dutie in the first place bindes us, and so far as to us appertaineth) enjoyn them all to be carefully observed by all persons whom they concern, upon the penalties in the said Laws and Constitutions expressed.

And for the fuller and clearer instruction and information of all Christian people within this Realm in their duties in this particular;

We do further ordain and decree, That every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher upon some one Sunday in every quarter of the yeer at Morning prayer, shall in the place where he serves, treatably, and audibly read these explanations of the Regall power here inserted.

THE most High and Sacred order of Kings is of Divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime Laws of nature, and clearly established by expresse texts both of the old and new Testaments. A supreme Power is given to this most excellent Order by God himself in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings should rule and command in their severall dominions all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether Ecclesiasticall or Civill, and that they should restrain and punish with the temporall sword all stubborn and wicked doers.

The care of Gods Church is so committed to Kings in the Scripture that they are commended when the Church keeps the right way, and taxed when it runs amisse, and therefore her government belongs in chief unto Kings: For otherwise one man would be commended for anothers care, and taxed but for anothers negligence, which is not Gods way.

The power to call and dissolve Councils both nationall and provincial is the true right of all Christian Kings within their own Realms or Territories: And when in the first times of Christs Church, Prelates used this power, 'twas therefore onely because in those dayes they had no Christian Kings: And it was then so onely used as in times of persecution, that is, with supposition (in case it were required) of submitting their very lives unto the very Laws and Commands even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their Civill Government, which Christ came to confirm, but by no means to undermine.

For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow in any their said Realms or Territories respectively, under any pretence whatsoever, any independent Coactive power, either Papall or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their great Royall office, and cunningly to overthrow that most Sacred ordinance, which God himself hath established: And so is treasonable against God, as well as against the King.

For subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the Powers, which are ordained of God: And though they do not invade, but onely resist, *St. Paul* tels them plainly, *They shall receive to themselves damnation.*

And although Tribute, and Custome, and Aide, and Subsidie, and all manner of necessary support and supply, be respectively due to Kings from their subjects by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, for the publike defence, care and protection of them: yet neverthelesse, subjects have not onely possession of, but a true and just right, title and propertie, to, and in all their goods and estates, and ought so to have: And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the honourable and comfortable support of both. For as it is the dutie of the subjects to supply their King: so is it part of the Kingly office to support his subjects in the property and freedom of their estates.

And if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher shall voluntarily or carelesly neglect his duty in publishing the said explications and conclusions, according to the Order above prescribed, he shall be suspended by his Ordinary, till such time as upon his penitence he shall give sufficient assur-

ance, or evidence of his amendment; and in case he be of any exempt jurisdiction, he shall be Censurable by his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiasticall.

And we do also hereby require all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other inferiour Priests and Ministers, that they preach, teach, and exhort their people to obey, honour, and serve their King; and that they presume not to speak of his Majesties power in any other way then in this Canon is expressed. And if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, Preacher, or any other Ecclesiasticall person whatsoever, any Deane, Canon, or Prebendarie of any Collegiate or Cathedrall Church, any member or Student of Colledge or Hall, or any Reader of Divinity, or Humanity in either of the Universities, or elsewhere, shall in any Sermon, Lecture, Common place, Determination, or Disputation either by word or writing, publikely maintain or abett any position or conclusion, in opposition or impeachment of the aforesaid explanations, or any part or article of them, he shall forthwith by the power of his Majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiasticall, be excommunicated till he repent, and suspended two yeers from all the profits of his Benefice, or other Ecclesiasticall, Academicall, or Scholasticall preferments: And if he so offend a second time, he shall be deprived from all his spirituall promotions, of what nature or degree soever they be.

Provided alwayes, that if the offence aforesaid be given in either of the Universities, by men not having any Benefice or Ecclesiasticall preferment, that then the delinquent shall be censured by the ordinary authority in such Cases of that University respectively, where the said fault shall be committed.

II.

For the better keeping of the day of his Majesties most happy Inauguration.

THE Synode taking into consideration the most inestimable benefits which this Church enjoyeth, under the peaceable and blessed government of our dread Sovereign Lord, King CHARLES; And finding that aswell the godly Christian Emperours in the former times, as our own most religious Princes since the Reformation, have caused the dayes of their Inaugurations to be publikely celebrated by all their Subjects, with Prayers and Thanksgiving to Almighty God. . . .

III.

For suppressing of the growth of Popery.

ALL and every Ecclesiasticall persons, of what ranke or condition soever, Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, Deanes, Arch-deacons, all having exempt or peculiar jurisdiction, with their severall Chancellours, Commissaries, and

Officials, all persons intrusted with cure of soules, shall use respectively all possible care and diligence by conferring privately with the parties, and by censures of the Church in inferiour and higher Courts, as also by complaints unto the Secular power, to reduce all such to the Church of *England*, who are misled into Popish superstition. . . .

IV.

Against Socinianisme

WHEREAS much mischief is already done in the Church of God by the spreading of the damnable and cursed Heresie of SOCINIANISME, as being a complication of many ancient Heresies condemned by the foure first generall Councils, and contrariant to the Articles of Religion now established in the Church of England: And whereas it is too apparent that the said wicked and blasphemous errors are unhappily dilated by the frequent divulgation and dispersion of dangerous Books written in favour and furtherance of the same, whereby many, especially of the younger or unsettled sort of people, may be poisoned and infected: It is therefore decreed by this present Synode, That no Stationer, Printer, or Importer of the said Books, or any other person whatsoever, shall print, buy, sell, or disperse any Booke, broaching or maintaining of the said abominable Doctrine or Positions, upon paine of Excommunication *ipso facto* to be thereupon incurred. . . .

V.

Against Sectaries.

WHEREAS there is a provision now made by a Canon for the suppressing of Poperie and the growth thereof by subjecting all Popish Recusants to the greatest severitie of Ecclesiasticall Censures in that behalfe: This present Synode well knowing that there are other Sects which indeavour the subversion both of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England no lesse then Papists doe, although by another way; for the preventing thereof doth hereby decree and ordain, That all those proceedings and penalties which are mentioned in the aforesaid Canon against Popish Recusants as far as they shall be appliable, shall stand in full force and vigour against all Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists, or other Sect or Sects, person or persons whatsoever, who do or shall, either obstinately refuse, or ordinarily, not having a lawfull impediment (that is, for the space of a moneth) neglect to repair to their Parish Churches or Chappels where they inhabit, for the hearing of Divine Service established, and receiving of the holy Communion, according to Law.

And we do also further decree and ordain, that the Clause contained in the Canon now made by this Synod against the Books of Socinianisme, shall also extend to the makers, importers, printers, and publishers, or dispersers

of any Book, writing, or scandalous Pamphlet devised against the discipline and government of the Church of *England*, and unto the maintainers and abettors of any opinion or doctrine against the same.

And further, because there are sprung up among us a sort of factious people, despisers and depravers of the Book of Common prayer; who do not according to the Law resort to their parish Church or Chappel, to joyn in the publique prayers, service, and worship of God with the congregation, contenting themselves with the hearing of Sermons onely, thinking thereby to avoid the penalties due to such as wholly absent themselves from the Church. We therefore for the restraint of all such wilfull contemners or neglecters of the Service of God, do ordain that the Church or Chappell Wardens, and Questmen, or Sidemen of every parish, shall be carefull to enquire out all such disaffected persons, and shall present the names of all such delinquents at all Visitations of Bishops, and other Ordinaries; And that the same proceedings and penalties mentioned in the Canon aforesaid respectively, shall be used against them as against other Recusants, un'esse within one whole moneth after they are first denounced, they shall make acknowledgement and reformation of that their fault. Provided alwayes, that this Canon shall not derogate from any other Canon, Law, or Statute in that behalf provided against those Sectaries.

VI.

An Oath injoyn'd for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.

THIS present Synod (being desirous to declare their sincerity and constancie in the profession of the Doctrine and Discipline already established in the Church of *England*, and to secure all men against any suspition of revolt to Poperie, or any other superstition) decrees that all Arch-bishops, and Bishops, and all other Priests and Deacons in places exempt or not exempt, shall before the second day of *November* next ensuing, take this Oath following against all Innovation of Doctrine or Discipline, and this Oath shall be tendred them, and every of them, and all others named after in this Canon, by the Bishop in person, or his Chancelour, or some grave Divines named and appointed by the Bishop under his seal; and the said Oath shall be taken in the presence of a publique Notarie, who is hereby required to make an Act of it, leaving the Universities to the Provision which followes.

The Oath is:

I A.B. Do swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of *England*, as containing all things necessary to salvation: And that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established: Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the

Government of this Church, by Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deanes, and Arch-deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the Sea of *Rome*. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sence and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian So help me God, in Jesus Christ.

And if any man Beneficed or Dignified in the Church of *England*, or any other Ecclesiasticall person shall refuse to take this Oath, the Bishop shall give him a moneths time to inform himself, and at the moneths end, if he refuse to take it, he shall be suspended *ab Officio*, and have a second moneth granted: and if then he refuse to take it, he shall be suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and have a third moneth granted him for his better information: but if at the end of that moneth he refuse to take the Oath above-named, he shall by the Bishop be deprived of all his Ecclesiasticall Promotions whatsoever, and execution of his function which he holds in the Church of *England*.

And we likewise Constitute and Ordain, That all Masters of Arts (the sons of Noble-men onely excepted) all Bachelours and Doctors in Divinity, Law, or Physick, all that are licenced to practise Physick, all Registers, Actuaries, and Proctors, all School-masters, all such as being natives or naturalized, do come to be incorporated into the Universities here, having taken a Degree in any forraign University, shall be bound to take the said Oath. And we command all Governours of Colledges and Halls in either of the Universities, that they administer this said Oath to all persons resident in their severall Houses that have taken the degrees before mentioned in this Canon, within six moneths after the publication hereof.

And we likewise Constitute, That all Bishops shall be bound to give the said Oath unto all those to whom they give holy Orders, at the time of their Ordination, or to whomsoever they give Collation, Institution, or Licence to Preach, or serve any Cure.

VII.

A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

BEcause it is generally to be wished, that unity of Faith were accompanied with uniformity of practise, in the outward worship and service of God; chiefly for the avoiding of groundlesse suspitions of those who are weak, and the malicious aspersions of the professed enemies of our Religion; the one fearing Innovations, the other flattering themselves with a vain hope of our backslidings unto their Popish superstition, by reason of the situation of the Communion Table, and the approaches thereunto, the Synod declareth, as followeth:

That the standing of the Communion Table, side-way under the East

window of every Chancell, or Chappell, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expresly, or by immediate deduction, and therefore that no Religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from that grosse superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all meanes should be used to root out of the mindes of the people, both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Masse, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen *Elizabeth*, of blessed memory, that the holy Tables should stand in the place where the Altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royall Chappells of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedrall, and some Parochiall Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient, that all Churches and Chappells do conform themselves in this particular, to the example of the Cathedral, or Mother Churches, saving alwaies the generall liberty left to the Bishop by Law, during the time of Administration of the holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the holy Table, doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: but it is, and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and in no other.

And because experience hath shewed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the Communion Table in time of Divine Service: for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, that the said Communion Tables in all Chancells or Chappells, be decently severed with Rails to preserve them from such or worse profanations.

And because the Administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book established by Act of Parliament, *Draw neer, &c.* that all Communicants with all humble reverence shall draw neer and approach to the holy Table, there to receive the divine Mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the Minister, unlesse it shall be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, by the Bishop himself in his jurisdiction, and other Ordinaries respectively in theirs.

And lastly, whereas the Church is the house of God, dedicated to his holy worship, and therefore ought to minde us, both of the greatnesse and goodnesse of his Divine Majestie, certain it is that the acknowledgement thereof, not onely inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in it self, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoovefull, and heartily commend it to all

good and well affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgement, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in, and going out of the said Churches, Chancels, or Chappels, according to the most ancient custome of the Primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many yeers of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The reviving therefore of this ancient and laudable custome, we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibite any Religious worship to the Communion Table, the East, or Church, or any thing therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture, in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporall presence of the body of Jesus Christ, on the holy Table, or in the mysticall elements, but onely for the advancement of Gods Majestie, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwise; and in the practise or omission of this Rite, we desire that the rule of Charity prescribed by the Apostle, may be observed, which is, That they which use this Rite despise not them who use it not, and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.

VIII.

Of Preaching for Conformity.

WHereas the Preaching of Order and Decencie, according to *St. Pauls* rule, doth conduce to edification; it is required, that all Preachers (as well Beneficed men as others) shall positively and plainly Preach and Instruct the people in their publike Sermons twice in the yeer at the least, that the Rites and Ceremonies now established in the Church of *England* are lawfull and commendable, and that they the said people and others, ought to conform themselves in their practise to all the said Rites and Ceremonies, and that the people and others ought willingly to submit themselves unto the authority and government of the Church as it is now established under the Kings Majestie. And if any Preacher shall refuse or neglect to do according to this Canon, let him be suspended by his Ordinary, during the time of his refusall, or wilfull forbearance to do thereafter.

IX.

One Book of Articles of inquiry to be used at all Parochiall Visitations.

FOR the better settling of an Uniformity in the outward government and administration of the Church, and for the more preventing of just grievances which may be laid upon Church-wardens and other Sworn-men, by any impertinent, inconvenient, or illegall enquiries in the Articles for Ecclesiasti-

call Visitations; This Synod hath now caused a Summary or Collection of Visitation Articles (out of the Rubricks of the Service-Book, and the Canons and warrantable Rules of the Church) to be made, and for future direction to be deposited in the Records of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: and we do decree and ordain, that from henceforth no Bishop or other person whatsoever having right to hold, use, or exercise any Parochiall Visitation, shall (under the pain of a Moneths suspension upon a Bishop, and two Moneths upon any other Ordinary that is delinquent, and this to be incurred *ipso facto*) cause to be printed or published, or otherwise to be given in charge to the Church-wardens, or to any other persons which shall be sworn to make Presentments, any other Articles or formes of enquiry upon oath, then such onely as shal be approved and *in terminis* allowed unto him (upon due request made) by his Metropolitan under his Seal of Office. . . .

X.

Concerning the Conversation of the Clergie.

THE sober, grave, and exemplary Conversation of all those that are employed in Administration of holy things, being of great avail for the furtherance of pietie; It hath been the Religious care of the Church of *England*, strictly to enjoin to all & every one of her Clergie, a pious, regular, and inoffensive demeanour, and to prohibit all loose and scandalous carriage by severe censures to be inflicted upon such delinquents, as appeares by the 74. and 75. Canons *Anno* 1603. provided to this purpose. . . .

XI.

Chancellours Patents.

FOR the better remedying and redresse of such abuses as are complained of in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, the Synod doth Decree and ordain, that hereafter no Bishop shall Grant any Patent to any Chancellour, Commissarie, or Officiall, for any longer terme, then the life of the Grauntee onely, nor otherwise then with expresse reservation to himself, and his Successours, of the power to execute the said place, either alone, or with the Chancellour, if the Bishop shall please to do the same, saving alwayes to the said Chancellours, &c. the Fees accustomedly taken for executing the said jurisdiction. . . .

XII.

Chancellours alone not to Censure any of the Clergie in sundry Cases.

THAT no Chancellour, Commissarie, or Officiall, unlesse he be in holy Orders, shall proceed to Suspension, or any higher Censure against any of

the Clergie in any criminall cause, other than neglect of appearance, upon legall citing, but that all such causes shall be heard by the Bishop in person, or with the assistance of his Chancellour, or Commissarie; or if the Bishops occasions will not permit, then by his Chancellour, or Commissarie, and two grave dignified, or beneficed Ministers of the Diocesse to be assigned by the Bishop, under his Episcopall seal, who shall hear and censure the said cause in the Consistorie.

XIII.

Excommunication and absolution not to be pronounced by a Priest.

THat no excommunications or absolutions shall be good or valid in Law, except they be pronounced, either by the Bishop in person, or by some other in holy Orders, having Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, or by some grave Minister beneficed in the Diocesse, being a Master of Arts, at least, and appointed by the Bishop, and the Priests name pronouncing such sentence of excommunication, or absolution to be expressed in the Instrument issuing under seal out of the Court. . . .

XIII.

Concerning Commutations, and the disposing of them.

THat no Chancellor, Commissary, or Officiall, shall have power to Commute any penance in whole, or in part; but either together with the Bishop in person, or with his privy in writing, or if by himself, there he shall give up a full and just account of all such Commutations once every year, at *Michaelmas* to the Bishop, who shall with his Chancellor, see that all such moneys be disposed of to charitable and publike uses, according to Law. And if any Chancellor or other, having jurisdiction, as aforesaid, shall not make such a just account to the Bishop, and be found guilty of it, he shall be suspended from all exercise of his jurisdiction, for the space of one whole year . . .

XV.

Touching concurrent Jurisdictions.

THat in such places wherein there is concurrent Jurisdiction, no Execution be cited into any Court or Office, for the space of ten dayes after the death of the Testator. . . .

XVI.

Concerning Licences to Marrie.

WHEREAS divers Licences to Marry, are granted by Ordinaries, in whose Jurisdiction, neither of the parties, desiring such Licence, is resident; to the prejudice of the Archiepiscopall prerogative: to whom only the power of granting such Licences, to parties of any Jurisdiction, *per totam provinciam*, by Law belongeth; and for other great inconveniences thereupon ensuing. It is therefore decreed, That no Licence of Marriage shall be granted by any Ordinary to any parties, unlesse one of the said parties have bene commorant in the Jurisdiction of the said Ordinary, for the space of one whole Moneth, immediately before the said Licence be desired. . . .

XVII.

Against vexatious Citations.

AND that this Synod may prevent all grievances, which may fall upon the people by Citations into Ecclesiasticall Courts, upon pretence only of the breach of Law, without either Presentment, or any other just ground. This present Synod decrees, That for all times to come no such Citation, grounded only as aforesaid, shall issue out of any Ecclesiasticall Court. except the said Citation be sent forth under the hand and Seale of the Chancellor, Commissarie, Archdeacon, or other competent Judge of the said Court, within thirty dayes after the fault committed; and returne thereof to be made the next, or second Court day after the Citation served at the farthest; and that the partie so cited, unlesse he be convinced by two witnesses, shall, upon the denyall of the fact upon Oath, be forthwith freely dismissed without any payment of fees; Provided that this Decree extend not to any grievous crime, as Schisme, Incontinencie, misbehaviour in the Church in time of Divine Service, obstinate inconvformitie, or the like.

WEE of Our Princely inclination and Royall care for the maintenance of the present Estate and government of the Church of England by the Lawes of this Our Realme now setled and established, having diligently, with great contentment and comfort read and considered of all these their said Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions agreed upon, as is before expressed: And finding the same such as We are perswaded wilbe very profitable, not onely to Our Clergie, but to the whole Church of this Our Kingdome, and to all the true members of it (if they be well observed;) Have therefore for Us, Our Heires, and lawfull Successours, of Our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, given, and by these presents doe give Our Royall Assent, according to the forme of the said Statute or Act of Parliament aforesaid, to all and every of the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions, and to all and every thing in them contained,

as they are before written. And furthermore, We do not onely by Our said Prerogative Royall, and Supreme Authority in Causes Ecclesiasticall, ratifie, confirme, and establish, by these Our Letters Patents, the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained, as is aforesaid, but do likewise propound, publish, and straightly injoyne and command by Our said Authority, and by these Our Letters Patents, the same to be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all Our loving Subjects of this Our Kingdome, both within the Provinces of Canterbury and Yorke, in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them according to this Our will and pleasure hereby signified and expressed. And that likewise for the better observation of them, every Minister, by what name or title soever he be called, shall in the Parish Church or Chappell where he hath charge, read all the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions, at all such times, and in such manner as is prescribed in the said Canons, or any of them: The Book of the said Canons to be provided at the charge of the Parish, betwixt this and the Feast of S. Michael the Archangell next ensuing, straightly charging and commanding all Archbishops, Bishops, and all other that exercise any Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction within this Realme, every man in his place to see and procure (so much as in them lyeth) all and every of the same Canons, Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions to be in all points duly observed, not sparing to execute the penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall wittingly or wilfully break or neglect to observe the same; as they tender the honour of God, the peace of the Church, the tranquillity of the Kingdome, and their duties and service to Us their King and Sovereigne. In witnesse whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents: Witnesse Our Selfe at Westminster, the thirtieth day of June, in the sixteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

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FINIS

APPENDIX E

THE OATH EX-OFFICIO

BY DON M. WOLFE

UNLIKE the etcetera oath, the oath ex-officio had no express language dictated by statute. It was simply an oath made with hand on Bible to tell the truth in answer to questions put by the High Commission.¹ In courts of law men were accustomed to taking an oath to tell the truth, but the ex-officio oath was contrary to legal precedent in that it was required in extra-constitutional proceedings. In a court of law the questions asked of a defendant had to be relevant to the charge of which he had been accused in writing.² The ex-officio oath required that the defendant answer questions of whatever nature the judges asked. Thus, without a charge having been leveled against him, he was constantly in danger of incriminating himself even for his opinions, on the basis of which incrimination he would be liable to sentence by the court. This procedure was usually without a jury trial and without the right of appeal except for the Commissions of 1611, 1613, 1620, and 1625.³

As early as 1535 Henry VIII established a commission with plenary authority in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1557 Queen Mary established a commission "for a severer way of proceeding against heretics."⁴ At first such commissions were only temporary, but in 1559 Queen Elizabeth established a commission which gradually took the form of a permanent court. Part of the language of Elizabeth's statute of 1559 ran as follows: ". . . to call before you [her commissioners] or six of you, as aforesaid from time to time all and every offender or offenders, and such as . . . you or six of you, as aforesaid, shall seem to be suspect persons in any of the premises; and also such witnesses as you or six of you, as aforesaid, shall think . . . to be called before you or six of you as aforesaid and them and every [sic] of them to examine upon their corporal oath, for the better trial and opening

¹ George Prothero, *Select Statutes* (Oxford, 1913), p. 230

² Gardiner, X, 36; William S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London, 1913), p. 376.

³ Holdsworth, *English Law* (1913), p. 377. Illuminating verbatim excerpts from some fifty trials before the High Commission may be found in *Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, ed. Samuel R. Gardiner (CS, London, 1886), pp. 181-322.

⁴ Roland G. Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 15, 23.

of the premises or any part thereof.”⁵ One of its most hated devices was the drawing up of interrogatories which inquired into men’s opinions as well as their actions, all upon the oath *ex-officio*. It was distinguished from other high courts by the immense elasticity of its powers, being forbidden only to extract confessions by torture and to inflict the death penalty.⁶ The work of the High Commission was not limited to bringing heretics to trial, but it was in fact an arm of the crown in the crown’s determination to assume jurisdiction over ecclesiastical matters. The powers of the High Commission were upheld by new statutes in 1562, 1572, 1576, 1601, 1611, 1613, 1620, and 1625.⁷ The High Commission was abolished by action of Parliament July 5, 1641. The Act of abolition forbade any ecclesiastical officer to “urge, enforce, tender, give or minister unto any churchwarden, sidesman or other person whatsoever any corporal [*ex-officio*] oath, whereby he or she shall or may be charged or obliged to make any presentment of any crime or offence, or to confess or to accuse him or herself of any crime, offence, delinquency or misdemeanour.”⁸

Protests against the *ex-officio* oath, notably among great lawyers, were almost unanimous. One of Francis Bacon’s protests ran as follows: “By the Lawes of *England*, no man is bound to accuse himselfe. In the highest cases of treason, torture is used for discovery, and not for evidence: In capitall matters, no delinquents answer upon oath is required, no not permitted.”⁹ John Selden objected that “by this Law a Trial is introduced, that neither retest upon any peremptory Accusation, or proof of Witness, but meerly upon Inquisition, upon the Oath and Conscience of the party suspected; which in the latter days hath been called the *Trial upon the Oath ex Officio*.”¹⁰ In 1603 Sir Edward Coke advised the Privy Council that the oath *ex-officio* was illegal, power to use it not having been established by act of Parliament.¹¹ He asserted, moreover, that the power claimed by the High Commission to interrogate and imprison laymen as well as ecclesiastics was a violent misconstruction of Elizabeth’s statute of 1559.¹²

⁵ Prothero, *Select Statutes* (1913), p. 230.

⁶ Gardiner, I, 34

⁷ Prothero, *Select Statutes* (1913), pp. xl-xliv, 235, 240, 295, Holdsworth, *English Law* (1913), p. 377.

⁸ Gardiner, IX, 404; Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents* (1889), p. 114

⁹ *Certain Considerations* (1640), p. 20.

¹⁰ *An Historical and Political Discourse of the Laws and Government of England*, ed. Nathaniel Bacon (London, 1739), Part II, p. 92.

¹¹ Usher, *High Commission* (1913), p. 406

¹² Prothero, *Select Statutes* (1913), p. 406.

APPENDIX F

"THE LEGION OF SMEC" ¹

BY FREDERICK L. TAFT AND ASHUR BAIZER

THE significance of the mysterious term "Smectymnuus," a term which was everywhere greeted with "half-comic wonder," as Masson puts it,² was disclosed in several contemporary works. The first of these appeared five years after Smectymnuus' initial reply to Bishop Hall, *An Answer to a Booke Entitled, An Humble Remonstrance* (1641). The Independents, antagonized by Presbyterian repression following the Westminster Assembly, retaliated by reprinting earlier Presbyterian attacks on the severity of the bishops. Thus the first Smectymnuan pamphlet was reprinted as a supplement to John Saltmarsh's *Some Drops of the Viall* (1646), with the following self-explanatory separate title page:

Groanes For Liberty. Presented From the Presbyterian (formerly Non-conforming) Brethren; reputed the ablest and most learned among them, in some Treatises called Smectymnuus, to the high & honorable Court of Parliament, in the yeare 1641, by reason of the Prelates Tyranny. Now awakened and presented to themselves in the behalfe of their Non-conforming Brethren ³

Opposite this title page appears the authorization for printing signed by "John Bachiler" and dated "Feb. 27, 1645" (i.e. 1646); beneath the authorization is the following, the first letter of each name being printed in red:

"If any are ignorant who this *Smectymnuus* is,

Stephen Marshall	} can tell you."
Edmund Calamy	
Thomas Young	
Matthew Newcomen	
William Spurstow	

Again in 1650 the names of the Smectymnuans were revealed, this time by a supporter of Episcopacy, Hamon L'Estrange. In his *An Answer to the Marquis of Worcester* . . . (London, June 1, 1650), there appears the following explanatory listing of the names on a separate title page, *Smectymnuo-Mastix: or, Short Animadversions upon Smectymnuus Their An-*

¹ Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, Part II, Canto II (London, 1889), p. 129.

² Masson, II, 219.

³ Signed "By John Saltmarsh, Preacher of the Gospell." The separate title page for the reprinted work has the same printer and date as the larger work.

swer, and Vindication of that Answer, to the Humble Remonstrance in the Cause of Liturgie:

It hath and always shall be their chief care, and prayer that peace and truth may kiss and greet each other. What their prayers are the Searcher of hearts knoweth, we determine not; but sure we are, their care hath not answered . . . to the advancement either of Peace or Truth: and to their Union much lesse, whereof no question will be made by any, who know how to decypher the Mysterious Name, as it is in truth, by

Stephen	Thomas
Marshall	Young
Edmund	Matthew
Calamy	Newcomen
	William
	Spurstow ⁴

Finally, in 1660 there appeared another reprint of the first Smectymnuan pamphlet. Entitled *Smectymnuus Redivivus*, the work was apparently issued by Thomas Manton, who signed the introduction "To the Reader." There the names are given in a marginal note to the following statement:

This work which the Stationer hath now revived . . . was penned by severall worthy Divines of great note and fame in the Churches of Christ, under the borrowed and covert name of SPECTYMNUS, which was some matter of scorn and exception to the adversaries . . . [though] the assumption of another name [not being] infamous, but where it is done out of deceit, and to anothers prejudice, or out of shame because of guilt, or feare to own the truths which they should establish: I suppose the reverend Authours were willing to lye hid under this ONOMASTICK, partly that their work might not be received with prejudice . . . and partly that they might not burden their Frontispiece with a voluminous nomenclature, it not being usuall to affix so many names at length to one Treatise.⁵

Who, then, were the Smectymnuans? All five were Presbyterian ministers, opposed both to Episcopacy and to Independency. All but one were graduates of Cambridge; Thomas Young, the exception, graduated from St. Andrews. Three of the five, Calamy, Marshall, and Spurstow, were offspring of the tradesman class. Newcomen's ancestors were burgesses; Young's father was a vicar. Perhaps the fact that Newcomen was married to Calamy's sister-in-law accounts for his membership in a group in which

⁴ Both title pages have the following after the place of publication, London: "Printed by Robert Wood, for Henry Seile, and are to be sold at his Shop, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street. 1651." The quotation is from p. 37 of the part with the separate title page, *Smectymnuo-Mastix*.

⁵ Sigs. a1v-a2. After the words *Smectymnuus Redivivus*, the original title page is given as first issued except that the word "Smectymnuus" is replaced by the words "Composed by five Learned and Orthodox Divines," and the location of the printer, "John Rothwell," is different. "at the Fountain in Goldsmiths Row in Cheapside."

he had the greatest family pretensions. The parentage of the others reflects the humble social background of the Puritan leadership of the period and explains in part the frequent Episcopal contempt of the Puritans. Laud and Hall were not members of great families themselves (though many other churchmen were), but they adopted the attitudes of the scions of great families that made up the court.

Matthew Newcomen, the youngest of the Smectymnuans and the most favored by birth, was born in 1610 at Colchester. He was educated at the Royal Grammar School there and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained his B.A. in 1629 and his M.A. in 1633. Three years later he became a lecturer at Colchester and a leader for the county of Essex of the reform party within the Church. On November 5, 1642, he delivered a vigorous and sustained attack on Laud, his works and his followers, in a sermon preached before Parliament. After assailing the observance of ceremonies, the railing in of the communion table, and the introduction of Arminian doctrines, he went on:

The *bestowing of all offices, the collating of Benefices, the election of Masters and Fellowes of Colledges in both Universties*, who had the over-ruling hand in them all, the power of *mandamus*, but *Canterbury* and his *Faction*? And whom were they conferred upon usually? Men *infamous* for and *impudent* in *Arminian* and *Popish* opinions, *Protested Arminianisme* and *bold faced Popery* the only *speedy unerring way* to Church preferment.⁶

The Papists have wilfully misinterpreted the doctrines of election, free grace, justification by faith, and perseverance, have fomented quarrels among Protestants, banned private conventicles and public meetings, and "have not only *captivated* many of the *injudicious multitude*; but even the *Throne* it self . . . Their pretences have so farre prevailed with our Sovereigne, That he *confides* more in a *Popish party*, then in a *Protestant Parliament*."⁷

Like the other Smectymnuans, Newcomen became in 1643 a member of the Westminster Assembly, to which he preached the opening sermon on July 7. In this sermon he sounded a call for unity among Protestants both at home and abroad, and urged the Assembly "with *united indeavours* labour to raise up and *establish the decayed truth* among us, vindicating the *truths* of the *Protestant Religion* from all *Popish, Arminian, Socinian, Anabaptisticall, Antinomian*, and *all other errors whatsoever*."⁸ He opposed the toleration of the Agreement of 1649 and retired into obscurity until the Restoration. Charles II offered him a chaplaincy, which he refused, and, after serving in the Savoy Conference (1661), he also refused to sign the

⁶ Matthew Newcomen, *The Craft and Cruelty of the Churches Adversaries* (1643), p. 28.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁸ Newcomen, *Jeruselems Watch-Men, the Lords Remembrancers* (1643), pp. 32-33.

Act of Uniformity. In 1663 he went to Leyden at the request of the English community there, and died there three years later.

The career of the second youngest member of the Smectymnuans follows this Presbyterian pattern with only slight variations. William Spurstowe, who was born in 1605, the son of a London mercer, entered Emmanuel College as a pensioner in 1623. Receiving his B.A. in 1626, he proceeded M.A. and became a fellow of Catharine Hall in 1630. In 1637 he resigned his fellowship to become rector of Great Hampden, Bucks, and in 1642 was chaplain to Hampden's regiment in the army of the Earl of Essex. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly and in 1645 was appointed Master of Catharine Hall. In 1648 he was one of the commissioners charged with negotiating a treaty with the king on the Isle of Wight. Although he preached frequently before the Long Parliament, he "bitterly lamented the death of Charles the first."⁹ Deprived of his mastership for refusing the Engagement in 1650, he went into retirement until the Restoration, when he was appointed a chaplain of Charles II. After serving as a member of the Savoy Conference, he refused to sign the Act of Uniformity and "was ejected from his benefice at Hackney . . . where, and in the neighbourhood, he lived (exercising his parts in private among the brethren) till his death" in 1667.¹⁰

Because of their youth neither Spurstowe nor Newcomen was prominent before the meeting of the Long Parliament. The other three Smectymnuans, however, had been more active, and more records of their activities have survived. Edmund Calamy, for instance, was the subject of frequent discussion among his contemporaries because of his "non-compliance" with Laud's injunctions regarding ceremonies, although he was not considered a thoroughgoing opponent of them, and is reported to have worn the surplice while a lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds. Calamy was born in 1600 at Walbrook, the son of a tradesman descended, according to family tradition, from French Huguenot ancestry. He entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1616, and received his B.A. three years later, but his aversion to Arminianism is said to have stood in the way of his becoming a fellow, although he was granted the privileges (*tanquam socius*) for three years in 1626. After being vicar at St. Mary, Swaffham Prior, Cambridgeshire, he became a lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, where he remained more than ten years, "till Bishop Wren's articles, and the Book of Sports, drove him and thirty more worthy ministers out of the diocese."¹¹ About 1636 he became rector of Rochford, Essex, and three years later, perpetual curate at St. Mary, Aldermanbury, London, where he achieved considerable popularity as a preacher.

In March, 1641, Calamy was called before the Lords' Committee for Innovations, along with Stephen Marshall. Since Bishop Hall was a member

⁹ Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, rev. by Samuel Palmer (3 vols., London, 1802-03), II, 449.

¹⁰ Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (1813-20), I, 443.

¹¹ Calamy, *Memorial* (1802-03), I, 76.

of the Committee, these two Smeectymnuans probably faced their adversary there. Calamy was "for the Presbyterian discipline; but of known moderation towards those of other sentiments."¹² Preaching before Commons in December, 1641, he at once deplored disproportionate emphasis on doctrinal differences, defended Calvinism, and repudiated Arminianism:

It is not a dispute about Praedestination that will turn away Gods wrath, but it is the practise of humiliation and Reformation. It is most certain, that God is not the cause of any mans damnation. He found us sinners in Adam, but made none sinners . . . And it is as certain, that it is not in the power of man by nature to convert himselfe.¹³

Free grace was also the subject of a sermon he preached before the same body the following February. In the past few years, he asserted, "a mighty faction" had arisen in the Church which "advanced *free will* above *free grace*" and which prevailed to such a degree that "whosoever was not an *Arminian*, was *eo nomine*, *A doctrinall Puritan*":

We were come to that height, that the *doctrine of Arminianisme* was accounted the *doctrine of the Church of England*. And therefore, *I beseech you (right Honourable) to take this into your most serious consideration: Place free grace in its throne, advance free grace, that hath so much advanced you: roote out Arminianisme; settle our doctrine (not only our discipline) that there may be no shadow of plea in it for an Arminian.*¹⁴

As a member of the Westminster Assembly Calamy showed himself a "liberal and cautious Calvinist," in Mitchell's view, "a genuine disciple of Ussher and Davenant,"¹⁵ but he did sign the Covenant. During the course of the Assembly his moderation brought him into a pamphlet controversy with the more rigorous proponents of Presbyterianism. After Cromwell's rise, he retired because of his opposition to the trial of Charles I and worked for the return of the Stuarts. As a reward for such efforts, Charles II offered him the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, but Calamy declined, accepting instead the post of chaplain to the king. Like Newcomen and Spurstowe he refused to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity and resigned his living. In 1663, because he yielded to the importunity of the congregation to preach, although he had been ejected, he was arrested and sent to prison, but was soon released through the intervention of the king. Until his death three years later, he lived quietly in retirement.

If Calamy's reputation as a preacher was great, Marshall's was even greater; his "impressive eloquence," as Mitchell remarks, "is said [by Clarendon] to have secured him greater influence with the Long Parliament than ever Laud enjoyed with the Court of Charles."¹⁶ Stephen Marshall

¹² Calamy, *Memorial* (1802-03), I, 77.

¹³ Calamy, *Englands Looking-Glasse* (1642), p. 61.

¹⁴ Calamy, *Gods Free Mercy to England* (1642), p. 20.

¹⁵ Alexander F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly* (London, 1883), p. 121.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124. Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (1702-04), I, 239.

was born in Godmanchester, Huntingdonshire, about 1594, the son of a poor glover. Enrolled as a pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1616, he received his B.A. in 1618, his M.A. in 1622, and his B.D. in 1629. After leaving Cambridge in 1618, he became a tutor and then a lecturer at Wethersfield, Essex, and finally vicar of Finchingfield. In 1632 he was described as "very conformable," but four years later was listed for "irregularities and want of conformity." Sir Nathaniel Brent, Laud's Vicar-General for the Metropolitan Visitations, described him to his superior in 1637 as "a dangerous person, but exceeding cunning. No man doubteth but that he hath an inconformable heart, but externally he observeth all . . . He governeth the consciences of all the rich puritans in those parts and in many places far remote, and is grown very rich."¹⁷

Marshall's subsequent activities were interpreted by his enemies as the maneuvers of an opportunist. Fuller said of him that he was "of so supple a soul, that he brake not a joint, yea, sprained not a sinew, in all the alteration of times."¹⁸ When the Long Parliament met, he preached to it frequently as an advocate of church reform. In a sermon delivered on November 17, 1640, after warning Commons against the doctrine of those who "set up the rotten *Dagon* of mans *free will*, above the *Arke* of Gods *free grace*," he pleaded for the "promoting, establishing, and maintaining a faithfull, learned, painfull, preaching Ministry" as a sovereign remedy for the nation's ills.¹⁹ In January, 1641, he played an important part in drawing up the Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance. The following March he was, like Calamy, called before the Lords' Committee for Innovations, and apparently agreed to archbishop Ussher's suggestions for the modification of church government, suggestions which were, however, lost sight of during the hectic days of Strafford's trial and execution.

By June, 1641, when Marshall had moved toward advocacy of a more complete reorganization of the church, he is reported to have arranged the introduction into the Commons of the Root and Branch Bill, which he strongly supported. Preaching before Commons in September, 1641, he raised thanks for God's extraordinary mercies to England during the past year, including the restoration of amicable relations with Scotland, the lifting of "the intolerable yokes of *Star-Chamber*, and terrible *High-commission*," and the agreement concerning triennial Parliaments.²⁰ That December he urged Commons to follow the example of Josiah and break down "all the *Images and relics of Idolatry*," and to execute "*the justice and vengeance of God upon the Instruments of the kingdoms ruine, the idolatrous Priests.*"²¹

Early in 1643 *Mercurius Aulicus* printed a rumor to the effect that Mar-

¹⁷ Quoted in *DNB* entry for Marshall.

¹⁸ Thomas Fuller, *Worthies of England*, ed. P. Austin Nuttall (3 vols., London, 1840), II, 105.

¹⁹ Stephen Marshall, *Sermon Preached before Commons* (1641), pp. 22-23, 48.

²⁰ Marshall, *A Peace-Offering to God* (1641), pp. 45-46.

²¹ Marshall, *Reformation and Desolation* (1642), p. 51.

shall had become insane and had cried out in a transport that he was eternally damned for having supported the Parliamentary cause. In reply to a friend's inquiry Marshall wrote a letter indignantly asserting his sanity and his continued adherence to Parliament. He went on to attack the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience, and to justify Parliament's right to defend itself against royal aggression. Kings "were at first constituted," he wrote, "and are still continued for the protection, welfare, benefit, yea and service of the people; and who therefore should value their prerogatives, scepters, and lives, no further then they may advance the publick good" ²² At the Westminster Assembly Marshall seems to have been strongly Presbyterian, and he was one of the two commissioners who accepted the Solemn League and Covenant at Leith in August, 1643. Yet in 1654, the year before his death, he became one of Cromwell's "triers for the ministry." "Although some severely censure him for deserting his principles," Fuller says, "yet he is said on his death-bed to have given full satisfaction to such who formerly suspected his sincerity to the presbyterian discipline." ²³

Thomas Young, the last and, because of his connection with Milton, the best known of the Smeectymnuans, was born on February 8, 1587, the son of William Young, vicar of Loncardy. He entered St. Andrews University in 1602 and received his M.A. there four years later. Probably he was the Thomas Young appointed minister to Resolis in Ross in the year 1614. He was Milton's tutor from 1618 until 1620, when he went to Hamburg to become chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers there ²⁴ Young probably arrived in Hamburg sometime between April 24, 1620 and January 21, 1621, and returned to England for a visit during the first half of 1621. He may also have made two more visits to England before leaving his post in Hamburg permanently in 1628. ²⁵ On March 27 of that year John Howe presented to him the vicarages of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowmarket; these livings he retained until his death. According to Milton's letter to him dated July 21, 1628, the poet promised to visit him at Stowmarket. ²⁶

There are few other records concerning Young until 1639, when he published pseudonymously *Dies Dominica*, translated in 1672 as *The Lord's Day*, a treatise advocating strict observance of the Sabbath. In the dedicatory epistle Young laments that the Sabbath has been properly solemnized "but by few: which the many Fairs upon it, for gainful labour, in all Na-

²² Marshall, *A Plea for Defensive Armes* (1643), p. 8.

²³ Fuller, *Worthies*, II, 105-06

²⁴ Arthur Barker, "Milton's Schoolmasters," *MLR*, XXXII (1937), p. 517, n. 2. This date is two years earlier than that given in Masson. See also Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's* (1948), pp. 26-28.

²⁵ William R. Parker, "Milton and Thomas Young," *MLN*, XXXIII (1938), p. 403. Parker uses these conjectured visits to date Milton's Elegy IV, addressed to Young, and also the letter to Young which is usually dated March 26, 1625, but which he believes should be changed to 1627, the same date he assigns to Elegy IV

²⁶ See Letter 3, above, p. 315. Barker, "Milton's Schoolmasters," p. 517, n. 2. David Laing, *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young* (Edinburgh, 1870), p. 10.

tions, feasts, drunkenness, dancings, and the impious profanations of it, by Stage-plays, do testifie.”²⁷ It has been suggested that Milton may have made his earliest acquaintance with the Church fathers through Young, who quotes them extensively in this work.²⁸ Richard Baxter wrote of Young that he was “a man eminent in his time, for great Learning, Judgment, Piety, Humility; but especially for his acquaintance with the Writings of the Antient Teachers of the Churches, and the Doctrine and Practise of former ages.”²⁹ Since one of the points Hall made against the Smectymnuan reply was that it cited the fathers excessively, Baillie is probably correct in asserting that Young was the author “of the *Synctymnias* [*Smectymnuus*] for the most part.”³⁰ In 1643 Young was a member of the Westminster Assembly and received the parish of St. James, Duke Place. That same year he signed a pamphlet directed against the Independents and Sectaries, *Certain Considerations to Dissuade Men from Further Gathering of Churches in This Present Juncture of Time*. The following year he was made master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and in 1646 was a signer of *The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines . . . Concerning a Confession of Faith, Presented by Them Lately to Both Houses of Parliament*. His refusal to take the Engagement in 1650 brought about his ejection from his mastership, and he apparently spent the rest of his life in retirement at Stowmarket, where he died in 1655.

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²⁷ Thomas Young, *The Lords-Day* (1672), sig b2.

²⁸ Barker, “Milton’s Schoolmasters,” p. 521.

²⁹ Young, *The Lords-Day* (1672), sigs A5–A5v.

³⁰ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, I, 366.

APPENDIX G

THE BISHOPS

PREFACE BY LEO F. SOLT

THROUGHOUT his writings Milton made only two specific references to any of the twenty-six bishops treated in this appendix: bishops Juxon and Manwaring. In *Eikonoklastes* (1649, pp. 12, 15) Milton stated that Charles' prayer on captivity was delivered to Juxon immediately before the king's death. The other reference is contained in *Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon . . . By Matthew Griffith. D.D.* (1660, pp. 4-5). In this pamphlet Milton informed Dr. Griffith that he sounded like "another Doctor *Manwaring*" when he argued that the king's militia, and not Parliament or the laws of the land, had "*the power of life and death.*" However, inasmuch as Milton cast many aspersions upon the bishops as a single homogeneous group, the authors have written the following intellectual portraits to help determine whether or not this homogeneity was indeed a fiction. Therefore these summaries have minimized biographical information and emphasized three major aspects of the bishops' thought and action whenever the material available would warrant such treatment. These three aspects are ecclesiastical discipline, theological doctrine, and political position.

The criterion for choosing the English and Welsh bishops who are discussed in the following study has been to select those men who held ecclesiastical sees at the time Milton wrote his antiprelatical tracts, i.e. from May, 1641, to March, 1642. There are, however, a few exceptions. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop Hall are treated fully in the general introduction to this volume and are consequently omitted here. Neile, archbishop of York, and bishops Bancroft, Davenant, and Montague, all of whom died from one to six months before the appearance of Milton's first antiprelatical tract, are included because of their many years' service during Laud's primacy. Several bishops who were consecrated after January, 1642, have been excluded because Milton could not have felt their influence.

Of the twenty-six bishops treated in this study, ten were strong supporters of archbishop Laud's reforms of ecclesiastical discipline, seven either resisted these reforms or advocated Puritan ecclesiastical practices, and nine did not register their views. These reforms are most clearly revealed in the following pages through the attempts to raise the communion table, rail it in, and place it "altar-wise" at the east end of the chancel. Such endeavours to establish "the beauty of holiness" throughout the Anglican church were

made by bishops Bancroft, Curle, Goodman, Juxon, Manwaring, Neile, Pierce, Skinner, Towers, and Wren. All of these men except Neile first became bishops between 1625 and 1640, when Laud stood high in the councils of Charles I, and many, if not most, could attribute their appointments directly to Laud's influence. Of the seven bishops who resisted or opposed Laud's ecclesiastical discipline, five (archbishop Williams, bishops Bridgeman, Morton, Thornborough, and Wright) were appointed to their first sees between the years 1593 and 1622, before Laud's ascension to power, and one, Bishop Prideaux, was appointed in 1641, after Laud had been sent to the Tower. In *Of Reformation* (above, p. 548) Milton vehemently attacked Laud's program of "decency," writing that the table of communion had become a table of separation between "the profane touch of the Laicks" and the "surfeted Priest." Such slurring remarks, in which Milton attempted to identify the Anglican ceremonies with the Roman, can also be found in the vituperative polemic of William Prynne, whose voice figures prominently in these sketches.

The differences among the bishops, which have been noted on ecclesiastical discipline, become even more varied when we examine their theological positions. At one extreme is bishop Goodman, who probably was converted to Roman Catholicism, followed by bishop Montague, who found no difference with Roman Catholic theology except on transubstantiation and communion in one kind. At the other extreme were the Calvinist bishops (Davenant, Potter, and Prideaux), who held to predestination and justification by grace, followed by bishops Morton and Parr, who inclined toward the Calvinist position. Between the two extremes was the Arminian group (Neile, Duppa, Pierce, and Wren), who believed in free will and justification by works. And still a fourth group of moderate bishops (Thornborough, Towers, and Williams), not learned men in a theological sense, stood in between the Calvinists and the Arminians. Twelve of the bishops did not state their views on theology in print, but we know only slightly more about Milton's theology at this time. Milton's antiprelatical tracts are remarkably free from theological disputation. Only once does he hint at that "infection" of Arminianism which was later to become an important bulwark of his own theological belief (*An Apology*, above, p. 917). On the question of Episcopacy as *jure divino* the bishops had very little to say; only bishops Neile and Prideaux upheld the affirmative position in which bishop Hall served as the protagonist against Milton.

There was one issue, however, on which there was very little disagreement among the bishops. Seven of them (Juxon, Manwaring, Morton, Neile, Towers, Warner, and Wren) stated that the king was the highest political power under God; four (Curle, Duppa, Pierce, and Skinner) proclaimed that Puritan disputation and controversy over the word of God led ultimately to sedition against the king, and Prideaux and Thornborough opposed respectively civil reform and civil schism. Although bishop Goodman wrote that magistrates were feoffees held in trust to the people and bishop Williams favored the Petition of Right, all the bishops, including the eleven

who did not record their views, remained loyal to the king when Charles raised his standard at Nottingham against the Parliamentary forces in August, 1642. Only three bishops (Juxon, Neile, and Williams) had held high political office, but all certainly realized the wisdom, as far as they were concerned, of James I's political maxim, "No bishop, no king." "I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Jesuites Cell," wrote Milton in *Of Reformation* (above, p. 582), "this superpolitick Aphorisme, as one termes it, One Pope, and one King." It seemed clear to Milton that the bishops were contriving in political affairs, as well as in ecclesiastical discipline, "to bring themselves and us back again to the Popes supremacy" (*Church-Government*, above, p. 853).

From the foregoing analysis the bishops appear almost united in their political beliefs against Milton's view that monarchy is made up of two parts: the supremacy of the king *and* the liberty of the subject (*Of Reformation*, above, p. 592). This unity among the bishops vanishes when they touch the issue of ecclesiastical discipline. The resistance or opposition to Laudian reforms by a sizeable minority of the bishops Milton omitted either by intention or ignorance. On theological doctrine the bishops present a spectrum of colors, but Milton can hardly be accused of misrepresenting them on this issue because he was not concerned with theology in the antiprelatical tracts. However, for other Puritans Arminianism was an important charge against the prelates.

After the Synod of Dort, especially during the years 1625-1629 and again after 1640, many of the bishops were denounced by the Puritans as proponents of "Popery and Arminianism." These Arminians, who were not Catholics, held doctrines of free will and justification which have their counterparts in Roman Catholicism. Such were the materials that led one author to say "*Arminianisme* is a bridge to *Popery*" (*The Arminian Nunnery*, 1641, p. 10). The Puritan tactic in the pulpit, press, and in Parliament was to drive the Arminians, at least in the public eye, across that bridge into the arms of the small group of Catholics. This rhetorical device, in connection with the ecclesiastical and political beliefs of all the bishops, has already been observed in Milton. For instance, on January 26, 1629, Francis Rous told the Commons that "*Arminianism*, an Error that makes the Grace of God Lackey it after the will of man" is a "Trojan Horse . . . ready to open the Gates to *Romish* Tyranny, and *Spanish* Monarchy: For an *Arminian* is the Spawn of a *Papist*" (Rushworth, I, 645).

The hard core of Laudian bishops (Curle, Duppa, Juxon, Neile, Pierce, and Wren), those who had been identified with Arminian theology, ecclesiastical "decency," and Charles' "personal" rule, realized too late the vulnerable position to which they, and consequently all the other bishops, became heirs. They therefore tried to detach themselves from any taint of international Catholicism on their right while they continued to assert their authority over revolutionary Calvinism on their left. The canons of 1640 provided "for suppressing of the growth of popery," and even the recalcitrant bishop Goodman finally made his submission to this canon. Through their activi-

ties on the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber and through their visitation articles, these bishops were partially successful in establishing an ecclesiastical and doctrinal conformity. Nevertheless, with the calling of the Long Parliament in November, 1640, the center position of the Laudian bishops began to disintegrate rapidly. The Puritans' label for the Anglican church—the halfway house on the road to Catholicism—had stuck. Before the Long Parliament's retaliatory onslaught

Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.
"The Second Coming," by W. B. Yeats.

A sectarian anarchy, which later proliferated in the New Model Army in the face of the Presbyterian Parliament and Westminster Assembly, was scoffed at by Milton in *Church-Government* (above, p. 787): "Noise it till ye be hoarse; that a rabble of Sects will come in, it will be answer'd ye, no rabble sir Priest, but a unanimous multitude of good Protestants will then joine to the Church, which now because of you stand separated."

On August 4, 1641, the House of Commons impeached Laud and twelve of the bishops for promulgating the canons of 1640. These bishops were Coke, Curle, Goodman, Hall, John Owen, Morgan Owen, Pierce, Roberts, Skinner, Towers, Warner, Wren, and Wright. The following December 30 the twelve bishops (except for Morton and Williams in place of Curle and Warner) were again impeached by the House of Commons (this time for high treason) and immediately imprisoned by the House of Lords for approximately eighteen weeks. While they were in prison the king signed on February 13 the Clerical Disabilities Bill, which was designed to disable all persons in holy orders from exercising any temporal jurisdiction or authority (*Lords Journals*, IV, 580). The bishops were never convicted by the House of Lords of the charges of high treason (B. Dew Roberts, *Mitre and Musket* [London: Oxford University Press, 1938] p. 181). They were subsequently released on bail on May 5 and May 6 (*Lords Journals*, V, 45), but their power was effectively broken. On March 27 of the following year the "Estates as well reall, as personall" of the bishops who had been imprisoned (plus Laud and Prideaux) were sequestered by Parliament (Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances* [3 vols., London, 1911], I, 106-07). The final blow against Episcopacy came on October 9, 1646, when government of the church by archbishops and bishops was abolished altogether (Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, I, 879-81).

The twenty-six sketches that follow were written by Ashur Baizer, Franklin R. Baruch, J. Hillis Miller, Jr., and Leo F. Solt.

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University of Massachusetts

THE BISHOPS

JOHN BANCROFT

1574-1641

Nephew to archbishop Richard Bancroft, "and looked upon for his sake chiefly" (Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1671, p. 213), John Bancroft was born at Asthall, Oxfordshire, and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. In 1610, shortly after taking his degree in divinity, he was, "by the endeavours of his uncle," who was then chancellor of Oxford, "elected master of University college, where he continued above twenty years" (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, II, 893). Though Laudian in his views, he avoided involvement in theological controversy during his mastership, concentrating his efforts upon recovering and settling the lands of his college.

Appointed to the see of Oxford on August 23, 1632, through the influence of Laud, who regarded him as "my ancient friend," Bancroft was "very careful" to enforce Laud's instructions in his diocese (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, V, 155, 330, 363-64). Richard Gardiner, canon of Christ Church, in dedicating a sermon to Bancroft in 1639, mentions that the bishop had "reformed the altars throughout his diocese, and suitably inscribed the Cathedral communion plate" (Falconer Madan, *The Early Oxford Press*, Oxford, 1895, p. 213).

Bancroft's major enterprise as bishop, undertaken at Laud's suggestion, was to build a residence "to be a house for the Bps." of Oxford "for ever" (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, III, 224). Shortly after the opening of the Long Parliament Bancroft was "possessed so much with fear," says Wood, "(having always been an enemy to the puritan)" (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, II, 893) that he died on February 12, 1641, before taking his seat. The Episcopal palace which he had built in 1634 "proved almost as short lived as the Founder, being burned down [in 1644] by Colonel Leg, during the short time that he was Governour of Oxon, for fear it might be made a Garrison by the Parliament Forces" (Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1671, p. 190).

A. B.

JOHN BRIDGEMAN

1577-1652

John Bridgeman was born in Exeter, where his grandfather had been a sheriff (1578), and was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge. From 1615, when he was one of James I's chaplains, he held the rich rectory of Wigan, Lancashire, and on May 9, 1619, he was consecrated as bishop of Chester. Bridgeman was apparently so lenient with nonconforming ministers in his see that the archbishop of York charged him with negligence, and he reluctantly became a mild persecutor of the Puritans (Robert Halley, *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity*, second ed., Manchester, 1872, p. 132). Many times he sent for clergyman

John Angier, whose visits had been consoling to the bishop's wife, and "exhorted him to conform" because Laud had rebuked the bishop for permitting nonconformity (Oliver Heywood, "Life of John Angier of Denton," ed Ernest Axon, *Chetham Society*, Manchester, 1937, XCVII, 57). In the early part of 1633 Bridgeman was brought before the court of High Commission for excessive leniency in the remission of the church's censures and for deriving personal gain (H. R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud*, 1940, pp. 173-74). On June 29, 1635, John Ley, sub-dean of Chester, complained in a letter to Bridgeman that a new stone altar had been erected in the consistory of the cathedral. Ley thought the bishop placed it there to clear himself of an "imputation of Puritanisme," and Bridgeman, denying the stone's use as an altar, had it taken down (Ley, *A Letter*, 1641, pp. 19-20). In August, 1637, Bridgeman made some attempts to investigate several citizens of Chester who had entertained William Prynne while he was being conveyed to Carnarvon castle in accordance with his sentence of life imprisonment. The bishop proudly wrote that he had seized five pictures of Prynne (Prynne, *A New Discovery*, 1641, pp. 218-21). During the Civil Wars Bridgeman withdrew from the public scene.

L. F. S.

GEORGE COKE

?-1646

George Coke was born in Trusley, Derbyshire, "of ancient and worshipful parentage, allied to the best families in this county" (Fuller, *Worthnes*, 1840, I, 371). After graduating from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he had held a fellowship, he was beneficed at Bygrave, Hertfordshire. On November 28, 1632, through the influence of his brother Sir John Coke, secretary of state from 1625 to 1640, he was elected bishop of Bristol (Trevor-Roper, *Laud*, p. 184). He was translated to the see of Hereford in July, 1636.

Laud's annual accounts of his province record that Coke "carefully observed" the king's instructions "in all things," and that he proceeded against nonconformists with rigor (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, V, 325, 353-54, 367). Yet at his trial Laud cited his appointment of Coke, with bishops Hall and Potter, as refutation of Prynne's charge that he had preferred only "such men as were for ceremonies, Popery, and Arminianism" (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, IV, 297).

In August, 1641, Coke was impeached with twelve other bishops, for having assisted Laud in promulgating, the year before, "several Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiastical, containing in them divers Matters . . . tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequences" (*Lords Journals*, IV, 340). He was imprisoned in December, 1641, for having signed archbishop Williams' protest, and in March, 1643, Parliament "seized and sequestered" the "Estates as well real, as personall" of the twelve bishops in addition to archbishop Laud's (Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances* 1911, I, 106, 107). "The times trod so heavily upon him," says Fuller, "that (though he was ever a thrifty person) they not only bruised the foot, but brake the body of his estate" (Fuller, *Worthnes*, 1840, I, 371). After the Restoration an altar was erected in his memory in Hereford Cathedral.

A. B.

WALTER CURLE

1575-1647

Walter Curle, the son of the auditor of the Court of Wards for Queen Elizabeth and James I, was born in Hertfordshire near the family home of William Cecil. After a period at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he eventually became a fellow and earned a D.D. degree, the Cecil family gave Curle "a good Living, as a Scene of his abilities" (David Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, p. 597). An entry in the diary of John Manningham for March, 27, 1603, credits Curle with the following statement: "A puritane is such a one as loves God with all his soule, but hates his neighbour with all his heart" ("Diary of John Manningham," ed. John Bruce, CS, London, 1868, XCIX, 156). As chaplain to James I, Curle declared in a sermon on April 28, 1622, that "there is nothing but Fraction and Faction, Schisme and Separation in the Church of Christ" (Curle, *A Sermon*, 1622, p. 10), a theme he repeated with greater cause twenty-two years later at Oxford for Charles I. In an obvious reference to the Bible-reading Puritans, Curle said in the Oxford sermon. "I doubt not, but a man may bee saved, though he never reade, or study controversies" (Curle, *A Sermon*, Oxford, 1644, p. 12). Controversies, he felt, led to "this itch of innovation," which in turn caused sedition against the king.

Curle was consecrated bishop of Rochester on September 7, 1628; he was translated to the see of Bath and Wells in 1629 and to the see of Winchester in 1632. Following Laud's example of "decency and devotion" at Canterbury Cathedral, Curle issued Winchester Cathedral regulations "to provide four copes, to rail in the communion-table, to place it in the altar situation, [and] to bow towards it" (Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* [9 vols., London, 1845-46], VIII, 93). For his loyalty to Laud Curle was appointed, along with bishops Juxon, Wren, and Duppa, overseer for the archbishop's last will and testament (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, IV, 450). On January 31, 1642, the Commons ordered Curle "to be examined in the Cause touching the Twelve Bishops that are impeached for High Treason" (*Lords Journals*, IV, 554), but he was finally neither impeached nor imprisoned. Curle, John Wainer, and John Prideaux were the only bishops (twelve others were in prison) to vote against the Bishops Exclusion Bill on February 5. After the fall of Winchester Castle in October, 1645, when he ranged himself among the defenders against the siege of Cromwell's forces, Curle retired to Soberton, Hampshire, where he died in 1647.

L. F. S.

JOHN DAVENANT

1572?-1641

John Davenant was born in London, the son of a wealthy and cultivated merchant. Educated at Queens' College, Cambridge, he was awarded a fellowship in 1597, was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity in 1609, and was elected master of Queens' in 1614.

Having gained a reputation as a Calvinistic theologian of great learning and

piety, Davenant was chosen in 1618 to represent the English church at the Synod of Dort, together with George Carleton, Joseph Hall, and Samuel Ward. The delegation was instructed by James to try to mitigate the rigidity of the extremists on both sides, and Davenant, though he opposed the Arminians at the Synod by stressing "*God's and Christ's special intention to redeem effectually, and to merit effectual Grace only to the Elect,*" nevertheless conceded "*that the whole Merit of Christ is not confined to the Elect only*" (John Hales, *Golden Remains*, fourth ed., London, 1711, pp. 587, 590).

Davenant was consecrated bishop of Salisbury on November 18, 1621, succeeding his brother-in-law, Robert Townson. John Dury's efforts to reunite the continental Protestant churches attracted Davenant, who thought the paramount consideration was that both Calvinists and Lutherans subscribed to a "common faith, comprised in the Apostles Creed", the issues in dispute were too minor, in his judgment, to warrant continued separation (Davenant, *An Exhortation to Brotherly Communion betwixt the Protestant Churches*, 1641, p. 13).

In the course of a sermon preached at Whitehall during Lent, 1631, Davenant touched on predestination, a subject proscribed by Charles in a proclamation on June 16, 1626 (Archibald W. Harrison, *Arminianism* [London: Duckworth, 1937], p. 133). Summoned before the Privy Council, he was severely rebuked by Samuel Harsnett, archbishop of York, "not in regard of the doctrine itself," as Davenant explained in a letter to Ward, "but because (as my lord's grace said) the king had prohibited the debating thereof" (Fuller, *Church History*, 1845, VI, 80). Though he apologized and thereafter submitted to authority, carrying out Laud's instructions without resistance (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, V, 324, 343; VI, 61), in 1641 Davenant published a tract (*Animadversions . . . upon . . . Gods Love to Mankind*) defending predestination. He died on April 20, 1641, "of an old consumption," says Lloyd, "improved with new grief for the misery of those times which he fore-saw sad, and saw dangerous" (Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, p. 282).

A. B.

BRIAN DUPPA

1588-1662

Brian Duppa, "a known Arminian," as Prynne terms him (*Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 354), followed a straight Laudian-royalist course throughout his career. Born in Lewisham, Kent, the son of the local vicar, he took his degree at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1609, was elected fellow of All Souls College in 1612, and became dean of Christ Church in 1628.

In 1631 Laud's proposal to revise the statutes of Oxford incited three members of the university, Thomas Ford, Giles Thorne, and William Hodges, to preach against Arminianism in violation of the king's Declaration of 1628 (see below, p. 1022). When the vice-chancellor, William Smith, sought to question them, they appealed to the proctors. To Duppa's alarm, the proctors received the appeal and appointed delegates to investigate. "I could wish this were all," he wrote to his friend Laud, "but this gangreen will spread further; for the University, by these means, is like to become the seed-plot of mutinies, to furnish both Church and Common-wealth with" (Anthony à Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* [2 vols. in 3, Oxford, 1792-96], II, 376). The dispute was

brought to the notice of the king, who, to Duppa's satisfaction, expelled the offending preachers and demanded the resignations of the proctors.

The revision of the statutes was completed during Duppa's vice-chancellorship (1632-34). Soon thereafter, at Laud's recommendation, he was appointed tutor to Prince Charles. On June 17, 1638, he was consecrated bishop of Chichester; in 1641 he was translated to Salisbury. When Episcopacy was "silenced by the long parliament," he removed to Oxford (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, III, 542).

In December, 1642, on behalf of Prince Charles, Duppa urged upon the king "a speedy Accommodation" with Parliament to avert the destruction of life and property and the ruin of the English church, and recommended mercy to prisoners, among them John Lilburne, lest Parliament retaliate in kind (Duppa, *Prince Charles His Gracious Resolution*, 1642). Dr. John Gauden told Anthony Walker, his former curate, that Duppa contributed Chapters 16 and 24 to the *Eikon Basilike*: "The Ordinance against the Common-prayer book: And the denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains" (Anthony Walker, *A True Account of the Author of . . . Eikon Basilike*, 1692, p. 4; see also Francis F. Madan, *A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike* [London: Bernard Quaritch, 1950], p. 141). Duppa's anti-Calvinism is clearly evident in a sermon he preached before the king on the Isle of Wight repudiating the concept of a God Who "sealed you to damnation before-hand"; rather, he asserted, God "would have all men saved" (Duppa, *Soules Soliloquite*, 1648, p. 20).

During the Commonwealth Duppa lived in Surrey, holding ordinations in private and maintaining correspondence with some of the ejected clergy on the question of the succession of bishops. At the Restoration he was translated to Winchester. Henry King, bishop of Chichester, said that Duppa often told him that "He desired only Two Blessings in this World" before he died. "To see the King His Gracious Masters Return unto His Throne, And the Churches happy Restitution to Hir Rights" (King, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of . . . Bryan, Lord Bishop of Winchester*, 1662, p. 44).

A.B.

GODFREY GOODMAN

1583-1656

Godfrey Goodman delivered a Lenten sermon before Charles I in 1626 which resulted in his questioning before Convocation "for preaching transubstantiation, or near it." ([Thomas Birch], *The Court and Times of Charles the First* [2 vols., London, 1848], I, 95) Although archbishop Abbot and bishops Andrewes and Laud decided that he had innovated nothing in the doctrine of the Church of England (Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1671, p. 146), Goodman gained the reputation of being a Papist.

Goodman, who was born in Ruthin, Denbighshire, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was the nephew of Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster (1561-1601). In his book entitled *The Fall of Man or the Corruption of Nature, Proved by the Light of our Naturall Reason* (1616), Goodman expressed his belief that the decay of the world resulted from the sin of man. But, "being fallen and corrupted in our selves . . . and looking to those few sparkes of reason . . . in the dead embers of our nature, wee may againe kindle and inflame them, at

the burning and shining lampe of our faith." (Goodman, *The Fall of Man*, 1616, p. 444). Goodman deivied this scholastic corroboration of Christian faith by reason from Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, whose "School-Learning" he considered to be the "very Touchstone of all truth" (Goodman, *The Two Great Mysteries*, 1653, p. 105).

William Prynne asserted that Goodman "turned Communion Tables, rayled them Altarwise" and "set up diverse Crucifixes and Images in the Cathedrall at Glocester," where he became bishop on March 6, 1625 (Prynne, *The Second Part of the Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie*, 1641, unpagued portion between pp. 304-05). Gregorio Panzani, an Italian clergyman in England, wrote in his *Memoirs* (tr. and ed. Joseph Berington [London, 1793], p. 248) that Goodman "every day said the priest's office." In May, 1640, Goodman informed Laud that he "would be torn with wild horses" before he would subscribe to the new third canon "for suppressing of the growth of popery" (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, III, 290). On July 10, however, the bishop made his submission, and Fuller records that Goodman became for a "short time popular" because of his obstinacy to the canons (Fuller, *Church History*, 1837, III, 409). Indeed, he might have become even more popular if his political views that "magistrates are but as feoffees in trust" to the people had been published during his lifetime (Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, ed. John S. Brewer [2 vols., London, 1839], I, 269).

Goodman was one of the twelve bishops impeached by the House of Commons on December 30, 1641, and imprisoned in the Tower. In a tract dedicated to Cromwell in 1653, he admitted that the sufferings of the Anglican clergy had partially arisen because many of them "*did not spend our Church-means in a Church-like manner, but converted them to our own private uses*" (Goodman, *The Two Great Mysteries*, 1653, "To the Reverend Master"). In his last will and testament Goodman recorded: "I do profess that as I have lived, so I die most constant in all the articles of our Christian faith, and in all the doctrine of God's holy Catholic and Apostolic church, whereof I do acknowledge the church of Rome to be the mother church. And I do verily believe that no other church hath any salvation in it, but only so far as it concurs with the faith of the church of Rome" (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, II, 864).

L. F. S.

WILLIAM JUXON

1582-1663

When bishop Juxon received the white staff of the office of Lord Treasurer on March 6, 1636, Archbishop Laud, who had been a fellow with him at St. John's College, Oxford, wrote in his diary: "And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more" (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, III, 226). William Juxon, who was born in Chichester of a family long associated with the Merchant Taylors of London, had risen rapidly through Laud's influence to a large number of church and state offices. president of St. John's (1621), vice-chancellor of Oxford (1626-27), dean of Worcester (1627), Clerk of the Closet (1632), and bishop of London (October 3, 1633). In a Parliamentary speech Lord Falkland singled out Juxon's "*equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier or White Staff*"

(Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1671, p. 286). According to Lloyd (*Memoires*, 1668, p. 596) "the Coffers he found empty [as Lord Treasurer], he in four years left filling;" so much so that Charles was able, ironically enough, to embark upon his financially ruinous Scottish wars free from pecuniary worries (Trevor-Roper, *Laud*, p. 367).

In 1640 bishop Juxon issued for the diocese of London his triennial visitation articles, which Prynne called as "Superstitious and Vile as any" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 354). In these articles he asked among other things (1) if any did not believe that the king was the highest power under God to whom all men owe loyalty and obedience, (2) if any believed that the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican church were antichristian or superstitious, (3) if every church had a communion table located altarwise as prescribed in the canons of 1640 (*Articles to Be Enqued of Wuthin . . . London*, 1640, sigs. A2-A4).

At the earl of Strafford's trial, Juxon testified that Strafford had not proposed, as Sir Henry Vane the younger averred, to bring an army from Ireland with which to reduce the kingdom. On May 9, 1641, Juxon, in addition to Bishop Ussher, advised the king to follow his own conscience in his action on the bill of attainder passed by the Lords against Strafford on the previous day. In 1647 Charles, according to Richard Hollingworth, having written the *Eikon Basilike* "in some loose Papers, at different times, desired Bishop Juxon to get some Friend" to set about "methodizing these Papers, all writ with the King's own Hand" (Hollingworth, *A Defence of King Charles I*, 1692, p. 36, Madan, *A New Bibliography*, p. 140). Juxon attended Charles at his trial and received the king's last words on the scaffold. After the execution he retired to Little Compton in Oxfordshire, and at the Restoration he was confirmed as archbishop of Canterbury on September 20, 1660. He died on June 4, 1663 "As he had gone on in the same course, acted on the same principles, enjoyed the same honors, so he lieth in the same Grave, with his friend and patron Archbishop *Laud*" (Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, p. 597).

L. F. S.

ROGER MANWARING

1590-1653

In 1627 Roger Manwaring, born in Stretton, Cheshire, and educated at All Souls College, Oxford, preached two sermons in support of the policy of Charles I to raise extra-Parliamentary revenue with which to wage war against France and England. As rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, and chaplain in ordinary to the king, Manwaring asserted that the power of the king was divine, and therefore, "no Subject may without hazard of his own Damnation . . . question, or disobey the will and pleasure of his *Sovereigne*" (Manwaring, *Religion and Obedience*, 1st sermon, 1627, p. 19). Indeed Manwaring's sermons on divine kingship, published over Laud's objection (*Lords Journals*, III, 856) as *Religion and Obedience*, further asserted that "the *Lawes* . . . take their binding force from the *Supreme* will of their *Liege-Lord*" (Manwaring, *Religion and Obedience*, 1st sermon, p. 9).

In June, 1628, an irate House of Commons, fresh from drafting the Petition of Right, pressed formal charges against Manwaring because his concept of absolute royal sovereignty, according to Francis Rous, robbed the subject of

his goods and subverted government by law, i.e. by king *and* Parliament (Rushworth, I, 593). This the king's chaplain denied, desiring only, as he put it, "to yield a Supply [of money] unto the present and imminent Necessities of the State" (*Old Parliamentary History*, 1751-66, VIII, 209).

Although the Lords ordered Manwaring to receive no further ecclesiastical dignities, the king pardoned him through bishop Neile's solicitations on July 6, 1628, and promptly appointed him to succeed Richard Montague at the rich rectory of Stanford Rivers, Essex. This action caused Cromwell to protest: "If these be the steps to preferment . . . what may we not expect?" (Abbott, *Cromwell*, 1937-47, I, 61-62). Cromwell's answer came on October 28, 1633, when Manwaring was appointed dean of Worcester and in December, 1635, when he was named bishop of St David's. At the opening of the Short Parliament the king ordered Manwaring to forego his seat when the Lords questioned his appointment. While he was dean of Worcester, Manwaring erected an "*Altar-stone of Marbell . . . set upon foure Columnes*" in Worcester Cathedral (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 81), and for such "Popish Innovations" as this he was later imprisoned and deprived of his ecclesiastical appointments.

L. F. S.

RICHARD MONTAGUE

1577-1641

In 1621 Richard Montague, a son of the minister at Dorney, Buckinghamshire, and educated at King's College, Cambridge, vigorously defended the Anglican church against John Selden's treatise on the *Historie of Tithes* (1618) with a scholarly work, *Diatribae* (1621), which claimed tithes were lawful because of custom and divine right. After holding ecclesiastical posts of dean and later archdeacon at Hereford (1617-20), Montague wrote several tracts which resulted in his trial in 1625 before the House of Commons for advocating "Popery and Arminianism." In *Appello Caesarem* (1625, p. 83) he had written on the issue of free will that "*the controverted particulars are of no great moment*" between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. The "Durham House in the Strand" group, composed of bishops Montaigne, Neile, Andrewes, Laud, and Buckeridge, wrote to the duke of Buckingham on January 16, 1625, that nothing Montague had written in his book, *A Gagg for the New Gospell?* (1624), was contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, VI, 249). In July, 1625, Montague was turned over to the Sergeant of the House and released on £2000 bail. He was consecrated bishop of Chichester on August 24, 1628, the day news arrived of the assassination of Buckingham, who was very likely one of his supporters ("The Correspondence of John Cosin," ed., George Ornsby, *Surtees Society*, Durham, 1869, LII, Appendix). A special pardon was granted to Montague by the king, who had made him one of his chaplains, on October 7, 1628, but on the following March 2 the Commons passed their famous Resolutions, with the Speaker held in the chair, making the introduction or extension of "Popery or Arminianism" a capital offense (Rushworth, I, 660).

Montague rejected the Puritan theology of double predestination to salvation and reprobation, believing only in "Predestination by GOD unto life" (Montague, *Appello Caesarem*, 1625, p. 51). Indeed his affinity for Arminian doctrines, despite his denials, is born out by his advocacy of the concept of falling from

grace accepted by the Remonstrants in 1619 at the Synod of Dort. Furthermore, he believed in the freedom of the will in order to "acquit GOD from being AUTHOR of SINNE. . . . If this bee *Arminianisme*," which it was, "I must professe it" (Montague, *Appello Caesarem*, 1625, pp. 64-65). Panzani stated in his *Memours* (1783, p. 233) that Montague in 1635 was greatly interested in the union of the churches of Rome and England despite the bishop's differences with Rome over transubstantiation and communion in one kind (with bread only, as was the Roman custom). In May, 1638, Montague was translated to the see of Norwich, remaining there until his death on April 13, 1641.

L. F. S.

THOMAS MORTON

1564-1659

Thomas Morton was the son of a York mercer and the descendant of John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal, and lord chancellor for Henry VII. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, Morton devoted himself throughout his lengthy church career to attacks upon Roman Catholic doctrines of transubstantiation and papal supremacy. Shortly after James' accession to the throne he wrote: "*Whosocver upon any pretended supremacie, whether of Pope, or people, doe denie the . . . succession of Protestant Princes; are . . . seditious*" (Morton, *An Exact Discoverie of Romish Doctrines*, 1605, p. 11). Nearly forty years later (1643) in a sermon before Charles I at Oxford, Morton reiterated this faith in monarchy by stating the divine-right position: the king "is not liable to the people, but onely to God" (Morton, *Christus Dei*, Oxford, 1643, p. 12). Morton numbered among his friends Isaac Casaubon and John Donne. When Morton urged Donne in 1606 "to wave your court-hopes and enter into holy orders," Donne's conscience would not allow him to accept Morton's offer of an ecclesiastical living (Izaak Walton, *The Lives*, ed. Alexander Young [2 vols., Boston, 1832], I, 42).

In 1617 James, while passing through Lancashire, hastily issued a Declaration allowing recreation on Sundays. Morton, who had been consecrated bishop of Chester on July 7, 1616, was subsequently allowed by James to modify the Declaration by forbidding bear-baiting altogether and "*recreation till after Evening Prayer*" (Richard Badiley, *The Life of Morton*, York, 1669, p. 62). Although accused as a "favourer of Puritanes," Morton "cleared himself," according to John Ley (Ley, *A Letter*, 1641, p. 20), by a book, *A Defence of the Innocencie* (1618), which defended the wearing of the surplice, making the sign of the cross after baptism, and kneeling at communion.

Nevertheless, Morton, who was translated to the see of Lichfield and Coventry in March, 1619, opposed the Arminian beliefs of bishop Montague's books (see above p. 1020) at a conference in the duke of Buckingham's house on February 11, 1626. At this conference Morton called predestination "a very comfortable doctrine to the elect people of God" (John Cosin, *Works*, ed. John H. Parker [5 vols., Oxford, 1843-55], II, 64). Earlier, however, he had written that the necessity of God's decree did not cause the fall of man but rather man's free will, which God, in his foreknowledge, knew "woulde choose the evill part" (Morton, *A Treatise of the Three-fold State of Man*, 1596, p. 10).

In 1633 and in 1639 Morton, who slept on a straw bed and ate one meal a day,

lavishly entertained Charles I in his see of Durham to which he had been translated in July, 1632. Morton was a member of the Lord's committee of March, 1641, which reported on innovations in the Anglican church (see below p 1031), he was also one of the twelve bishops impeached for high treason on December 30, 1641. Consequently, he was committed with Wright to the custody of the Gentleman Usher for eighteen weeks. In April, 1645, he was again brought before the House of Commons, chiefly for refusing to surrender the seal of the county palatine of Durham. Befriended by Sir Christopher Yelverton, Morton spent his declining years at Northampton, where he died in his ninety-fifth year, believing that "those who at first cause divisions . . . in Religion, will at the length attempt divisions in Government" (Morton, *The Necessity of Christian Subjection*, Oxford, 1643, p 7).

L. F. S.

RICHARD NEILE

1562-1640

The son of a tallow chandler of Westminster, Richard Neile was sent to St John's College, Oxford, by the famous Cecil family, afterward becoming chaplain to both Lord Burghley and his son, the earl of Salisbury. Throughout his long ecclesiastical career Neile held five different bishoprics besides the archbishopric of York: Rochester (1608), Lichfield and Coventry (1610), Lincoln (1614), Durham (1617), Winchester (1627), and York (1632). While he was bishop of Durham, Neile's London residence in the Strand became a center of Arminianism, and Laud, who was helped by Neile to obtain the presidency of St John's College, lived there as a guest for four years (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, III, 177).

A little more than a year after Neile was appointed a privy councillor, the Commons voted on June 20, 1628, that Laud and Neile "be named to be those near about the King who are suspected to be *Arminians*" (Rushworth, I, 618-19). In November Charles reissued, probably at the instigation of Laud and Neile, the Thirty-nine Articles prefixed by a Declaration aimed at quelling the kind of Puritan opposition that had arisen against bishops Manwaring and Montague (see above p. 1020). The Declaration ordered that "all further curious search be laid aside," and no man shall "put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of [any] Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense" (Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 520).

Peter Smart, who was held in custody for nearly twelve years by the court of High Commission for his sermon against altars and elaborate ritual in the diocese of Durham, and Alexander Leighton, who was imprisoned for ten years and had one ear cropped by the court of Star Chamber for advocating the extirpation of the Anglican hierarchy, both severely upbraided Neile, who had been one of their judges. They accused him of openly claiming that "he was made bishop by our Lord Jesus Christ, and consecrated by the Holy Ghost," adding further that he publicly boasted of being a "Dunce" while a student at Westminster ("The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham," ed. William H. Longstaffe, *Suttons Society*, London, 1858, XXXIV, 202; Leighton, *An Epitome*, 1646, p 75; Leighton, *An Appeal*, 1628, pp 3-6). In Hooke's case before the High Commission (November, 1631), Neile said "it is an assertion fitt for an Anabaptist" to preach that "noe ecclesiasticall men

ought to have temporall power" (*Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*, ed. Samuel R. Gardiner, CS, London, 1886, XXXIX, 257).

Neile's triennial visitation articles of the same year in Winchester asked whether the king was quarterly declared to be "the highest power under God," a view not unlike the one he took in the Addled Parliament of 1614, when he maintained that a discussion of impositions struck "not at a Branch but at the Root of the Prerogative and Imperial Crown" (*Articles to be Inquired of Within . . . Winchester*, 1631, sig. A3v, *Lords Journals*, II, 709). The visitation articles further prescribed a decent communion table "conveniently placed," covered with silk and linen cloths, as well as strict enforcement of the King's Declaration of 1628. Neile died at York on October 31, 1640.

L. F. S.

JOHN OWEN

1580-1651

Son of "the worthy and grave Minister" of Burton Latimer, Northamptonshire, where he was born, John Owen was related on his father's side "to most of the Gentry of North-wales" (Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, pp. 569-70). He received his B.A. at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1597, and later became a fellow of Jesus College, proceeding M.A. in 1600 and D.D. in 1618. In 1608 he succeeded his father as rector of Burton Latimer; he then was appointed chaplain to Prince Charles, and was consecrated to St. Asaph on September 20, 1629.

Wood wrote that he "was a great loyalist, a true son of the church of England, and had been much respected by Laud . . . who obtained for him . . . the said bishoprick" (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, II, 880). Shortly after his installation he issued an order requiring "those members [of the chapter] who derived a portion of their income from the parish of St. Asaph to take their turn of Welsh sermons in the parish church" (David R. Thomas, *St. Asaph*, London, 1888, p. 78). He was one of the twelve bishops impeached in December, 1641, and imprisoned for eighteen weeks in the Tower. He died in October, 1651.

A. B.

MORGAN OWEN

1585?-1645

Morgan Owen was the son of Owen Rees, minister in the parish of Myddfai, Carmarthenshire, and a descendant of the physicians of Myddfai, part of whose property he inherited. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford, Owen later became chaplain to bishop Laud, and was consecrated bishop of Llandaff on March 29, 1640. "Being a rich man," according to Anthony Wood, Owen soon after 1636 built for St. Mary's Church at Oxford a stone porch "with the image of our lady, and a babe in her arm, at the top of it" (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, IV, 803). This was most "scandalous" to one of the aldermen of Oxford, one Mr. Nixon, who testified at Laud's trial that he had seen people "bow very low" to these carved figures and "put off their Hats" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 72). The statue was defaced by Parliamentary soldiers in 1642. Owen was one

of the bishops who was impeached by Parliament on December 30, 1641, and imprisoned in the Tower. He retired to Wales after his release and died on March 5, 1645.

L. F. S.

RICHARD PARR

1592?-1644

On February 6, 1629, Richard Parr was instituted to the rich rectory of Eccleston, Lancashire, the parish in which he had been born. In a funeral sermon preached for Sir Robert Spencer just fourteen months earlier, Parr had asserted that men were to make their calling and election certain by good works "For howsoever good works are no meriting causes, yet they are witnessing, effects or assurances of salvatiō" (Parr, *The End of the Perfect Man*, Oxford, 1628, p. 9). Parr, who had been a fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, was preferred to the bishopric of Sodor and Man by James Stanley, seventh earl of Derby (Fuller, *Worthies*, 1840, II, 201). He was consecrated on June 10, 1635, keeping Eccleston in commendam. When archbishop Neile entered the diocese in 1637, Parr reported "that he had warned the ministers to be diligent in catechizing, and because many of them could not preach, he caused the Books of Homilies to be brought into the island and enjoined every parish to buy them" (John E. Bailey, "Richard Parr," *The Antiquary*, IX, 120). After October, 1643, when Parr's living at Eccleston was sequestered by Parliament, he remained in his diocese until his death on March 23, 1644.

L. F. S.

WILLIAM PIERCE

1580-1670

Born at Oxford, William Pierce was related to John Piers, archbishop of York (1589-94), and was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. As vice-chancellor of Oxford (1621-24) Pierce told bishop Laud about a "dangerous Doctrine" preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, by William Knight, who maintained "*That the Inferiour Magistrate had a lawful power to order and correct the King if he did amiss*" (Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1671, pp. 88, 91). Knight was imprisoned and shortly afterward Pierce was appointed dean of Peterborough (June 9, 1622). Six months later Pierce, Prideaux, and others reprimanded Gabriel Bridges, fellow of Corpus Christi, for preaching "false and offensive doctrine" in favor of "universall Grace and Free-will" (Wood, *History and Antiquities*, 1792-96, II, 348-49).

On October 24, 1630, Pierce was consecrated as bishop of Peterborough. Two years later (November 26, 1632) he was translated to the see of Bath and Wells. During the following year Laud requested Pierce to gather information on Sunday wakes or feast days, which had been prohibited by the judges of the assizes in Somersetshire. Pierce reported that "if the people should not have their honest and lawfull Recreations upon Sundayes after evening Prayer, they would go either into tipling houses, and . . . talke of matters of the Church or State, or else into Conventicles" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 151). On June

9, 1635, the churchwardens of Beckington in Somersetshire refused to obey Pierce's order, given at Laud's direction, to "rayle in their Communion Table Altarwise, against the East end of the Chancel" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, p. 97), and the bishop promptly excommunicated them. In 1636 Pierce was active, again in accordance with Laud's instruction, in substituting "Catechisings" in his diocese for the Sunday afternoon lectures, which Laud felt often dwelt upon predestination and matters of state (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 376-77).

Pierce was one of the twelve bishops impeached by Parliament and imprisoned on December 30, 1641, in the Tower, where he preached two sermons. In these he asserted, in opposition to his earlier Calvinistic views, that "there is grace enough for you, and for me, and for us all" (Pierce, *Two Sermons*, 1642, p. 33). Released from prison on May 6, 1642, he retired to Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire, but at the Restoration he was restored to his bishopric.

L. F. S.

BARNABAS POTTER

1577-1642

Barnabas Potter, popularly known as the "Puritanical Bishop," was the son of a mercer and alderman of Highgate, Westmoreland. He was "bred under a Puritane School-Master, one Mr. Maxwell . . . and under a Puntane Tutor in Queens Colledge in Oxford" (Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, p. 153). Some evidences of this early theological training appear in a published funeral sermon in honor of Sir Edward Seymour in 1613, three years before Potter's election as provost of Queen's College. In this sermon Potter stated the Calvinist emphasis on the sovereignty of God: "*Whatsoever crosses and calamities doe befall us here, they come not by fortune or hap-hazard, but at Gods appointment and his all-ruling providence.*" And he further warned: "Trust not then in the righteousness of thy *workes*, for they are but polluted; trust not in the integrity of thy *nature*, for even it is defiled; but rely upon the *mercy* of God, for that only is absolute" (Potter, *The Baronets Burial*, 1613, pp. 30, 33).

Potter was also chaplain to Charles I, both as prince and as king, but resigned this position together with his post as provost in June, 1626, in favor of his nephew, Christopher Potter. Barnabas, who enjoyed Charles' favor as a "*Penitential Preacher*" despite his theological views, was appointed chief almoner to the king on July 4, 1628, and bishop of Carlisle two weeks after the Commons passed their famous Resolution against "*Popery or Arminianism*" on March 2, 1629. Lloyd records in his *Memoires* (1668, p. 154) that Potter's "House was a Church, where Family-duties, (constant Prayers, Catechizing, reading Scriptures, Expounding, godly Conference, speaking to one another in Psalms and Spiritual Hymns) were performed . . . regularly." Potter was one of the bishops who advised Charles on May 9, 1641, to allow the judgment of treason on the earl of Strafford to stand, "*and let the Blame lye upon them who sate upon the Tribunal*" (Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, 1693, Part II, p. 161). Eight months later Potter died in his lodgings in Covent Garden.

L. F. S.

JOHN PRIDEAUX

1578-1650

John Prideaux, born of poor parents in Stowford, Devon, attended Exeter College, Oxford, which he afterward served as rector (1612-42). As rector at Exeter and later as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford (1615-42), Prideaux upheld a theology of predestination and justification by faith alone against the rising Arminian (and Laudian) emphasis on free will and justification by works. He asserted "the *grace* wee affirme *cannot be lost*, is . . . not mans *inconstant worke*, depending not on *mans free-will*, but *Gods free election*, whose decrees are *unalterable*" (Prideaux, *Ephesus Back-sliding*, 1614, p. 33). John Selden, who with Anthony Ashley Cooper was one of Prideaux's many pupils, recorded in his *Table Talk* (1689, p. 47) that his teacher taught predestination, concluding that they were damned who did not believe in it.

In 1627, and again in 1633, Prideaux bitterly denounced Peter Heylyn as a "Bellarminian" for asserting the authority of the church in all religious controversies and for denying that the church could do wrong. Laud thereupon informed Heylyn that he too had maintained these same positions in his younger days. In 1631 Charles I publicly reprimanded Prideaux for encouraging young preachers at Oxford to attack Arminian ideas. However, in his protestation to Laud after the second Heylyn controversy, Prideaux affirmed his adherence to the Church of England, his opposition to Catholics and Puritans, and his support of a bishop's prelacy as *jure divino* (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, V, 90).

When the king's *Book of Sports* was reissued in 1633, the revengeful Heylyn translated from Latin an old treatise by Prideaux on sabbatarianism, which stated that "wee are permitted *Recreations* (of what sort soever) which serve lawfully to *refresh* our *spirits*, and nourish *mutuall neighbourhood* amongst us" (Prideaux, *Doctrine of the Sabbath*, 1634, p. 39). Prideaux was appointed to the Lords' committee of March, 1641, which was designated to investigate innovations of doctrine and discipline in the Anglican church (see below, p. 1031). On December 19, 1641, he was consecrated as bishop of Worcester, probably to conciliate Laud's opponents. Although he voted against the Bishops Exclusion Bill on February 5, 1642, Prideaux was appointed by the Commons to the Assembly of 102 divines the following April, but his loyalty to Charles prevented him from fulfilling this appointment. Apparently he still believed what he wrote in 1636: "Professe the grounds of religion I may . . . against my Prince; but to reforme in publique government . . . who gives me warrant?" (Prideaux, *Ephesus Back-sliding*, 1614, p. 12).

L. F. S.

WILLIAM ROBERTS

1585-1665

In May, 1615, while James I was visiting Cambridge University, the vice-chancellor chose several young men to dispute before the king several points of controversy between Protestants and Catholics proposed by "certain Jesuits or priests" who were being conveyed from Newgate Prison to Wisbich Castle (Charles H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* [5 vols., Cambridge, 1842-1908],

III, 84-85). Among these young men was William Roberts, born in Denbighshire and educated at Queens' College, who maintained in opposition to William Chappell, later tutor to Milton, that "Romana ecclesia non est vera ecclesia" (George Ruggle, *Ignoramus*, ed John Hawkins, London, 1787, p. xlv). Appointed to the subdeanery of Wells in 1629, Roberts was elevated through Laud's influence to the bishopric of Bangor on June 20, 1637. He was known to Laud through his activity "in injoyning Church-discipline, and preferred by him for discovering 1000 *l.* concealed Church-goods" (Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, p. 599). In August, 1641, Roberts was one of the bishops impeached by the House of Commons, but he was not one of the twelve impeached by the Commons on December 30. He died on August 12, 1665.

L. F. S.

ROBERT SKINNER

1591-1670

Robert Skinner, born in Pitsford, Northamptonshire (where his father was rector), found favor with the Puritans as preacher at St. Gregory's Church near St. Paul's Cathedral during the 1620's. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, Skinner changed his opinions, however, when Laud, after his own succession to the bishopric of London, made him rector of Launton in Oxfordshire and caused him to be appointed chaplain in ordinary to Charles I. In the latter role on December 3, 1634, Skinner asserted, in keeping with the Anglican emphasis on "decency," that public church services held at appointed times should reflect in their ceremonies the outward "*beautie of Holmesse*." Certain "refined" Christians, he observed, thought this was superstition prejudicial to "the inward beautie of [the] living Temples." Furthermore, he argued that "Conventicles, and private meetings, under colour of Religion, too often serve unto . . . Seditious opinions" (Skinner, *A Sermon*, 1634, pp. 30, 40, 41).

On July 26, 1636, Skinner was elected bishop of Bristol and in the beginning of 1641 he was translated to the see of Oxford. Prynne recorded that Skinner "hath bin very violent in railing in, and turning Communion Tables Altar-wise . . . in magnifying the booke for sports on the Lords-day . . . in bowing to Altais" (Prynne, *The Second Part of the Antipathie*, 1641, unpagged portion between pp. 304-05). Skinner was one of the twelve bishops impeached by Parliament, and on May 6, 1642, after the eighteen-week imprisonment, he returned to his rectory at Launton, which he kept when all of his ecclesiastical positions were lost. At the Restoration he regained his bishopric, and on October 12, 1663, he was again translated, this time to the see of Worcester.

L. F. S.

JOHN THORNBOROUGH

1551-1641

Thornborough was born in Salisbury and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. From 1604 until the year of his death John Thornborough wrote a series of tracts emphasizing the importance of a union between England and Scotland. This was for him a practical way to overcome "Schisme, whither it be civill; or

ecclesiasticall; for it renteth the seamlesse Coat of Christ, both in the Church and in the Civill state" (Thornborough, *The Great Happinesse of England and Scotland*, 1641, p. 276). After serving as chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, Thornborough became bishop of Limerick in Ireland (1593) and bishop of Bristol (1603) before his election to the see of Worcester on January 25, 1617.

In his eightieth year (1630) Thornborough, who had a curious interest in alchemy, attacked the Roman Catholic doctrines of communion in one kind and transubstantiation in a pamphlet which appeared at about the same time that one of his daughters was converted to the Church of Rome (John Noake, *Worcester Sects*, London, 1861, p. 45). He upheld the dogmas of communion in two kinds and the real presence, adding that "as in Adam all die, so in Christ all are made alive" (Thornborough, *The Last Will and Testament of Jesus Christ*, 1630, p. 15).

On March 13, 1637, the mayor and some of the citizens of Worcester, supported by Thornborough (Trevor-Roper, *Laud*, p. 178), petitioned archbishop Laud to permit lecturing on the "WORD OF GOD" in the evening cathedral service by "A LEARNED PREACHER" (William Urwick, *Nonconformity in Worcester*, London, 1897, p. 30). The "preaching ministers" had been restrained by the dean of Worcester, a former "Puritan" named Christopher Potter, who was a nephew to bishop Potter of Carlisle and provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Laud's reply, which allowed the resumption of lectures under restricted conditions, in addition required the removal of seats from the west end of the cathedral in order to protect its "goodly fabrics." This step severely limited attendance at the services; therefore the citizens, supported by "our weak silly bishop" (as Potter called Thornborough), sought and won partial redress for this additional grievance from the king (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, V, 490-91; VII, 596). Thornborough died at Worcester in July, 1641.

L. F. S.

JOHN TOWERS

?-1649

From his native Norfolk John Towers proceeded to Queens' College, Cambridge, and after attaining a B.D. degree he was presented by the first earl of Northampton to the vicarage of Halifax in Yorkshire. Although Towers believed in an "*Election and Predestination of us before the foundation of the world*," he also believed that men should not rely solely upon that election for their spiritual regeneration, which was to be achieved by means of the Word of God and the sacraments of the church. As Christ "came to *all*, so he invites *all* to come to him" (Towers, *Four Sermons*, 1660, pp. 204, 99, 78).

Towers served as dean of Peterborough from 1630 to March 8, 1639, on which date he became, after several solicitations, bishop of that see. One solicitation on September 30, 1638, in behalf of Robert Sibthorp (for the deanship) and himself, was addressed to Sir John Lamb because "I dare not write to *my Lords Grace of Canterbury*" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 354). Sibthorp, along with Roger Manwaring, had been an ardent supporter of Charles' prerogative during the forced loan crisis in 1627. In his book, *Apostolike Obedience* (1627, p. 3), Sibthorp had written "He that resisteth the *Prince*, resisteth the power and ordinance of God, and consequently shall receive damnation."

In September, 1639, Towers issued orders concerning the weekly Wednesday sermon to be preached at St. James Chapel in Brackley. The preacher was to be drawn on successive Wednesdays from a list of fifteen ministers which included Sibthorp, the vicar of Brackley. He was to wear the surplice with hood and limit his sermon to one hour's length. The congregation was to "stand at the Creedes, Hymnes and Gospels; to kneele at the confession and prayers, and practise all other parts of conformity to the Church Government" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 379). Impeached for high treason on December 30, 1641, Towers was held four and a half months in custody. He was at Oxford until its surrender on June 20, 1646, returning afterward to Peterborough, where he died on January 10, 1649.

L. F. S.

JOHN WARNER

1580-1666

"Warner's career," says Pearman, "was marked from first to last by great generosity and an outspoken maintenance of what he held to be right in religion and politics" (A. I. Pearman, *Rochester*, London, 1897, p. 280). Despite a reputation for covetousness, he was lavish in his philanthropies; having inherited a large estate from his father, and some £16,000 from his godmother, he gave away, during his lifetime and by his will, more than £30,000. A vigorous supporter of the establishment in church and state to the end of his long life, he was one of those "in whom dying episcopacy gave the last groan in the house of lords" (Fuller, *Church History*, 1845, VI, 237): with bishops Curle and Prideaux he voted against the Bishops' Exclusion Bill on February 5, 1642 (*Lords Journals*, IV, 564).

John Warner was born in St. Clement Danes, Westminster, the son of a wealthy merchant tailor. Instituted rector of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, London, in 1614, after a lengthy residence at Magdalen College, Oxford, he was preferred to a living in Kent in 1619, and returned to London in 1625 as rector of St. Dionis Backchurch. The next year he preached a sermon at Whitehall (which nearly resulted in his impeachment) attacking the proceedings of the Parliament then in session (*Biographia Britannica*, London, 1766, II, Part II, 4159).

After having been chaplain to the king and dean of Lichfield, Warner became bishop of Rochester in 1637, "being then noted," says Wood, "for a good school divine, and one well read in the fathers" (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, III, 731). In a sermon preached in March, 1640, he attacked Puritan views on vestments, endowments, and preaching (James Lee Warner, "A Hitherto Unpublished Passage in the Life of John Warner," *Archaeological Journal*, XXI [1864], 46). It was apparently this sermon which provoked the anonymous retort: "All Lent long his Majesties Chaplains instead of Fasting preached fighting; and instead of peace preached punishing of Rebels amongst whom wilie Warner of Rochester having got a Bishopricke for making one Sermon he gave the King another gratis, wherein he so railed at the Rebels, as his patron hath promised a better Bishoprick, when it fals" (*The Scots Scouts Discoveries*, 1642, p. 10).

Warner was among the bishops impeached on August 4, 1641, but he was not among those impeached the following December. His reputed miserliness is referred to in a satirical pamphlet of the time: "As for the Bishop of Rochester, [the

London apprentices] sent him a rustie piece of Bacon, because they knew he had many rusty bagges in his Chests, on which dish he did eate so immoderately, that whosoever looked on him, supposed he had a Hogshead" (*A Shrove-Tuesday Banquet Sent to the Bishops in the Tower*, London, 1641, p. [4]) Burnet relates that when Laud's impeachment was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, the archbishop sent Wainer "with the keys of his closet and cabinets, that he might destroy, or put out of the way, all papers that might either hurt himself or any body else" (Gilbert Burnet, *History*, ed Osmond Airy [2 vols, London, 1897], I, 52). A few days after the execution of Charles, Warner preached and published a sermon attacking the regicides, in the course of which he asserted his fundamental political tenet: "the greatest Empires that ever were, grew great by Monarchy, which soone crumbled away when shared among the many" (*The Devilish Conspiracy, Hellish Treason . . . and Damnable Murder, Commuted, and Executed by the Jewes, against . . . Christ their King*, February 4, 1649, p 24).

A B

JOHN WILLIAMS

1582-1650

John Williams was born in Conway, Carnarvonshire, of an ancient Welsh family and was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. A favorite of King James, he received on July 10, 1621, the great seal of the office of Lord Keeper (he had been Lord Ellesmere's chaplain) upon the fall of Sir Francis Bacon, and on August 3, after a rapid succession of ecclesiastical appointments, he was appointed bishop of Lincoln. As early as 1621 Williams wrote that the "Priviledges [of Parliament] were originally the Favors of Princes," as James believed, but added that these privileges were "now inherent in their Persons, in their Politick Body" (Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, 1693, Part I, p. 81). This acknowledgement of Parliamentary power, which helped to bring about his fall as a privy councillor upon Charles' succession to the throne, was reaffirmed in his support of the Petition of Right.

Unlike Laud, who was his strongest rival and enemy (Trevor-Roper, *Laud*, p 52), Williams in 1628 advised Charles "to shew some Connivance and Indulgence" to the Puritans in order to "possibly mollifie them, and bend their Stubbornness" just as he had advised James to be lenient to the Catholic recusants (Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata*, 1693, Part II, p. 80). His mediatory position is further reflected in a pamphlet entitled *The Holy Table* (1637), which deals with the location of the communion table. In this tract he argued that the table should stand at the east end of the church (as the Laudians urged) when not in use; however, during the communion service, he would allow the table to be moved to "any other place in Church or Chancel" (Williams, *The Holy Table*, 1637, p. 10). In addition to this view, wherein Laud said that he "comes in to play the Puritan" (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, VI, 62), Williams said that the table should be placed "Table-wise" (standing north and south) and not "Altar-wise" (standing east and west).

On July 11, 1637, Williams was fined and imprisoned by the court of Star Chamber for tampering with witnesses, which resulted from prosecution originally brought in 1628 for revealing state secrets while a privy councillor. Not until

November 16, 1640, was the House of Lords able to effect his unconditional release from prison. On March 1, 1641, the day Laud was sent to the Tower, Williams was appointed chairman of a Lords' committee, which included archbishop Ussher and bishops Hall and Morton, to report on innovations of doctrine and discipline in the Anglican church. The committee invited such Puritans as Cornelius Burgess, John White, and the Smectymnuans Marshall, Calamy, and Young to sit with them (Masson, II, 224-25) *A Cope of the Proceedings of Some Worthy and Learned Divines* (1641, passim), which was signed by Ussher, Williams, and Prideaux, protested against eighteen innovations in doctrine and thirty-one in discipline, adding some thirty-five suggestions for redressing complaints against the book of Common Prayer. The committee opposed "the whole gross substance of *Arminianisme*," Manwaring's advocacy of forced loans, "*universall grace*," and turning the communion table "*Altarwise*" as well as bowing toward it.

Williams, archbishop Ussher, and bishops Davenant, Hall, and Morton, were in all likelihood the members of Parliament who invited Comenius to England in July, 1641. Comenius found Williams to be a "mighty patron of the pansophic study," and at a dinner held in his honor, at which Dury and Hartlib were present, Comenius was offered an annual £120 sterling by Williams to advance plans for a college of universal knowledge (Young, *Comenius in England*, pp. 42, 59-60).

On October 28, 1641, during debate on the Bishops Exclusion Bill, Williams was appointed archbishop of York, probably as a concession to Parliament. Nevertheless, Williams believed "men in Holy Orders . . . ought not to be debarred from modestly intermeddling in Secular Affairs" (Hackett, *Scrivia Reserata*, 1693, Part II, p. 171). At Christmas time rioting prevented the bishops from entering Parliament, and Williams, with eleven other bishops, presented a petition declaring that Parliament was not free because the bishops could not attend its sessions without endangering their lives; therefore, everything done by Parliament in their absence was null and void (Rushworth, IV, 466-67). The twelve bishops were subsequently impeached on December 30 for "High Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of this Realm, and the Being of Parliament" (*Lords Journals*, IV, 497). Williams was imprisoned in the Tower and released on May 5, 1642. Several months later he helped in the defense of Wales, but after the battle of Naseby he switched to the Parliamentary side. He died in seclusion at Gloddaeth, Carnarvonshire, March 25, 1650.

J. H. M., Jr.
L. F. S.

MATTHEW WREN

1585-1667

One of Laud's most efficient disciples and the uncle of Sir Christopher, Matthew Wren was born to a London mercer in the parish of St. Peter's Cheap. The boy became the protégé, later chaplain, of Lancelot Andrewes, then master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. While studying at this school, Wren distinguished himself in academic disputation, most notably when he argued before King James "that his Dogs might perform more than others by the Prerogative" (Lloyd, *Memoires*, 1668, p. 611). So great was the king's pleasure, indeed, that Wren was appointed chaplain to Prince Charles on January 27, 1622, and was sent by James

in the same year to watch over the prince's spiritual welfare during his sojourn in Spain. Once in Madrid, he was to take care that there was a suitable room appointed for prayer, in addition to all the other necessities for strict Anglican worship.

On July 26, 1625, Wren was admitted master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he was "either the first or one of them who brought in use againe, Latine service in his Colledge" (*Wrens Anatomy*, 1641, p. 3). Two years later, in a sermon delivered before the king, he commented with sarcasm that "our singing of Psalmes, and talking of Scripture . . . must be prooffe enough to any man, that we *feare* God extraordinarily," adding that the vital demonstration of the fear of God is through man's works, and that "*God* is not *feared*, if the *King* be not" (Wren, *A Sermon Preached before the Kings Majestie*, 1627, pp. 24-25).

Having been appointed clerk of the Closet by Charles I in 1633, and made a governor of Charterhouse in May, 1634, Wren was elected bishop of Hereford on December 5, 1634; he was translated to Norwich on November 10, 1635, and to Ely in April, 1638. When he assumed control of the Norwich diocese, he proved a shock to the Puritans of East Anglia, who had become accustomed to the more lenient practices of bishop Corbet. Earlier in 1635 Laud had found the diocese "much out of order," but assured the king that Wren "will take care of it, and he shall want no assistance that I can give him" (Laud, *Works*, 1847-60, V, 334). Working under Laud's omnipresent supervision, Wren did not disappoint the archbishop. His Norwich visitation articles (an expansion of those he had composed for Hereford, and later to be duplicated at Ely) contained Laudian dogma in the extreme, and were enforced with appropriate vigor.

The day after Laud's impeachment, i.e., December 19, 1640, the House of Lords turned its wrath on Wren, and on the following July 5 the Commons resolved that he was unfit to hold office. The Commons drew up twenty-five specific articles of impeachment against him, basing them chiefly upon his career at Norwich. Among other things, he had ordered the east end of the cathedral chancel to be raised in order to give prominence to the communion table, before which was set a rail through which only the minister could enter; he had excommunicated those who refused to kneel before the communion table to receive the Sacrament; and he had caused the pews to be altered so that the congregation could kneel facing eastward. The articles took special notice of the economic consequences of Wren's Norwich activities: some East Anglian tradesmen had been forced to flee to Holland. Wren stated, however, that the migration was due to dissatisfaction over wages, and that it had begun before his tenure in the diocese (*Articles of Impeachment of the Commons . . . Against Matthew Wren*, 1641, pp. 3-6, 10, 11).

Prynne's supposedly "Arminian and Popish Innovator" (Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 1646, p. 353) was sent to the Tower on December 30, 1641, and, except for four months of freedom in 1642, was not released until March 15, 1659. Having received word from Cromwell, through his own nephew Christopher, that he might leave the Tower when he pleased, Wren rejected the "Intimation from that *Miscreant*," refusing "an abject Submission to his detestable Tyranny," "determined patiently to *tarry the Lord's Leisure*" (Christopher Wren the younger, *Parentalia*, 1750, p. 34). Content in his mission, he devoted himself to the study and annotation of books. Nor did Wren's independence of spirit lessen with the Restoration. Admonished by Charles II for his irregular practices in appointments, he replied, "*Sir, I know the Way to the Tower*" (Wren, *Parentalia*, 1750, p. 30).

F. R. B.

ROBERT WRIGHT

1560-1643

In a speech before the bar of the House of Commons after his impeachment with eleven other bishops by that body on December 30, 1641, Robert Wright spoke to the Commons of his "fifty eight yeares painefull, constant, and succesfull preaching of the Gospell of Christ, in the kingdome of England" (Wright, *A Speech*, 1641, p. 3). Some of this preaching had been done as chaplain to both Queen Elizabeth and King James, but, "having been much given up to the affairs of the world" also, he was able to purchase the rich manor of Nuneham Courtenay in Oxfordshire for £18,000 (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1813-20, IV, 801). On March 23, 1622, Wright, who was born in St. Albans in Hertfordshire and educated at Trinity College, Oxford, was consecrated bishop of Bristol, and on October 30, 1632, he was translated to the see of Lichfield and Coventry.

Wright issued orders on August 15, 1636, subsequently approved by the king, for the communion tables in two Coventry churches to be raised three steps from the ground up close to the east wall of the chancel in order to make the celebration of the Sacrament conspicuous to all. Sometime later, however, at the request of the citizens, he modified his order to allow the tables to be moved down to the center of the chancel during the Sacrament (Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1671, p. 271).

Wright testified that he had hurriedly signed Bishop Williams' petition of December, 1641, "out of the to much confidence in others," but, "that there was any malice in the action (to crosse any Vote, at which I was not present, nor never heard of) I utterly disavow" (Wright, *A Speech*, 1641, p. 2). This was in substance the reply of all the other bishops to the charges of the Commons with the exception of bishops Coke, Wren, and Morgan Owen, who preferred not to speak at that time (*Lords Journals*, IV, 489-99). Nevertheless, Wright was committed to the custody of the Gentleman Usher for eighteen weeks. After his release he retired to Eccleshall in Staffordshire, where he died in the summer of 1643.

L. F. S.

APPENDIX H

THEME ON EARLY RISING

TRANSLATION AND NOTES BY MAURICE KELLEY AND

DONALD C. MACKENZIE

THE essay translated and edited below is, without much question, a juvenile composition of John Milton, written during his later years at St. Paul's and thus constituting the earliest surviving example of his Latin prose.

It was discovered in 1874, while A. J. Horwood, of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, was inspecting the papers of the Graham family at Netherby Hall, Longtown, Cumberland. The manuscript consisted of a single foolscap leaf, damaged by damp, and with much of the left-hand margin rotted away. On one side of the leaf appeared a Latin prose essay on early rising; on the other side, two sets of verses deriving from the same general subject, the first consisting of twenty lines in elegiac couplets, the second, of eight lines in choriambic tetrameter. After due study, Horwood attributed the essay and verses to Milton, published texts of them in his edition of the *Commonplace Book*, and fearing for the future of the fragile manuscript, he prepared auto-type facsimiles of the leaf, which he deposited at the British Museum and the Public Record Office. Later the manuscript was reported to have crumbled into dust within a year or two after its discovery, but this report, happily, was mistaken, and the leaf still exists at Netherby Hall in virtually the same condition as when Horwood reproduced it.

That Milton was author of the essay and verse is a conclusion admitting little, if any, doubt. First, the manuscript bears Milton's name. When Horwood found the leaf, much of its left margin was gone, but in a surviving portion of this margin, on a level with the first line of text, he could still read "es Milton". Though the portion of the margin containing the "es" soon crumbled away, the surname "Milton" is still legible, though the particular form of the "M" is not completely clear. There seems little question, therefore, that the name "Joannes Milton" once stood complete in the margin of the leaf. Second, the case for Milton's authorship is further supported by the well-established provenance

of the manuscript. It was found loose in the same box as the *Commonplace Book*, a couplet clearly in Milton's handwriting, and the letter from Lawes to Milton printed above as Letter III (pp. 337-339); and the presence of these Milton items at Netherby Hall has been readily accounted for. Third, careful study of Milton's handwriting indicates that the manuscript is in Milton's autograph. At first sight the handwriting of the leaf does not seem to support this conclusion, for the essay and verses show many secretary letter forms which do not appear in recognized specimens of Milton's handwriting from 1629 onward. But the "h", "M", and "r" of the John Milton signature of the 1623 marriage settlement show that in his youth Milton did use secretary letter forms; and the Trinity College, Cambridge, Manuscript and the *Commonplace Book* show a few instances of secretary "e" 's and "r" 's, which remain like fossils to testify to this earlier stage of handwriting. If we disregard, furthermore, the secretary forms, and concentrate on other elements in the writing of the manuscript, we find certain Italian letter forms, certain forms of abbreviation, and certain habits of joining letters that were to become consistent characteristics of Milton's mature hand.

Though traditionally called a Prolusion, and often assigned to Milton's early years at Cambridge, the essay is actually a Theme on a Proverb and an advanced grammar school exercise. It clearly derives from the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, and the rhetorical amplification of the essay (indicated by lettered footnotes below) follows closely the formula set forth in that common grammar school text. The essay quotes Theocritus and Homer, who, if Clark's reconstructed curriculum is correct, were studied in the seventh and eighth years respectively; and Milton's troubles with the Greek in the manuscript indicate that he had not been long at the study of that language. Such evidence suggests that Milton wrote the essay during the last year or two of his study at St Paul's, when he was around fifteen or sixteen years of age.

The significance, however, of this schoolboy essay does not lie entirely in the fact that it is our earliest preserved example of Milton's Latin prose. In its full maturity Milton's Latin prose, like his major writings in English, constitutes a highly complex, assimilative form of literary art. It is a mosaic of his vast readings in earlier literatures, carefully formed according to traditional rules of rhetoric. Though heavily based on the works of others—and often echoing their very words—it is nevertheless Milton's own creation, uniquely suited to his temperament and views. For Milton the basis of this art was the precepts of imitation taught at St. Paul's, and the essay on early rising thus becomes an important document in the history of Milton's literary

development, for it shows Milton's first preserved attempt to put these precepts into practice.

SOURCES

A reproduction of a portion of the manuscript leaf is to be found in *The Library*, 4 Ser., XV (1934-35), plate facing p. 330. The autotype reproduction deposited by Horwood in the Public Record Office still exists and bears the pressmark Autotypes/ Milton &c /Fac 6/ Library/Shelf 156a. The British Museum copy has yet to be located, but a photograph of the PRO autotype may be found as ff. 84-85 of MS. Add. 41063 I. Texts of the essay appear in Horwood's editions of the *Commonplace Book* (CS, N S. XVI), pp. xvi-xix, 61-63 of the original edition, pp. xvi-xix, xxi, 61-63 of the revised version; and in the Columbia Milton, I, 326-29, 597-98; XII, 288-91, 390-91, XVIII, 647. H. C. H. Candy's cogent argument for the autography of the manuscript appears in *The Library*, 4 Ser., XV (1934-35), 330-39. Arguments for placing the essay and verses in Milton's later days at St. Paul's appear in Clark, *Milton at St. Paul's*, pp. 178-80, 230-37. Particularly interesting in this last set of pages is Clark's analysis of the rhetoric of the essay. Other references to and discussion of the essay and the manuscript as a whole are: *London Times*, Oct. 1, 1874, p. 8c; March 28, 1876, p. 4c; *The Athenaeum*, No. 2550 (Sept. 9, 1876), p. 331; *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1887), Pt. I, p. 320, Horwood's facsimile edition of the *Commonplace Book*, third page of Introduction, Masson, I (1881), xiii, 303-305; *N&Q*, 12 Ser., XII (1923), 126, 426-28, 162 (1932), 188, 263-64; 163 (1932), 170, 209, 249, 371; 195 (1950), 245; MacKellar, *Latin Poems*, pp. 361-62, 365; *ELH*, IV (1937), 305; French, *Life Records*, I, 87.

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BETIMES IN THE MORNING LEAVE THY BED—¹

This ^a is a proverb worn with age. To arise betime in the morning is the most wholesome thing in the world,² and the saying is as true as it is old; indeed ³ if I try to enumerate each separate benefit of this

¹ "Mane citus lectum fuge—". This proverb which serves here both as title and part of the first sentence appears in l. 3 of "Guilielmi Lili ad suos discipulos Monita Paedagogica, seu Carmen de Moribus," in *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar by William Lily* (New York, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945), first sig. Dv. The translation here is that of William Haine's *Lilies Rules Construed* (London, 1770) quoted in Clark, pp. 51-52. The original Gothic type is not used here.

^a Laudativo · praise of the proverb

² "diluculo surgere saluberrimum est". Cf. Lily's *Grammar*, cited above, first sig. Cv: "Heere note also, that sometime the Infinitive mode of a verb . . . may be the nominative case to the verb: as Diluculo surgere, saluberrimum est, To arise betime in the morning, is the most wholesome thing in the worlde."

³ "[ete]nim. The first three letters, no longer legible in the manuscript, are supplied from Horwood's text.

action,⁴ I will clearly undertake an arduous task. Up^b then, up, you sluggard, and let not soft sheets keep you forever. You^c know not the number of Dawn's delights.⁵ Would you feast your eyes? Behold the purple hue of the rising sun, the clear brisk sky, the green growth of the fields,⁶ the diversity of all the flowers.⁷ Would you⁸ give pleasure to your ears? Listen to the melodious harmony of the birds⁹ and the soft humming of the bees.¹⁰ Would you satisfy your sense of smell? You will never tire¹¹ of the sweet odors flowing from the flowers.¹² If^d such delights please you not, I beg you to have some¹³ consideration for your well-being; for surely rising at daybreak is a great step towards bodily health. It is best for study as well, for then your faculties are readiest.¹⁴ Then^e too a good ruler should not¹⁵

⁴ "singulas huius rei", first written "huius rei singulas" then subscript numbers 2, 3, 1 added to indicate present order

^b Argumentum a paraphrastico: paraphrastic restatement of proverb.

^c Argumentum a causa: pleasurable advantages that result from heeding the proverb.

⁵ "nescis quot oblectamenta praebet aurora" Cf. Cicero, *De Senectute*, xv, 52. "ut meae senectutis requetem oblectamentumque noscatis."

⁶ "herbescentem agrorum viriditatem". Cf. *De Senectute*, xv, 51: "et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem"

⁷ "florum omnium varietatem". Cf. *De Senectute*, xv, 54: "florum omnium varietate".

⁸ "velis", before which "cupi" stands deleted, probably because "cupis" had been used in a similar rhetorical question two lines above.

⁹ "auium concentus". Cf. Vergil, *Georgics*, I, 422: "auium concentus".

¹⁰ "leves apum susurros." Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues* I, 53-55: "Hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite sepes/ Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti/ saepe levi somnum suadebit mire susurro"

¹¹ "non satiari possis". Cf. *De Senectute*, xv, 52: "Satiari delectatione non possum".

¹² "suauitate odorum qui è floribus efflantur". Cf. *De Senectute*, xvii, 59: "puram et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur ex floribus" In the manuscript, an x-like cross stands just before and above "odorum", probably to indicate, as in Milton's copy of Aratus and elsewhere, a correction or addition that has been lost by the crumbling of the left margin of the sheet.

^d Argumentum a causa: profitable advantages resulting from following the proverb

¹³ "Aliquantulum", with the accent doubled in the manuscript.

¹⁴ "in numerato habes ingenium". Cf. Quintilian, VI, 3, 111. "Ingenium eum in numerato habere".

^e Comparatio: a comparison.

¹⁵ "non", before which stands a mark which the Columbia Milton reads as "h" and suggests that "haud" was probably first intended and then relinquished for the present reading. The mark, however, somewhat resembles a symbol used in Milton's copy of Pindar, p. 254 and elsewhere, to indicate a marginal note.

grow fat in endless slumber¹⁶ and live a life of leisure and empty ease, but should rather, as ^f Theocritus¹⁷ urges forcefully, take thought for the state by night as well as day:

There is no need to sleep deeply

And in Homer¹⁸ the dream thus addresses Agamemnon:

Are you asleep, son of the wise Atreus, tamer of horses?
It is not seemly for a councilor to sleep the whole night through

Why^g do the poets represent Tithonus and Cephalus as lovers¹⁹ of Aurora? Surely because they were light sleepers,²⁰ and would leave their beds to visit the fields with their adornments and dress of variegated flowers. Again,^h in order to root out somnolence and leave no trace of it, I shall attack the countless evils which it brings on all.²¹ It dulls and blunts the active mind²² and is the greatest hindrance to good memory; and what²³ can be more shameful than to snore late

¹⁶ A commonplace. See Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* (1655), pp. 99–100, “Non oportet per totam noctem dormire virum multis consulentem”; Manutius, *Adagia* (1603), pp. 688–89, and Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* (1703), II, 636, “Non decet principem solidam dormire noctem”.

^f Testimonio veterum confirmatory quotation from classical writers.

¹⁷ *Idyls*, VIII, 66, but the quotation is hardly apt, as it is addressed to a shepherd's dog and not to a king. In the manuscript, before “Theocritus”, “Homer(?)” stands deleted, and the received reading κοιμάσθαι appears as κωμάσθαι.

¹⁸ *Iliad*, II, 23–24. Quotation of this part of Homer is commonplace. Aphthonius, p. 90, quotes l. 24; Manutius and Erasmus, ll. 22–24. In the manuscript, at the beginning of the quotation, Εὐθε was first written, then corrected to Εὐδε, then deleted; the breathing mark of Εὐδεις has been corrected from smooth to rough: Ἀτρεός is incorrectly accented Ἀτρεος; παννύχιον was first written πανύχιον and then the second nu added above with its position indicated by a caret; and βουληφόρον is incorrectly accented βουλήφορον.

^g Argumentum ab exemplo: an example from classical mythology.

¹⁹ “amasios”, probably derived from Plautus. For Tithonus and Cephalus as lovers of Aurora, see Milton, *Elegy III*, 67, V, 49; MacKellar, *Latin Poems*, pp. 208, 220–21, 277–78; Osgood, *Classical Mythology*, p. 19.

²⁰ “quòd somni parcissimi fuere”. Cf. Lucan, IX, 590: “somni parcissimus ipse erat”.

^h Argumentum a contrario: disadvantages resulting from not following the proverb.

²¹ This line of the manuscript is badly blurred and “relinquerem incommoda innumera quae ab” is taken from Horwood's text. Letters still legible support this reading.

²² “ingenium vegetum.” Cf. Livy, VI, xxii, 7, “vegetum ingenium.”

²³ “ecquid”, first written “equid” and “c” then added above with a caret to indicate its place.

into the day and ²⁴ to devote the greatest part of your life to a sort of death? ²⁵ But ¹ it is especially for you who are in charge to keep watch and to rout heavy sleep ²⁶ as it creeps close. For often men have attacked foes deep in sleep and as it were entombed, massacred them, and brought about such a slaughter as it is pitiful to see or to hear of. ²⁷ I have at hand a thousand such examples which I could relate at length, but if I imitate the overflowing style of the Asiatic school ²⁸ I am much afraid I may bore my poor audience to death.

²⁴ "et" inserted above line with caret to indicate position.

²⁵ For sleep as a kind of death, see *The Apophthegmes of Erasmus Translated into English* by Nicolas Udall (Boston, Lincolnshire, 1877), p. 229.

¹ Conclusio. summary statement containing an exhortation.

²⁶ "somnum arctiorem". Cf. Cicero, *De Re Publica*, VI, 10, 10. "artior quam solebat somnus complexus est".

²⁷ A night attack on a sleeping camp (*Aeneid*, IX, 314-66) forms the subject of the second set of verses on the back of the manuscript leaf.

²⁸ "Asianam illam exuberantiam", with the second "a" of "Asianam" now obliterated. Cf. Letter I (p. 311 above) in which the Latin reads "Asiaticâ verborum exuberantiâ".

APPENDIX I

TEXTUAL GUIDE

THE textual principles outlined below have been followed in re-printing the antiprelatical tracts, the various appendices in English documents, and the quotations used in notes and introductions from contemporary English sources. No manuscript originals of Milton's English pamphlets have been found. Ideally, then, photostatic reproductions of the printed English texts were preferred. The Board concluded, however, for the sake of readability and uniformity of typographical presentation, a modern text as close as possible to Milton's original in spelling, punctuation, and variations in italic and roman type would be our aim. After prolonged consideration of individual problems, the following principles were evolved and have been applied to this edition.

1. Milton's original paragraphing, punctuation, and spelling have been followed.

2. The title pages of "A" texts have been reproduced in facsimile.

3. Tail pieces and end pieces have not been reproduced or imitated.

4. Milton's lists of errata have been inserted as in the original tracts. The errors themselves, however, have been corrected in the texts.

5. The end of each page of the printed original has been indicated by the page number inserted in brackets. Obvious errors in pagination have been corrected. In the case of the cancel of a signature in *Animadversions*, however, the original pagination has been preserved. For the *Prolusions* and *Letters*, page numbers have been inserted to approximate the ends of pages in the Latin original.

6. Modern spelling symbols in general have been substituted for seventeenth-century ones, as in the case of seventeenth century *s*. In general the seventeenth century *v* has been changed to *u* when the spelling requires it, *u* to *v*, *I* to *J*, etc.

7. Letters within a word unintentionally italicized by Milton's printer have been silently corrected.

8. Milton's marginal notes in the various English texts have been reproduced as footnotes with the symbol (M) to identify them as Milton's own words.

The "A" Texts

The texts used for the antiprelatical tracts are as follows:

Of Reformation, text from "A" copy, McAlpin Collection, 1641/M65/
copy 1.

Of Prelatical Episcopacy, text from "A" copy, Huntington Library,
105614

Animadversions, text from "A" copy, New York Public Library *KC
p.v. 31.

The Reason of Church-Government, text from "A" copy, Newberry
Library, Chicago.

An Apology, text from "A" copy, owned by Frederick L. Taft.

INDEX TO AUTHORS AND WORKS

Most works are indexed under the authors' names. Cross references are made from the names of editors and translators to authors. When a work has more than one editor or translator, reference is made only from the one whose name is listed first in the series. Compilations and works of multiple, anonymous, or uncertain authorship are indexed under the titles of these works. After the titles of such works will be found references to editors, translators, authors, and probable authors.

For many works short titles have been used. Starred page references indicate that the longer titles or additional bibliographical information will be found on the cited pages. As a further bibliographical aid, known dates of publication are included in the index for pamphlets and other works published during or close to Milton's lifetime, and for certain important titles for which dating aids identification.

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